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Innocent Look



Amateur Artistes



Dushyanta Putting the Ring on Sakuntala's Finger

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Satindranath Laha

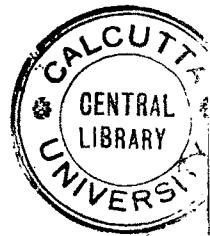
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## NOTES

### The Month of June

The month of May ended with the World in ferment over the revelations and denunciations following the flight and crash of an U-2 plane over the Urals. The aftermath intensified the Cold War climate, which had been thawing for a very considerable time, following Premier Nikita Khruschev's overtures for total disarmament and peaceful co-existence, which led to the infructuous fiasco at the Paris "Summit" meeting. But this sudden enhancement in international tension seemed to result in a direct reaction within the Western Alliance, which seemed to pull together and close-up ranks.

On the other side of the World the Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi had decided to rush through the new U.S.-Japanese Treaty of Alliance, which was being continuously put off by the Socialists in opposition. There was vehement opposition even against the opening of the session and the police had to come to the aid of the Speaker repeatedly before he could even declare the session open. Thereupon the Socialists in a body and even 27 members of the Premier's own party walked out. The vote came at midnight when it was passed with a standing vote with 259 Liberal-Democrats of Kishi's party being present.

Next day saw mass demonstrations by left-wing students and trade unionists who

shouted slogans against Kishi and the United States, laying emphasis on the U-2 incident. The Soviet Union entered a formal protest against the treaty, which by Kishi's coup was to become law automatically after thirty days, on June 19th, the day on which President Eisenhower was to arrive in Japan.

In Turkey, the army took over on May 27th the Government, putting under arrest the heads of the Government of Premier Menderes and President Celal Bayar. The army formed a National Unity Committee with General Gursel as Chairman. It was declared that the army had taken over controls pending fresh and fair elections.

In Israel it was announced by Premier Ben-Gurion that one of the greatest Nazi War Criminals, Adolf Eichman, responsible for the mass murder of 6,000,000 Jews in Germany, was under arrest in Israel and was to be placed on trial shortly. It was later revealed that Israeli secret agents tracked him down in Argentina, kidnapped him and smuggled him out of Argentina, without so much as a "by your leave" to the Argentine Government. The Argentine Government very naturally demanded explanations for such utter disregard of international conventions.

In Africa preparations were made for another group of African States to gain

diminished in the West, its repercussions are now spreading, along the channels of International Communism to the Asiatic Countries. The general attitude of the Soviet leadership, as evinced during the welcoming speeches during the present visit of our President Rajendra Prasad, and from the extracts of Mr. Khruschev's speech made in Bucharest, is that the Presidium of the Soviet Union and the group of European Allies of the Soviet re-affirm the policies outlined at the 20th Congress of the Party regarding Co-existence. This is likely to reassure those of the friendly countries in Asia who were alarmed at the harshness of the denunciations and cautionary threats that came from Mr. Khruschev following the U-2 incident. This may indicate a calming down and a renewal of the efforts for disarmament, or it might mean merely a political manoeuvre, but it has distinctly tempered the climate of World politics.

#### **Red China and the Defence of India**

The general view of World Politics given above changes abruptly when we turn to the attitude of those few who are leading the "People's Democratic Republic of China." There we see an arrogant attitude towards the whole world, inclusive of those who are at the helm of the "Supreme Soviet." Different readings have been made by Pundits and cognoscenti, of the causative factors and it is highly doubtful whether any of the "observations" are anything beyond mere speculation. There is one thing, of course, and that is this attitude of aggressive nationalism displayed by Communist China, which indicates that she cannot afford to agree to a relaxation of international tensions, is leading to a conflict of ideologies between Russia and "Red" China.

The Statesman's Special Correspondent with the President's entourage, in his report of June 24, says :

I do not know if the full contents of the speech have become available in India, but Mr. Khrushchev had the following to say to the Left-sectarianists both at home and abroad : "If Lenin were to arise from his grave, he would be appalled at their dogmatism, take them by the

ear and put them out in the sun." His reference was to the thesis popularized in China, especially in the recent series of articles in the Red Flag, that there could be no co-existence between Communism and Capitalism and war was inevitable to ensure a Socialist victory. Mr. Khrushchev pleaded for a realistic and, therefore, true interpretation of Marxism-Leninism and argued that Socialism was now strong enough to look after itself and even to prevent war.

The present controversy began last February at the time of the conference in Moscow of the Warsaw Pact countries, to which the Chinese sent observers. Soon after their return to Peking, the Chinese delegation's leader took the unusual step of giving publicity to the speech he had made in Moscow. This was followed by articles in the Red Flag ridiculing the idea of co-existence and peace.

Moscow did not take public notice of these statements and writings for some time, possibly because the issues were under discussion among Soviet leaders too. At the recent Lenin anniversary celebrations in Peking and Moscow, the differences in the two approaches became more publicly prominent.

Then, in a considered review of a book on Stalin published in *Pravda*, there was pointed criticism of the "infantilism of the Left-sectarianism." The point was further elaborated in an editorial in the same newspaper a few days ago.

Although this has no direct bearing on these inner party matters, it is a visible fact that Soviet-Indian relations today are extremely good and Dr. Prasad's visit has given an opportunity to the two countries to show how good they are.

Whatever might be the outcome of this difference in ideology between Moscow and Peking and however much elated might our "Peace at any Price" proponents feel at the latest Soviet proposals for disarmament, now being debated at Geneva, the fact remains that the Chinese aggression on our Northern frontiers remains unabated. Indeed, the recent news, filtering through the Indo-Tibetan borders, indicate that the Chinese menace is growing and consolidation of Chinese forces in the invaded areas is persisting. We do not know what steps our authorities are taking as counter-measures. We have the news that a party

of our officials have reached Peiping to find that the Government is on the alert, discuss the demarcation of frontiers which particularly on the question of internal parleys we make bold to say will lead to security.

Nothing.

We have also had news from outside sources, like the following, taken from the 13th June issue of the international edition of the **New York Times**:

Ten months ago Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru stunned India by announcing that Chinese Communist troops had penetrated the Indian border. Peiping has claimed and has partially occupied 15,000 square miles in the Ladakh section of Kashmir and another 36,000 square miles in the area of India's North-East Frontier.

Since then, India has stepped up its efforts to strengthen its border defences. New Delhi has repeatedly refused to join the Western collective defence alliances or to sign a bilateral defence agreement with the United States under which the Indians could receive military aid. Last week, however, it was announced that India had bought twenty-nine surplus transport planes from the U.S. in order to supply military units in the barely accessible mountain areas in Ladakh and the North-East Frontier Agency.

The planes—big C-119 Flying Boxcars—normally cost \$500,000 apiece, but the belief is that India paid considerably less. The purchase was made under the Mutual Security Act which permits the President to authorize sales of military equipment to any country in the interest of peace and security. India has also been discussing with U.S. officials the possibility of obtaining Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and high-altitude helicopters.

This last bit of news has been given in the local press also but in a very vague and indefinite fashion. In any case it shows that there is some awakening of sensations amongst the ivory-tower dwellers of New Delhi, who have begun to realize that world is not entirely guided by their own pet shibboleths.

It is not yet clear whether the awakening is quite complete, as for evidence Pandit Nehru's latest Press Conference. We do not expect Panditji to reveal to us the details of the preparations to meet the threat in the North—though we believe all that information has been given to the aggressor by his agents within this country—but we do not persons who have eyes and ears. Mr.

Besides that, we would like to know whether any attempt is being made to build up really up-to-date defence measures, such as real missiles with proper launching bases, or are we still being left helpless due to the inhibitions of our powers—that-be hagridden as they are with saws and shibboleths.

### Imperialists and Communists

Mr. Khruschev's occasional announcements are made with the hope that the peoples of the world are as ignorant of the facts of contemporary history as he would like them to be. His easy division of the world into two mutually exclusive groups, viz., the Imperialists and the Communists leaves out of calculation the vast majority of human beings who are the victims of the cliques which dominate the world. It may be true that the one type of conspirators believe more in stealing the purse of mankind while the other type steals the fair name, that is, the liberty and freedom of the human majorities whom they exploit; but facts point to the undesirable and obnoxious character of both groups of ruling cliques and none can claim perfection as rulers of men in any manner. Mr. Khruschev's denunciations of the imperialists may have some truth in them; but most of the accusations he hurls at the imperialists apply equally strongly to the Communists. The latest is the Communist dislike of starting wars and killing human beings. These alleged characteristics of the Communists are belied by their actions in all the iron curtain countries in the past as well as in recent times. Hungary is too near to be forgotten and genocide in Tibet is still continuing. The bombardment of Kuomingtang China by the "Peoples" Republic goes on as do all the bloody attempts at "liberation" in Korea and other lands. That the Communists plant their agents, finance and organise them secretly in other lands in order to bring about revolutions is well known to all

Khruschev's great love of peace is, therefore, only an attempt at avoiding war in a big way, for he thinks he can achieve his objectives by the assistance of secret societies of traitors in all lands and that war will be an open hazard with a strong chance of a Communist defeat or, at least, a large-scale destruction of Communist assets. He says the imperialists are this or that and that they were going to be defeated eventually. Now who are the imperialists? The Chinese began calling us imperialists and expansionists after robbing us of 20,000 sq. miles of our territory by violent means. The poor British are constantly giving up more and more bits and pieces of their empire. The Japanese are definitely not expanding their empire. Half of the Germans are imperialists without any army or empire and the Americans have spheres of influence which compare with the spheres of influence created by force by the Russians. There are no imperialists nor empires today in the sense of the old time empire of the Romans, the Spanish and the British. If imperialists are persons who dominate other races by subterfuge, financial control, military suzerainty and similar means, then the Communists are also imperialists.

If Mr. Khruschev wants peace, really and truly, he must begin by putting his own house in order. He must arrange to exploit his own people a little less, and allow them to enjoy the fruits of their labour more than they now do. For, Mr. Khruschev's party needs all the surplus values they can create by forcing all workers to lead a dog's life; in order to keep themselves in power. The American capitalist-imperialists-etc., do the same, but to a lesser extent. Human liberty and freedom are non-existent in the world today and we have to thank all power-hunting cliques in all lands for this. Neither Mr. Khruschev's Communism nor President Eisenhower's Democracy assure to humanity their birth-right, and no leader of politics in any country has any ground to feel proud of what his party has done to Man.

### China, Russia and India

The political situation in regard to the interaction of friendly and inimical forces at work between India and China, and between Russia and China, is incomprehensible at least on the surface. India is almost at war with China. For, China has occupied large tracts of Indian territory; has established a military government in Tibet which has been the buffer between India and China; has also built up a war potential in Tibet which can be directed against India at any time and has been carrying on propaganda against India to stir up anti-Indian feelings in Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim, Ladakh and other places. In the circumstances it would be right to consider the Sino-Indian political relations to be strained, unstable and critical. People say that Sino-Russian relations are not entirely what they should be. The Chinese are critical of Russia's attachment to Marxist principles and they are also not so peace-loving as the Russians claim to be. The Chinese, it is said, believe in a world revolution against Capitalism and not in any peaceful co-existence as is often proclaimed to be an ideal by the Russians. The Chinese, it is believed, think that if the whole world fought after dividing itself into the two armies, Capitalist and Communist, with all weapons known to modern science, would eventually empty itself of all humanity excepting some of the Chinese variety who will survive on account of racial surplus value. For, the Chinese are always so big in numbers that if all humanity died out man for man as Capitalists and Communists, there would always remain a Chinese surplus. Whatever their physical and mental qualities, the Chinese consider themselves as the Herrenvolk of humanity and they think a purely Chinese world would be perfect even without any Russians. This "Philosophy" of elimination of unwanted types, makes the Chinese more aggressive than they need be; and if Russia arms the Chinese with atomic weapons, the chances are that the Chinese will start a world war which will leave the world largely unpopulated even if the survivors do not ful-

fil Chinese hopes by being entirely Mongolian of the Chinese variety. India's neutrality is a great obstacle to the Chinese plans. For if a group of 400 million people do not join the greatest of all wars as combatants, their chances of survival would be greater than that of the Chinese surplus. The Chinese, therefore, want firstly to bring all Mongolians and Mongoloids into one camp and call them all Chinese with a numerical strength of 1000 million or so and secondly with that the Russians and the Americans, with their blocs, will be largely wiped out in the greatest war leaving about 200 million inhabitants of Greater China intact as the survivors. These people will then mop up all other survivors everywhere and populate the world with their own progeny only. In about a hundred years after the greatest war the world will be all Chinese and they will have a single religion and form of existence—Communism and Communistic. A fantastic idea, but it is there in some Chinese minds. And the Chinese who harbour such thoughts are in a position to unleash destructive forces of such magnitude as might lead to a total world war. The question is, how far will the Russians help the Chinese to increase their war potential? If they secretly or openly put weapons and means in the hand of the Chinese to enable them at least to think of war in a big way; the Russians then will be doing this for one of two reasons. They may be really in sympathy with the Chinese and are arming the 600 million Chinese to fight a World War. Their pretensions about peaceful co-existence then would be utterly false. Or the Russians may be wanting the Chinese to fight a unilateral war, so that Russia could remain aloof and immensely superior to all other powers at the end of the Chinese-American bloc wars. This would also remove the possibility of China taking leadership in the Communist world.

Whatever the Russian intentions may be, they are certainly arming the Chinese to a great extent. Without Russian help the Chinese would be quite harmless. But, later on, when China would be industrially developed, she could wage war on the world without Russian help. Our fondness for the

Russians, therefore, is a mental condition based on a certain amount of wishful thinking. We think the Russians will be our friends even if we refuse to accept Communism as our national creed. The reasons for this are obscure. The Communist Party of India no doubt believe that eventually we would all become Communists and they, as would-be henchmen of the Russians like to think of India as a satellite country in the Russian bloc. They even talk of China in the manner of devotees discussing the holy land of their faith. The Congressmen follow Nehru and his party leaders. These people are for ever willing to pat other people on the back for nothing and to be patted on the back by others also for no reason. It is like the 14th of July in Montmatre when people dance and kiss one another in memory of the destruction of the Bastille. We howl 'bhai bhai' at the slightest provocation in the hope that by so doing we shall establish the kingdom of God on Earth. In fact we have made ourselves the ridiculous dupe of China by acting in this stupid manner with the cold, calculating and unscrupulous leaders of that country. This undignified demonstrativeness does not elevate us in the eyes of the world. They all think we are silly and sentimental and not worth the respect of nations who stand their ground to defend their own rights and principles. Our leaders behave like the adopted aunts of the parish, hobnobbing indiscriminately with all and never refusing to play the busybody.

We do not believe that the Russians will befriend us against China or anybody. They did not help us against the British one whit and they chased Subhash Chandra Bose into the Fascist camp when he escaped from India and reached Moscow through Afghanistan. 'Mitrata ki yatra' was good propaganda and produced a showy documentary film. But it did not bring India closer to Russia to any extent. Unless it suits the Russians to act anti-Chinese, they will never move a muscle to help India against their brothers in faith. We do not think Sri. Jagjivan Ram is capable of igniting any anti-Chinese fire in the Russian heart. So his

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visit to Russia with our President will not help India as far as China is concerned. Possibly the Russians will give him an old model locomotive which he will display to Indians as an emblem of India's brotherhood with Russia. Our foreign policy is becoming quite fanciful and the history of our relations with other countries will soon read like the Tales from the Arabian Nights.

A. C.

### The Danger Ahead

Mr. Thondup Lowazang, the Tibetan Deputy Chief of China's Security Forces, has renounced his Chinese affiliation and crossed over to India. He was in charge of hounding out those who breathed nationalism or anti-Communism in Tibet. After ten years of Communism, he is said to be disillusioned by China's duplicity and make-believe profession of democracy. As a result, the man, who, just a few years back, was lured by the promise of an utopia, beats a hasty retreat, chased hot, as it were, by sleuthhounds. And he now tells us the grim tales of China's ruthless pursuit of International Communism. It has cost his country countless lives and a complete strangulation. He refers, illustratively, to an expedition, in which an entire village was wiped out—twenty people surviving out of seven hundred families. What so recently preyed on him is that he was served with a circular order instructing him to either kill or arrest the four categories of persons: those returning from India; those officials of the old Tibetan Government wavering by a jot or tittle in their loyalty to the Communist regime; Tibetan nationalists, and those against whom any evidence of anti-Communist bias was found out. We have nothing to say with regard to this grisly business. What, however, we are immediately concerned with is what Mr. Lowazang says in respect of that which directly bears on India. He says that there is lately a heavy Chinese build-up on Tibet's western border and 'heaviest' concentration of troops in areas adjoining Ladakh. And all these military preparations, round the clock, in the context, of talks at Prime

Minister's level to be followed shortly by further high-level talks!

Events have been approximating to the too logical a finis of what the Communist China has been doing for the last ten years. In October, 1950, she invaded Tibet. The India Government protested that it was contrary to assurances, repeatedly held out by the Chinese Government 'to settle Tibetan problems by peaceful means and negotiations.' We must give China the due credit that, right from the beginning, she has made absolutely no secret of what she is out for. 'The Chinese People's Liberation Army,' she said in reply, 'must enter Tibet and defend the frontiers of China.' China, therefore, claimed that her frontiers abut on India. We did not or dared not read this note in its true perspective, far less challenge it. This pusillanimous avoidance of the real issue is of a piece together with the unfortunate disclosure that on 31st August, 1950, the Chinese Government intimated the India Government through her Ambassador, Mr. Panikkar, that she 'was going to take action soon in West Sikang.' In other words, India was duly informed of the attack fairly over a month before the actual offensive started. India does not deny this nor does she claim to have responded to this.

Let us pause to reflect, why China thought fit to inform India before she attacked Tibet. Was it not to honour the obligations, which bound India and China with reference to Tibet, and to respect the limitations arising out of a time-honoured relationship? Obviously, she does not make even a pretence of it now, because she has sized us up. India, next, virtually stood in the way of Tibet being heard by the United Nations. In view of her doubtful international status and our large stake it was incumbent on us to take up her case. We are now a laughing stock of the world that we offered Dalai Lama asylum and then, like the typical 'Mr. Facing Both-ways' sponsored China's admission to the U.N.O.

It is a stupendous riddle of history that Mr. Nehru and his following in the Parliament preened on the Sino-Indian Treat,

regarding Tibet as India's diplomatic triumph. It will, however, strike the very casual for all time that by this Treaty China has won, over the head of India, a recognition of her sovereignty on Tibet. Still further, India withdrew her military escort, stationed at Yatung and Gyantse; she made over to the Chinese Government—originally stipulated for a reasonable price but subsequently given free of charge as a gesture of good will—all our post, telegraph and telephone equipments and services in Tibet, now called by China and endorsed by India as 'the Tibet region of China.' By one stroke of the pen, therefore, Mr. Nehru pulled down what Britain had in the length of years built up, making Tibet a buffer state between India and China. All the anxious labours of the conventions of Lasha, Peking, St. Petersburg and Simla were cast to the wind. And for what return?

Mr. Nehru, in doing this, plumed himself on his historical sense that at no time during the last few hundred years 'Chinese sovereignty or, if you choose, suzerainty was challenged by any outside country,' sublimely unconcerned that the British statesmen, who have had the hand in creating this Chinese suzerainty, did at no time scruple to call it, as openly, 'a political affectation' and 'a constitutional fiction'. To make the cup full to the brim, Mr. Nehru, as meticulously, relinquished what political control Britain had acquired for India on Nepal. In our May issue, we discussed Mr. Koirala's attitude towards India in the light of this under the caption 'Need for Vigilance.' He who runs can now read how China is frantically at work to draw in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan along her perimeter and isolate India. She has very successfully negotiated the most difficult terrain by metalled roads parallel to the McMahon Line, India sleeping all the while, even if apprised of it by her Military Intelligence. China has seized the Tibetan tableland, and is thus posted well to mount military operations. She opposes the lessening of tension, leave alone settlement, between Russia and America.

J. B.

### The Spirit of Service

In many professions and institutions the spirit of service to the public is the most essential factor determining the successful functioning of the profession or the purpose for which the institutions are set up. A selfish and money-grabbing outlook in professional men and women and a rigid and unsympathetic outlook in the managers of institutions which are set up for service to the public, defeat the purpose of the profession and the institution. In India, most public "servants" consider their jobs to be a source of power and position to themselves and the manner in which they carry on their work show that they consider the public and their convenience or benefit as of secondary importance. The public servant thinks he has somehow become the master of the public and that the public must pay homage to him and receive his assistance when it suits him to grant it as a favour. The public have, since the Mogul and the British Imperial days, admitted this interpretation of public service by kow-towing to the public servant and sometimes by paying tribute to him in cash in order to rouse him to sympathetically consider the plea and petition of the public. In courts, treasuries, railway booking offices, post offices, all places from which permits, licences, passports, orders, etc., are issued and bills are passed and paid and in police stations, hospitals and other such places, the persons in charge serve the public slowly, casually, reluctantly and at their own sweet convenience. The public wait in the manner of supplicants and receive service as a favour and a boon. The spirit of service is utterly wanting everywhere and things are carried out at a snails pace and without any regard being shown to the convenience of the public. The reason why public service requires more personnel in India as compared to other countries, is that in India the personnel employed work in an easy-going manner and take their own time over things.

Such private people as work for a fee have a similar selfish and easy-going manner about them, if they feel that they can get away with it. Doctors, for instance, if

they feel that their clients are at their mercy and cannot do without them, often act in a heartless manner and try money grabbing without reference to the oath of Hippocrates. In many cases the patients die while the doctors tighten the thumb-screw on the patient's relations. Then there are the subterfuges by which patients are thrown from doctors—to radiologists—to clinical examiners—to surgeons—to heart specialists . . . until they die of poverty and exhaustion. "Good" lawyers, engineers and all others who can help people by their superior knowledge and acumen, thus have a tendency to exploit rather than serve, and the people suffer and pay.

In the most ordinary things of service too this exploitation of the public has crept in. One cannot get a taxi without influence. An ambulance can only be obtained . . . God knows how! Cooks, domestic servants, dhobis and zemadars can now order their masters about as can chauffeurs, night watchmen, and others who can make or mar one's joy of life. Exploitation of the people is a very active factor in our struggle for existence and the most capable exploiters earn the right to survive. The most unscrupulous and the biggest liars rule the public, who apparently like to be ruled, exploited and kicked about.

A.C.

### **Accidents and Traffic Control**

The prevention of road accidents requires enquiry into causes and after that the introduction of preventive measures which may have their inspiration in the psychology, the road habits, the criminal tendencies of the persons concerned and the other factors responsible for and contributing to the accidents. Mere demarcation of parking places and the direction of traffic along roads and lanes in a particular manner cannot prevent accidents though these may keep hundreds of policemen employed in an officious manner. Such of us as have experience of traffic management in other lands as well as the ways of foreign drivers, pedestrians and other participants in traffic find a great many differences between the foreign set up and the Indian. In foreign countries there are road

accidents too and in large numbers. But when consideration is given to the speed, number, etc., of their motor vehicles as well as to the number of persons using their roads, the number of accidents per million car miles run or man miles walked or cycled would appear to be far less in those countries than in India. Further, the blatant, brazen and unruly manners of the Indian road users give one a feeling that there is no real traffic management in India, though we have initiated spectacularly some of the road signs, signals, etc., from other countries.

In Calcutta, for instance, the police do not care if lorries are driven along the main roads at 50 miles per hour nor if taxis weave their way in and out of traffic lanes or if State Buses stop and pick up passengers in the middle of the road without signalling to cars following them. The police also do not care if pedestrians cross the roads everywhere in the city every two yards of the road-way or cyclists, rickshaw-pullers and hand-cart pushers meander along the crown of the roads or obstruct traffic at cross roads. The reason being the pre-occupation of the police with their No Parking zones. These zones are an everchanging feature of the Calcutta road panorama. For, they never remain at the same places. In one of the main thoroughfares of Calcutta it is no parking on one side one day and, on the other side the next day. Unbelievable, but true! In another place in the heart of the business area, cars are not supposed to be parked at all on both sides of a fairly wide road, for no apparent reason. In other places no parking signs are splashed everywhere and nobody takes any notice. Police Sergeants take random samples of violations of no parking rules and suddenly take cognisance of such violations after permitting such law breaking for months on end. We are very sure that very few people are ever prosecuted for speeding, obstructing, etc., for the police find greater pleasure in "detecting" cases of wrong parking.

We suppose we should not discuss pedestrians at all, for they have more votes than the car drivers in our democratic, socialist Republic. But they are utterly un-

ruly and in some parts of the city they traffic on the high roads can only be deliberately obstruct cars in order, perhaps, trolled by properly manned highway squads and by rigid enforcement of the law. Carts are the greatest offenders in the less industrialised areas and should be made to make way for faster traffic. But the greatest offender still is the truck driver and his greatest offence speed, drunkenness ignoring the rules of the road, overloading, bad maintenance of the vehicles and mental incapacity for safe driving. In the cities, the taxis vie with the lorries and buses for first place in road crime. They are ill-mannered, inconsiderate and unworthy of their place in society. They keep their vehicles in awful condition and possibly spread disease and infection too. The cyclists and pedestrians are also lacking in civic sense. Speedy transport is an essential of modern civilisation. Those who obstruct speedy transport obstruct progress. An inferiority complex should not be permitted to interfere with man's common sense and obligations of good citizenship. But our pedestrians, processionists, loiterers and others make motor cars 50 per cent useless. That is a great loss when one considers the amount invested and spent in and upon motor vehicles. The capital invested may be a thousand crores and running costs about 200 crores per annum. The money loss therefore of slowing down traffic would be about Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per capita per annum of the entire population. About 3 to 4 per cent of the national income! The indirect loss is even greater in so far as all progress in India is obstructed by slow movement in every sphere of conduct and behaviour.

A. C.

#### Rehabilitation

An ominous word is rehabilitation; for the world's most idealistic, the most scientifically planned and the most capably managed Government cannot achieve it, either in regard to its entire population or as it affects its displaced and destitute elements. Let us take India which is governed by the leaders of the Indian National Congress which has been for nearly a hundred years a political party of such ethical eminence and with members whose

Coming to the high roads of West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, U.P., M.P. and Delhi provinces we find that the roads are difficult to negotiate for 1. fast moving trucks and buses, 2. erratic cyclists, 3. slow-moving carts, 4. little throngs of merry-makers, 5. road gangs which dig up roads and go away on long holiday, 6. broken lorries left in the middle of the road, 7. playing children, 8. roadside fairs, 9. diversions and whatever else one may think of to make it impossible to go along the roads. In West Bengal, the lorries travel long distances, in a continuous stream, with excessively heavy loads, along the crown of the road and at break-neck speed. The lorries also have had tyres, defective brakes, bent axles, wobbly steering and non-dipping blazing head lights. The police have no high way squad and they do not check lorries either for mechanical defects or for detecting, drunkenness, driving without licence, speed or over-loading. There are no weigh bridges at check points and the policemen are intellectually incompetent to distinguish the front of a bullock cart from its behind. Their heads, generally speaking, are good for keeping their red berets upon and judging by their conduct and lack of outlook their officers too are not over-conscious of the facts of highway traffic. Going even higher up, the top men in Government, particularly those who have reached their heights through the agency of their political parties, are even less conscious of what kills people on the high roads. They like riding in cars without disturbing themselves over much about the nature and function of motor vehicle parts. Lorry and bus

idealistic outlook has been so rarefied in and the Congress is run by persons who are point of international morality, that one could almost call its ideology a religious cult. But India has over a hundred million unemployed, a couple of hundred million semi-employed, a few million beggars and criminals and relatively fewer refugees from Pakistan, whose rulers, being Pure and Holy in their religious outlook (for Allah is the essence of mercy), chased out with inhuman cruelty all those who did not share their religious views. Ever since these refugees entered India from East and West Pakistan, the Indian Government, though supercharged with economic plans, failed to plan any workable system of settling a few thousand men, women and children somewhere in the soil of India. The reason, the leaders of the Indian Government thought was that the refugees were no good. They picked and chose and had likes and dislikes. They did not believe in anything that was austere and helped to chasten the human soul. Their outlook, in other words, was farthest from the outlook of Mr. Meher Chand Khanna and other Congressmen who believed in self-denial all the way. Congress self-denial, said the refugees, was like Pakistani mercy of the Pure (Pak) and Holy variety; for neither really exists. And the real reason why the East Pakistan Refugees could not be rehabilitated by the Congress Government of India was that there were many intelligent men and women among those refugees who tried to weigh what they were getting against what they had been granted. There has always been a wide gap between granting and actually giving wherever Government servants handled things and the superior persons who controlled the government servants made things worse by their dreamy acceptance of all false accounts, reports and statements given to them by their henchmen.

The Congress has never produced any very capable executives and such as accidentally happened to be in the Congress from time to time seldom got any powers from the top leaders by reason of their inability to please the top men for any length of time. For capable men are never much good for ardent devotion to cults and gurus

for ever on the edge of total sainthood and, as such, hungry for flattery and devotion, other men of the Congress camp have always had to assume the saintly airs of their leaders. India, having been the home of **rishis**, **gurus** and saints for thousands of years, has developed a recognised technique of saintliness. Austerity, detachment and freedom from human feelings have also their recognised symptoms, and all who can show these external symptoms can claim to belong to the preceptor class. Congress leaders as a rule spend more time on developing the symptoms of moral greatness than on actually doing anything for anybody. This being so, the Congress have failed to do most things, excepting such things as were put in charge of non-Congress foreigners or Indians, who, naturally, did things without stinting on expenses. All successful plans of the Congress, therefore, have been very extravagant and **imperial** in their execution, rather than befitting a poor nation which counts its **naie paise**. Only, when it came to refugee rehabilitation, the Congress did not trust any outsiders; but arranged to spend hundreds of crores of rupees, through their own people. Society ladies, Ashram dwellers and persons whose sole distinction had been to have been in the same prison with some top Congressman, were put in charge of this rehabilitation work and these people utterly failed to achieve their purpose. Further, the East Pakistan Refugees were mainly of the educated middle class, and the attempt to settle them in the worst possible areas of Bihar, Orissa and other places failed miserably. The lack of imagination and understanding displayed by the Congress Ministry in charge of rehabilitation could not be surpassed by the worst of amateurs. Large groups of people were kept in camps who lived on dole and they were occasionally made to go to distant places where they found more and worse camps and the same doles. They, therefore, ran away from those places and returned to their "home" camps. Mr. Meherchand Khanna thought settling them in West Bengal would create a "border"

problem with Bihar; for, Bihar had grabbed but the West Bengal Moslems stayed on certain districts of Bengal which the Congress Biaris were reluctant to disgorge. The refugees could have been easily settled in those areas; but Bihari leaders had to be placated first.

The opposition in the Legislatures of India also failed miserably to produce any counter schemes for rehabilitation. The majority of the opposition, being Communists, worked on principles which were not based on anything of national value. Since the Congress had declared itself to be socialistic in point of ideology and since Pandit Nehru developed very friendly relations with Russia, the Socialists and the Communists found it difficult to really oppose the Congress. The opposition, in fact, does not exist in India for all practical purposes. It is not clearly known what secret understanding, if any, these so-called opposition parties have with the Congress top leaders; but their activities and lack of effective and constructive opposition, would make people suspect secret collaboration with Congress, either by contact with the top men of the Congress or through outsiders who act as intermediaries. Whatever that may be, in the matter of rehabilitation, the opposition have failed to do their duty or to serve the purpose of a true opposition.

Coming back to Refugee Rehabilitation, we find the Congress has no talents by use of which they can settle these miserable people who lost everything in Pakistan due to the Congress agreeing to the Partition of India. The Congress and the British are the two parties who "sold" the refugees to gain advantage for themselves. The Congress obtained the right of governing India and the British felt happy that their ardent and devoted followers in Pakistan remained in the British camp. The Congress agreed to rehabilitate the refugees and spent a good deal of public money for this work of rehabilitation. They succeeded fairly well with the refugees from West Pakistan, for the majority of them settled down on the lands in East Punjab from which the Moslems had been chased out by the Punjabi Hindus and Sikhs. In East Pakistan, the Hindus were chased out by the Moslems; which they do not know how to do, and from

and were not chased out by the Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi played a very active part in liquidating the forces that would have driven out the Moslems to make room for the Hindus. So, in the case of the East Pakistan Hindus, the Congress interfered twice instead of once with their livelihood. First by signing away their homeland to the Pakistan Government and a second time by keeping the Moslems on in West Bengal by disarming the anti-Moslem forces in that area. But, though the Congress interference with the Bengalis was double, their aid for rehabilitation to the Bengalis was relatively less than in the case of the Punjabis.

If now, one has to think of rehabilitation of the Bengali refugees, one must first of all recognise the necessity for taking this work out of the control of politicians. There should be a public body in which the majority should be non-Congress and non-Leftist persons of some ability to do things. The Government of India must be made to foot the bill and the refugees also must be made to work according to their ability. This public body must make it clear to the refugees that they must earn a dividend on all monies that are invested in this work by the people of India. There must be no "eating up" of the capital and the various projects undertaken must be business like. Considering that the Government of India and the State Governments are the biggest buyers of various kinds of goods produced in India and abroad, one can easily arrange to produce goods of different kinds by setting up small industries which will be manned by the displaced persons and their family members, and sell those goods in reasonable proportions to the Government and to the public. If the D.D.A. is accepted as a working project, many men and women can be employed there in various kinds of work to build up a self-contained economy in that area. The exports and imports of the area can be planned out as things progress. The public of India, who are by far in the greatest majority, should take a hand in things now and progressively relieve political parties from their work,

conspiring to remain or come into power. In a true democracy, there should not be any political parties which put party interests above the good of the nation. A. C.

#### The Rope's End.

Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress President, seems to be making faces at those of the public—and they are a legion—who demand a probe into the charges of corruption in high places. Comparatively younger, he has as pliantly fallen in line with the grizzled; and we have one classical picture of 'the voice is the voice of Jacob but the hands are the hands of Esau.' Freed of virbiage, he has, in fact, made plain that he is not at all anxious to see the matter through and through, but is just thinking of a ruse to stop, what he calls, 'loose talk of corruption'.

Mr. Reddy makes short shrift of the business by laying down the first principle that there shall be no inquiry till he is satisfied in consultation with the Prime Minister at the Centre or the Chief Minister in the State that there is a *prima facie* case to thrash out. In other words, it is only when the circumstances are so very overwhelming, that the Prime Minister or a Chief Minister can no longer withhold an investigation, that the Congress President would not grudge an inquiry. We have had, hitherto, no idea that there is any bar to this now. What then is the use of his coming into the picture? We are almost inclined to feel that Mr. Deshmukh has, rather, done one disservice to the country by lending the weight of his personality to the chorus of demand for inquiry, on the guarantee of his producing concrete cases at the appropriate moment. He has alerted the ruling party and they are now sleeplessly taxing their ingenuity to hedge in any possible inquiry with all sorts of conditions. Circumstanced as we now are, it is better far to slip inadvertently in witch-hunts on rare occasions, rather than go on encouraging the idea that to be honest is no rewarding business and involves a certain risk. J. B.

#### No Shift in Allegiance

The election of Miss Shakila Khatun on the Congress ticket to the West Bengal Assembly from Canning, 24-Parganas,

cannot afford to be lightly passed over. She is a student in the Fifth year class of International Affairs in the Jadavpur University, and will be the only Muslim woman-member in the current session. Rural area has always been a stronghold of the Congress in retaining its decisive majority in the House; and, furthermore, as she succeeds her deceased father, the Congress gains no new grounds. But coming as it does after the recent stinging defeat of the West Bengal Congress, one for the Lok Sabha and two others for the Council, it is not without value as a credit token with the wide electorate. The Congress reverses unerringly pinpoint how it has failed to retrieve its position in Calcutta and with the middle class intelligentsia. It is, however, something for the Congress to feel happy that there is no shift in the allegiance of the rural folk. And the Nation yet lives in the village.

About 45 per cent of the electorate, sprawling over more than three thousand square miles of no easy communication, have voted. Of the total of sixty thousand votes cast, Miss Khatun has secured forty-five thousand—the Communist candidate, next to her, just saved his deposit money. It is worth serious consideration that the rift between the working class of the urban area and that of the village does not tend to deepen.

We have had hard words said about the West Bengal Congress leadership off and on. It is our pleasure now to congratulate them on their bold selections. We sincerely wish it were their realisation that the vast bulk of our people have lost faith in the hard-boiled politicians for their proved inability to deliver the goods. It is, again, infinitely to their credit that they could induce the Congress-minded independent candidate to withdraw from the contest even if at the last moment, particularly when he had the backing, in a divided house, of a good section of Congress members. What, however, is yet jarring is that the Congress is still in a quandary and has failed to resolve communal exclusiveness. In propitious circumstances as they now obtain, the Congress leaders should take

stock, and energise their outlook for a maniac indoctrinating the youth with a healthy understanding and no makeshift hatred for law.'

arrangements as before, otherwise the Muslim League with its old, fierce pro-civities is bound to come back. The Muslim arrival of Miss Khatun could not have done anything worse than invoking the Shariat to down her. Did he, by the way, abjure the votes of Muslim women?

As we congratulate Miss Khatun, we wish her take up, on the basis of a well-thought-out plan, the many problems that beset her constituency. It is very backward economically with landless labour as one of its crying needs. Above everything else, she needs looking up to help rescue our public life, which is a sink of inanity.

J.B.

Politics can be no taboo for anybody. And so we are not in favour of a total ban on politics for students. All that we emphasize is that, they must not spend themselves up in agitational and disruptive politics, or suffer it to break in upon their days of strenuous studies and preparation for life's struggle. Therefore, what they need is to beware of flashy, fussy, fissiparous politics and their "leaders" who are exploiting the impulsive nature of students for the exigencies of the moment. We are afraid, the Report, read in between the lines, betrays an allergy to other-than-Congress politics. But no party is immune from the accusation of indulging in exploitation of students.

### The Etiology of Unrest

The Report on student indiscipline by the committee under the University Grants Commission is, to say the least of it, woefully short of what was expected of it. It is inept and does but touch the fringe of the subject-matter. Worse still, it follows the pattern of British bureaucracy in laying the burdens of the entire blame on the shoulder of political leaders—'agitators,' as they used to call. The glamour of political leadership is not in question—possibly nowhere in the world; and that the impressionable youth, yearning for the adoration, national service commands, is, as well, a point of elevation, which endures. Lala Lajpat Rai and Srinivas Sastri have openly acknowledged that they felt inspired to live for the nation, because of the irresistible appeal of Surendranath Banerjea. Gandhiji held out before the country the idealism of suffering and sacrifice by the living influence of his life. Directly as a result thereof, we have had two flowers of youth, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sushaschandra Bose, emerging in exclusive dedication, and a good many others sacrificing themselves even without the compensating reward in publicity. All the same, the alien rule, as inexorably, stigmatised either leader as the corruptor of youth. They called one, 'an impatient idealist crying for the moon' and the other, 'a dangerous

The student unrest is no cutaneous eruption; but, straightaway, the manifestation of a malaise, that has gone deep down into the body politic. The society has undergone a vast, cataclysmic change; and there is a complete collapse of the old moral values. A young man is a full-blooded social animal; and there is nothing to be surprised at his aberrations in this period of interregnum, with new protocols in the offing. The point, that clearly calls for determination, is whether the moorings are intact or have got loose.

We have to consider the problem with the background of circumstances that have shaken the morals of people. War, as enunciated in the Mahabharata some two thousand years back, is a great destroyer of morals. Added to this there has been the negotiated Freedom, on the basis of Partition, which brought in its trail for millions, most solemnly assured that it would never be assented to, unsightly misery and deprivations that beggar description, while side by side the New Class, which has come into being, enjoy infinitely better amenities of life in complete disregard of the much-advertised programme of austerity, they bound themselves to by the Karachi Congress Resolution. Unemployment is rising high and the economic condition of the people is fast deteriorating. This is certainly not the shape of things, any Indian

ever bargained for. Its impact, cumulatively, has been disastrous on the young mind.

J. B.

### Student Indiscipline

We append below two extracts, both from the **Hitavada** of June 18, giving two views of the question. The first one is from an experienced educationist, who is au courant with the complexities of the problem and the second is from one of those who constitute the problem itself, so to say.

Mr. P. C. Malhotra, Principal, Government Hamidia College, Bhopal, writes: "The report of the University Grants Commission on the students indiscipline may be said to mark the culmination of the authoritative study of this problem. Case study of student indiscipline shows that the offenders get scot-free and also get temporary heroship. Students who break law of the land have to be treated as such, but the executive by experience follows the attitude of non-possumus and the agitator hold the centre of the stage.

"Parents and guardians have to give up the policy of laissez faire in the situation created by student indiscipline. The battle of deficiency in equipment or arrangement in educational institutions should be better fought by the guardians. But this assumes sensitive ear drums of the authorities concerned.

"Teachers today are on trial as they were never before. If they don't come up to the mark they will stand discredited. But teachers are losing heart and tend to play safe. Moral courage on the part of the students, teachers and the public is on the decline.

"Today authority is being challenged on all fronts, values are fast changing. Standards of conduct are also in a fix. Education is not always sure of giving jobs and particularly lucrative jobs. The system of education is the scapegoat. Parents, society, students all question the utility of Education in force. Education so is not being taken seriously by the students and the basis of disciplined conduct in educational institutions is therefore lacking.

"By a gentleman's agreement among political parties their meddling and dab-

bling in the educational sphere may be eliminated.

"No further sloppiness or claptrap attitude or indulgence in the matter of student indiscipline would do good to any one. The disease has been diagnosed. Only the courage to apply the remedies is needed. To be laodiceans would be a sin."

New Delhi, June 16.—Any attempt to curtail student rights or their unions would add to student unrest, warned the All-India Students' Federation, in a letter to the Poona meeting of Vice-Chancellors.

The Federation is of the view that lack of an ideal, unemployment and corruption in different walks of life in the post-independence period "has completely shaken the moral fibre" of the student community. Moreover the existing meagre facilities make students "disgusted and dull" which in its turn breed irresponsibility and indiscipline.

The Federation gave its own six-point suggestions to check student unrest.

Among these are respects of the democratic rights of students, making university and college unions living schools in the practice of democracy and employment of more teachers to foster closer student-teacher relationship.

### Another Aspect of the Summit

We are repeatedly told by our Pundits and Wisemen, that the failure of the "Summit" talks at Paris, in May, has been a misfortune for the world. That there might be another view taken of the scope of the discussions between the Great Powers, both with regard to the present-day problems and those of the future, has not been pointed out by our great men.

Since there is a chance of another "Summit" parley at not-so-distant a future, we would like to acquaint our readers with another view, as given in the **Christian Science Monitor** of Boston of May 4—that is on the eve of the Summit talks—by Mr. Harsch, its special correspondent. It might be pointed out that the **Christian Science Monitor** is in the very forefront of the world of legitimate journalism. We append below the extract:

"For us of the so-called Western world the two great issues which impend as we wait for the great men to gather at the Summit are Berlin and whether there is to be a contractual ending of nuclear tests.

It is not the purpose of this column to question the importance of these subjects. They deserve every ounce of cerebration which has gone into them.

Yet it also is in order to raise a question whether these are the issues which affect the future rather than the past. We are all aware, of course, that in South Africa there has arisen in acute and challenging form a new issue. A country inhabited largely by persons whose skin is not white is ruled exclusively by persons of white skin. The ruling whites are doing everything within their capacity to maintain and consolidate the exclusivity of their rule. They do not intend if they can help it to grant any voice in Government to the preponderant majority.

But behind them the vast continent of Africa is rapidly being handed over by the whites who have long ruled it to the natives who with increasing insistence demand the right to govern or mis-govern, as the case may be, themselves.

This issue of who is to govern in South Africa will not be discussed at the Summit. None has suggested that it be discussed at the Summit. It is discussed at the United Nations. It is being discussed at the British Commonwealth Conference in London. But in both places it is being discussed as an unpleasant problem which many wish had never been raised—not yet, at least—as the forerunner of the great issue of the future.

By our present behavior we assign to the bomb and to Berlin priority as the most dangerous situations in the world. But we also make the assumption when we do so that the truly great and the most dangerous issues are those which divide the white countries from each other.

Down through most of history this assumption has been valid. The history most of us learn in our schooldays is the history of the white man, the story of his quarrels and his achievements from the days of Greece and Rome down to the present times. It has been an exciting and dramatic, if often violent, story. It has been the white man's story; and other races have been shadows on the fringes of the story, never essential participants in the story.

But in today's world the non-whites out-

number the whites by two to one. They already possess substantial political power. They are beginning to possess military power. Yet in Paris this very month there will be a conference of white men about white men's quarrels which presumes by the very label we put upon it that it deals with man's greatest problems. It continues the assumption of several thousand years that only the white men's quarrels are either important or dangerous.

There is an arrogance about the label of Summit upon a meeting of white men about white men's quarrels which past history largely justifies but which the history ahead of us may very soon reject as a piece of stupidity."

#### Sudhindranath Datta

Bengal has lost by the death of Sudhindranath Datta one of the most versatile amongst the poets and critics of the day. Of the group that started carving out separate niches in the temple dedicated to the literary muse, he had attained the most distinctive prominence, both by virtue of his style, which bore the imprint of an intellect that was keen and precise to the point of pedantry, and by the width of his vision, which encompassed the entire field of Indian culture, together with the emotional aspects of present-day life.

He came in close contact with Rabindranath Tagore while still in his twenties and was one of those who accompanied Rabindranath in his tour of the Far East and the U.S.A. in 1929. He stayed back in Europe in order to get into a more intimate touch with the literary forces in action there.

After his return he developed a new form of writing that was distinctly his own and yet it had no signs of a laboured attempt at individualism which marked the work of most of the post-Tagore poets and literary critics.

He kept himself constantly abreast of the trends in modern literature, at home and abroad, and in this he was helped largely by his wife, Srimati Rajeswari Datta, who is well-acquainted with French and Italian literature in addition to her gifts in the singing of Tagore music. Husband and wife were very close together in all their activities and our deep sympathies are offered to the bereaved partner.

## ROLE OF PANCHAYAT IN RURAL PLANNING

By PROF. SUBRATA KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M.A.

AN attempt is made in this article to assess the role of the village Panchayat in our rural planning and also to study the recommendations of the Mehta Committee on this behalf. Undoubtedly the question of re-organization of Panchayat and its relation with national planning is one of the most vital topics before the country today. The report of the "Study team of Community Project and National Extension Service" popularly known as "Balwantrai Mehta Committee" has opened a new era and introduced almost a revolutionary concept in the pattern of Panchayat administration in their recommendations.

It may be recalled that we are on the fourth year of our Second National Plan and we have just completed the seventh anniversary of our Community Development movement. Ours is a democratic planning and naturally we are proud of it. But it has to be admitted that even after eight years of the operations of the National planning it could not create the desired urge and spontaneity amongst the people at the base. The Community Development and National Extension programmes were sponsored to develop the Social and economic life of the community. After an initial success these movements have been viewed by the rural masses as "external agencies" set up from above to help them in their difficulties. As if, these are none of their own organisations. The multiplicity of officials have also added new complications.

It is in this context that the importance of village Panchayat has assumed new proportions. It is expected that Panchayat as the representative organisation of the rural masses will be able to harness their resources as also to give the requisite leadership in rural planning. In order to study our problem in an objective manner we have proceeded in the following way:

- (1) Definition of Panchayat—Its role in ancient India—Its revival in the British period—Its present status in the new constitution of India;

- (2) Role of Panchayat in rural reconstruction and planning;
- (3) Recommendations of the Mehta Committee;
- (4) Suggestions for its modifications—Constitution, Functions, Resources, Training (based on the discussions stated above);
- (5) Conclusion.

### Panchayat—What Is It? Its Past and a Short Historical Background of its Development in our Country

The word "Panchayat" literally means "dependent on five". It should ordinarily mean the group of people, 5 or 10 chosen by the village Community to attend to the affairs of the Community.

In ancient India Panchayat had a proud role in shaping the destiny of our rural masses. It formed the basic part and nucleus of a thriving civilization in that ancient period. In the words of Sir Charles Metcalfe, "They are little republics, having really everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations. This union of village Communities, each forming a separate little state in itself has, I conceive, contributed more than any other causes to the preservation of the people of India and to the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."

In those old days, "Panchayat helped the life of the Community to sustain itself and foster its own healthy growth. Panchayat looked to the all-round development, peace and happiness of the Community as a whole."

But later with the changed conditions, social, economic and political, there was decadence in these village institutions. Continued slavery and dependency created frustration. These organisations became stationary and static.

### British Period—Revival of Panchayat System

In the British period Panchayat system was again revived as a part of Local Self-Govern-

ment. It may be remembered that the Local Self-Government was introduced in this country as a gradual process of devolution of power. Tracing this process historically we observe several distinct stages in it. The stages are :

First period—1687-1882

Second period—1882-1918

Third period—1918-35 Act

Lord Ripon's Resolution on Local Self-Government in 1882 was a great landmark in the history of local democracy in India. The underlying principle of his Resolution was that

(1) Local bodies to consist of a large majority of elected non-official members and to have non-official Chairman.

(2) Government control over local bodies to be exercised from without rather than from within.

(3) Elastic and sufficient financial resources, certain local resources of revenue to be made over to local bodies, etc.

#### Royal Commission on Decentralisation

The problem of rural Self-Governing institutions occupied the attention of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation which presented its report in 1909. The Commission after observing that the scant success of the efforts to introduce a system of rural Self-Government was largely due to the fact that it was not built from the bottom, recommended the establishment of Local Self-Government Unit for villages.

As regards functions of the Panchayats, the Commission suggested among others :

- Summary Jurisdiction in petty Civil and Criminal cases.
- Cleaning of the village and minor village works.
- Construction, maintenance and management of village School.
- Management of small fuel and fodder reserves, etc.

#### Government of India Resolution of 1918

In 1918 resolution some of the other principles were modified. It of course reiterated the

principles enunciated by Lord Ripon that political education must in the main take precedence over considerations of departmental efficiency and therefore the people should learn by committing mistakes and profiting by them. The resolution clearly stated that the "Decentralisation Commission did not intend the proposed village Panchayats to be merely additional machines for local administration nor additional artificial areas. They must be living units which would give the villagers an interest in and some control over local village affairs "and be natural expressions" of the corporate life of the individual villages.

#### Government of India Act 1919 and 1935 Act

In the Government of India Act 1919, Local Self-Government became one of the transferred subjects under the provincial Government. The Act gave a new impetus to the Self-Government movement and local Governments either in the shape of Union Boards or Local Boards or Gram Panchayats were subsequently established. Undoubtedly these bodies enjoyed restricted freedom.

Under Government of India Act, 1935, Provincial autonomy further accelerated the process of Local Self-Government in the provinces of India. But there was no bold outlook in it. These organisations were looked upon as centres of popular control and real transference of power from the alien masters to the native people.

#### Panchayat Under the New Constitution

With the inauguration of the new Constitution in 1950, Panchayat entered into a new phase. The setting up of village Panchayat as a true Self-Governing institution is now a directive of the Constitution. It is the lowest unit of our democratic state apparatus. Article 40 provides, "The State shall take steps to organise village Panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of Self-Government." During the last nine years important transformations have taken place in the Panchayat administration based on the aforesaid constitutional directive. We have also witnessed new Panchayat enactments in States where pre-

viously there was no such organisation. The states like West Bengal, Andhra, Punjab, Madras, Mysore, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh passed new Panchayat Acts. One characteristic feature of the Panchayat Acts of this period is the introduction of adult franchise in Panchayat elections. These Acts although having basic similarity were by no means uniform.

### Panchayat and Planning

We were so long tracing the historical background of the Panchayat development in our country. In this connection we also observed that during all these years the main emphasis was making "Panchayat" an unit of local Government in the rural area. It was only during the post-war period that the question of associating "Panchayat" with national development works was suggested. The Woodhead Commission observed in 1945 that "We consider that Panchayats should be encouraged to take an active part in the framing of schemes of development relating to their areas and in the carrying out of such schemes. Indeed, we consider it essential that they should do so, for the successful execution of many schemes of rural reconstruction and development depends largely on the co-operation of the people, that co-operation should be sought and obtained through the people's local representatives, that is, through the Panchayats."—(*The Famine Enquiry Commission Final Report*, p. 328-329).

We know that the Community Development and National Extension programmes were undertaken to initiate the process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages. But as we have noted earlier, these organisations failed to create the desired urge and zeal on the part of the people. In the words of the Mehta Committee, "Admittedly, one of the least successful aspects of the C.D. and N.E.S. work is its attempt to evoke popular initiative. We have found that few of the local bodies at a level higher than the village Panchayat have shown any enthusiasm or interest in this work."—(*Report of the Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service*, p. 4.)

In the fitness of things it is the Panchayat which has to assume the main responsibility and

take initiative in the development of the village. As correctly observed by Dr. S. V. Samant :

"It has now been realised that the main object of National Planning will not be achieved unless there is comprehensive village planning which takes into account the needs of the entire community. Such planning is not easily possible unless the local organisation, the Panchayat takes the initiative."—(Dr. S. V. Samant, article on "Village Panchayat" in *Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute*, Issue No. 109, July, 1957).

While discussing the role of village Panchayat in our rural reconstruction and national planning the Planning Commission observed :

"It is realised that the pattern of district administration envisaged in the National Extension and Community Development Programme . . . will remain incomplete unless village institutions are placed on a sound footing and are entrusted with a great deal of responsibility for carrying out of local programmes in emphasising the interest of the Community as a whole and in particular the needs of those sections which are at present handicapped in various ways; village panchayats along with co-operatives, can play a considerable part in bringing about a more just and integrated social structure in rural areas and in developing a new pattern of rural leadership.—(*Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 151, para 9).

In spite of these recommendations of the Planning Commission sufficient care was not taken to develop the Panchayat organisations on the above lines. Even Panchayat organisations were not set up in all the states. There was hesitation in transferring effective power to these institutions. The whole position was reviewed by the Central Council of Local Self-Government in their meeting held in September, 1957. The Committee resolved : "It was unanimously of the opinion that the village Panchayats should be given as large a measure as possible in the development programme of the village including land reforms."—(*Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the Central Council of Local Self-Government*, p. 130). A similar caution was noted by the Planning Sub-Committee of the All India Congress in their report :

"The role of the village Panchayats and

village co-operatives should not be merely to dispose of routine functions. They should be spearheads of all the developmental activities in the village." (*Report of the Planning Sub-Committee*, p. 53). This new role of the village Panchayat has also recently been stressed in the Report of the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation for 1958-59. The report which was placed before the Parliament in March, last year, has recommended among other things that "Panchayat should be accepted as the sole institution which should assume the total responsibility of village development."—(*Civic Affairs*, March, 1959, page 86).

It is a happy sign that in some states the village Panchayat is already assuming its proper rôle in development work. The Gram Panchayat Enquiry Committee in Orissa in their recent report observes : "The Panchayat has come to assume the character of a development council for its local area in addition to its usual administrative character and the emphasis is necessarily on the former aspect."—(*Quarterly Journal of the Local Self-Government Institute*, July, 1959, p. 129).

#### Panchayat and Mehta Committee

We now come to the recommendations of the Balawantarai Mehta Committee. "Democratic decentralisation" is the key-note of these recommendations. The Committee have placed before the country a positive picture of devolution of power and a programme of *Panchayatraj* to be built from below. The underlying principle of this policy is :

"The Government should divest itself completely of certain duties and responsibilities and devolve them to a body which will have the entire charge of all development work within its jurisdiction, reserving to itself only the functions of guidance, supervision and higher planning."—(*Report*, p. 125). The Committee have envisaged a three-tier organisation—Zila Farishad at the district level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level and Panchayat at the village level. Of course the last two bodies will be vested with executive functions whereas the Zila Farishad will act as an advisory body.

The Committee further observed : "We have

already indicated the reasons why in the matter of developmental activities village Panchayat and the Panchayat Samitis should be the main local bodies . . . . The district board, the district school board and the Janapad Sabha become superfluous, as local interest, supervision and care, necessary to ensure that the expenditure of money upon local objects conforms with the wishes and needs of the locality, are provided by the Panchayat Samiti, which we consider a body of size adequate in population and area. The functions which these bodies are at present performing will in our opinion, be performed with greater efficiency by the Panchayat Samiti."—(*Balawantarai Mehta Committee Report*, Vol. I, page 19).

According to the Committee the Panchayat will have two types of functions : (1) Compulsory, (2) Delegated.

The Compulsory functions are : (a) Provision of Water Supply, (b) Sanitation, (c) Maintenance of public streets, (d) Lighting of village streets, (e) Land Management, (f) Maintenance of records relating to cattle, (g) Relief of distress, (h) Maintenance of Panchayat roads, culverts, etc., (i) Supervision of primary schools, (j) Welfare of backward classes, (k) Collection and maintenance of statistics.

Delegated functions : It will act as the agent of the Panchayat Samiti in executing any schemes of development or other activities. It may be observed that the Mehta Committee while evolving the process of "Democratic Decentralisation" have led more stress on the "Panchayat Samiti" or "Block Panchayat" and have assigned major developmental works to this body. So far as "development work" is concerned the Panchayat will act as the agent of the Block Panchayat. The Committee has also recommended district financial resources for Gram Panchayat. There are 9 such items excluding the "grant from Block Panchayat".

#### Panchayat—Functions and Resources

But before proceeding any further let us see what is rural reconstruction and Planning. "Rural Reconstruction" means and implies an adoption of a new pattern of life. And in order to achieve that it should have a planned and co-ordinated programme.

## ROLE OF PANCHAYAT IN RURAL PLANNING

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The aim and object of rural planning should be to make the villagers better men and better off. It should be an all embracing and a comprehensive programme, touching the minutest details of the villager's life. Rural Planning should concentrate on raising the standard of living, family limitation, co-operative organisation, pitching up targets of production, rural social life, and development of rural public works and social services.

We thus observe in the aforesaid discussions that it is now being gradually admitted that village Panchayat should be assigned a basic role in village development matters. But opinions differ as regards their functions and resources, so far as development works are concerned. The Planning Commission suggested the following as appropriate functions of village Panchayat :

1. Framing programmes of production for the village.
2. Framing budgets of requirements, for supplies and finance needed for carrying out the programme.
3. Acting as channel through which the Government's assistance reaches the village.
4. Developing common lands such as waste lands, forests, tanks, etc., increasing measures for soil conservation.
5. Construction, repair and maintenance of common village buildings, public wells, etc.
6. Organisation of mutual aid and joint effort in all activities.
7. Promotion of Co-operative societies.
8. Organizing voluntary labour for Community works.
9. Promotion of small savings.
10. Improvement of livestock.

Apart from these development functions there are three other administrative functions, namely, (a) Civic, (b) Land management and (c) Land reforms.—(*Second Five-Year Plan*, pp. 152-153).

It is interesting to note that the Taxation Enquiry Commission while making an elaborate discussion on Panchayat functions, as envisaged in Planning Commission and several other states, indicated a cautious approach in the

matter. The Commission observed, "We consider that such specific functions in the sphere of economic development and production, as are more appropriately discharged by, e.g., Co-operative Societies, should, as a rule, be excluded from the functions listed as developing on village Panchayat. We also consider it very necessary that instead of multifarious functions which now figure in the enactments, a few well chosen and clearly defined duties should be assigned to the Panchayats and that those should be co-ordinated with similar functions assigned to district local boards or other rural boards." (*Taxation Enquiry Commission Report*, Vol. III, p. 355). The Congress Village Panchayat Committee also seems to favour the opinion of excluding from the range of Panchayats all activities leading to economic development. The Central Council of Local Self-Government is also of divided opinion on the question of functions to be assigned to the Panchayat. In this connection the opinion of Dr. S. V. Samant is worth noting. Although he supports that economic functions relating to development should be left to Co-operative Society, he further considers, "However, it would not be a wise policy to exclude from the field of Panchayats all the activities leading to economic development only because such activities can be performed by an independent agency like a Co-operative Society. —(*Village Panchayat*, p. 88).

Considering all aspects we feel that a balanced approach should be made in the matter. Apart from civic functions (which will be mostly compulsory) the Panchayat should be assigned certain definite economic and social functions, all relating to development and reconstruction of rural life. These functions may either be compulsory or discretionary, selected and not very large in their numbers and in cases should be provided for their implementation.

### Conclusion

We have thus reviewed the role of village Panchayat in national planning. It has been admitted by all concerned that Panchayat should be responsible for the total development of the village. Rural Planning can never be successful unless total resources of the Community can be

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effectively mobilised. This can only be done by the village Panchayat. Mere devolution of power will not create a true democratic institution at the base. Panchayat cannot function effectively unless it can rouse up all sections of the Community and convince them of its utility. And for this certain basic conditions are required. They are—abolition of inequality, implementation of genuine land reforms, building of a progressive agrarian economy and faith in the rural masses. The Panchayats will then prove to be the soundest units working as a suitable base for the healthy function of national democracy.

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## RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY

### A Snap-Study

By JOGES C. BOSE

#### I

The battle of Plassey, over which a handful of British merchants founded their Indian Empire, was no warfare but a coup of treachery. It reads amazing that a few traitors at the top sold away the freedom of this country. The general mass of people were steeped in ignorance and cared not a straw as to what the change of rule implied. The East India Company subsequently extended its sway over the whole of India by playing off a divided people.

Mirzafar threw open the Bengal Treasury to Clive, who divided the first booty amongst themselves. Clive had for his own share £2,11,500, Watts £1,17,000, Kilpatrick £60,750, Walsh £56,250, to name only a few of a long list.<sup>1</sup> The servants of the Company now employed every means at their disposal to satisfy their greed for gold. They descended to such length that within four years after they obtained Dewani—the right to rule Bengal, ‘they

bought’, as Karl Marx says, ‘all rice and then sold it at a very high price.’<sup>2</sup> The result was that a terrible famine levied a toll of Bengal’s one-third population.<sup>3</sup> Sir Reginald Coupland, Professor of Colonial History, Oxford, is constrained to admit ‘the black facts of the decade or so after Plassey—the misrule and misery of Bengal and the great fortunes amassed by the Company’s servants in disreputable ways.’<sup>4</sup> In still more explicit terms does H. G. Wells ask, ‘Is it any wonder that its Captains and Commanders and officials, nay, even its clerks and common soldiers came back to England loaded with spoils?’<sup>5</sup> They were called Nabobs—a nabob is an anglicized form of Nawab. It was precisely for this that a nabob in

2. *Das Kapital.*

3. With this famine as background, Bankimchandra Chatterjee writes his novel *Anandamath*, giving us the hymn “Bande Mataram.” This famine has a strange similarity with Bengal’s ‘man-made famine’ four years before Britain quitted India.

4. *India—A Re-statement.*

5. *A Short History of the World.*

1. Lester Hutchinson in his *Empire of the Nabobs.*

eighteenth century England came to mean an Englishman who had returned from India with large fortunes, acquired by cruelty, cunning and imposition. Those of the Company's servants, who felt having lost the race for loot, began spreading stories how Clive and his fellow-workers had devastated Bengal. It roused the conscience of some decent folk in England. The rank and file were, however, jealous of the sudden accumulations of the nabobs —their high brows adding no less to the irritation. There was a sustained howl against Clive. The founder of the British rule in India committed suicide in 1774. The same year, Raja Rammohun Roy was born.

He was born at village Radhanagar now in the district Hooghly but Burdwan in his life time. The Hindu society of the day was a cobweb of caste, ignorance, bigotry, superstition and the rest of what they connote. Never before had Hindu civilization suffered such a dismal setback. A vast section of the people were treated as proletariats in a very harsh sense, as a result of which there were colossal conversions to Islam. Cruel practices were palméd off as acts of heroic devotion. There was, in short, a collapse of moral values and the vital link with India's ancient culture had snapped. From out of this squalor, so crippling and pestilential, Raja Rammohun Roy grew up to read aright what led to her break-down. He lived, moved and had his being unwaveringly fixed to build her anew on the balance of spiritual and material strength of the East and West respectively.

As was the vogue, Rammohun had his first schooling in the village **patshala**; and at the same time he learnt Persian at home. He then went to Patna and read Arabic. Here he caught a glimpse of the mystic writings of the philosophy of Sufi school, which bears close resemblance to the Vedanta. Later on, he went to Benaras to learn Sanskrit and stayed there till he was sixteen years odd months. Here on the threshold of maturity, as he studied the Vedas and the Upanishads, his inner being thrilled on the ruling note of Hindu civiliza-

zation, yearning for Light, Truth and Immortality.

With a newly-developed attraction for monotheism, Rammohun came back to his parents at home. He would not hide light in a bushel nor would the guardians of society suffer him play fast and loose with accepted beliefs in religion. His father came by his manuscript, in which he questioned the validity of idol-worship. This produced an estrangement<sup>6</sup> between the father and son. Rammohun left home and set out on his travels. On foot he crossed the border of India and after a hazardous journey reached Tibet,<sup>7</sup> then held in high esteem as a seat of learning. Here he came in conflict with some Lamas misreading Buddhism and rather gloating on its perversions. It very nearly cost him his life. Some kindly ladies managed and he cleared out of Tibet. The one handsome return, Rammohun made, was that since now, he treated women with utmost respect. In humble details, he would not keep seated were a woman to remain standing before him. At the age of twenty his father called him back and had him restored to his unqualified affection.

## II

When Rammohun left India, he had a feeling of aversion against British rule. As he came back, he found that the ruling power had brought order out of chaos. Lord Cornwallis had, in the meantime, introduced some very good changes in the administration; and his Permanent Settlement held out the promise of justice and security to the ryot. What again appealed to Rammohun was that a rule of law was enthroned in place of the rule of man.

6. The rebel is polite enough to use the expression 'coolness.'

7. It is rather pedantic to spoil a good story and ferret out a line here and a line there to seek to establish, and that too inconclusively, that Raja Rammohun Roy had not at all gone to Tibet.

Gradually, as he came in touch with high English officials, he gathered a lot of their civilization, their art and enterprise. He was enthralled to read how they opposed to bitter extremes their monarchy seeking to impose an absolutist form of government on the people; and how, step by step, they reared up a sturdy democracy. He made his choice that India stood to gain by association with England.

He, therefore, felt anxious to instruct the youth of India in the Science and Literature of the West. He organised support for Macaulay and Bentinck in their efforts to introduce English education. It bore results within a short time. Sentiments of patriotism and democracy became the talking points of the newly-initiated and they were stirred up to look around and look ahead. It is, however, worth recalling that this uncompromising advocate of English Education was for Vernacular as the medium of instruction. Were he listened to, Education, in the real sense of the word, would have gone deep down the skin of the people. Much, again, as Rammohun conceded the pre-eminence of the West for their discoveries in Science and Technology, he was never slow to emphasize that our motherland was the first in the world to have enkindled the light of knowledge. This was not to flatter any racial ego, but to instil into the mind of a people, who had long forgotten their one-time intellectual glory, a spirit of self-confidence. In fact, he made it clear beyond controversy that he did not propose to go from the East to the West, but through the West to a composite civilization for new India.

There have been in India reformers of the calibre of Buddha, Mahabir, Sankaracharya and Nanak. Rammohun did not strip himself bare to the extent they did; and it is, somehow, a handicap in this soil. It, however, needs being acknowledged without a mental reservation that he courageously faced all the questions they did and, besides, what was never a bother for them, the impact of the West. Raja Rammohun Roy saved India a cultural conquest;

and this has profoundly facilitated our recovery.<sup>8</sup>

We have seen that by the age of sixteen Rammohun had learnt Bengali, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit. As he came back from Tibet, he took to learning English. He read the Bible to study Briton at the source of his culture. He learnt Greek from which version the Bible was translated into English. He then learnt Hebrew to read it in the original. He also learnt French and Latin, but he did not acquire any great proficiency in either. It was because of his urge to study the cultural background of Europe that he overcame the manifold difficulties incidental to learning so many foreign languages in those remote days.

When Rammohun was working as an employee of the East India Company at Rangpur, Digby, the District Collector, told him all about the two great contemporary events, the War of American Independence and the French Revolution. The famous line of the Declaration of Independence that 'all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' roused him. No less was he roused by the ringing slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which broke open the gates of Bastille, passing as a symbol of despotism. He felt inspired to keep abreast of the fast-moving trends of history. And, therefore, not content with reading books and journals, Digby used to receive by each English mail, he ordered a lot on his own account. It was now that he resolved to take to public life as it obtains in England. How devoutly he prepared for it is evident from the fact that, when Digby found him, he 'could speak English well enough to be understood'; but as he came to Calcutta, J. S.

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8. India has taken over seven hundred years to throw off the Pathan-cum-Moghl rule, but less than two hundred years to get rid of the control of the English people, the most penetrating, puissant race of the world.

Buckingham,<sup>9</sup> editor of *The Calcutta Journal*, contemplate how as the woman scrambled was 'surprised' at his 'unparalleled accuracy of to come out of the furnace she was held language', which he thought, was 'worthy of down by green bamboo poles, her agonised imitation even by Englishmen.'

### III

Rammohun's public life was one long, relentless crusade against mediævalism. He attacked with rare courage the many evils, which had crept into the Hindu society. The most inhuman of these was *Suttee*. It is a strange irony of fate that the Hindus, who were enjoined by their Law-maker Manu not under any circumstance to dis-criminate between a son and a daughter in affording facilities of education, and who were taught to believe that where women are honoured the gods delight to reside, should have adopted this barbarous practice, commonly supposed to have come to India with the Scytho-Tartars.

The *Suttee* was a widow, who burnt herself to ashes on the funeral pyre of her husband. The tyranny of custom, the heirs and the priests preyed upon her mind when it was in a state of unbalance. As life-long deprivations stared her in the face, she was coaxed and cajoled to believe that immediately she dropped her last breath on the pyre, to heaven she would go with husband awaiting her. Those who vacillated or refused to succumb to the pressure were subjected to such insults that they preferred death in the flames to a living death. Job Charnock, the founder of the city of Calcutta, rescued a widow about to be consigned to the fire and married her. She was left free to follow her religion and, in fact, a Hindu temple was maintained in the house of the East India Company's Calcutta *Kutiwal*, Leelabati Charnock, at her own wish, sleeps alongside her husband in the tranquil com-

Over eight hundred people, backed by the opinion of one hundred and twenty pundits, presented a memorial to Lord Bentinck to revoke the Law. Failing this, they appealed to King in Council<sup>10</sup> Rammohun went to England to attend to this about other things.<sup>11</sup> He died in England; but before his death he had the supreme satisfaction to hear in person the judgement of dismissal delivered by the Lords.

Rammohun's fight against the *Suttee* was of a piece together with his bold, strenuous advocacy of the rights and dignity

Does it stand to reason that there was not many a soul to have felt deeply hurt to suffer a woman being goaded to such cruel death? It is nerve-racking to have to

9. Deported for his uncompromising stand for the Freedom of Press in India.

10. An Englishman of the name Bethie was appointed to represent them in England. The ship that carried Bethie sank not far off Calcutta and Bethie died.

11. One of these was in connection with the pension of the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam, who invested Rammohun with the title of Raja.

of our women. He objected—we do not know if there was at the time anywhere in the world a protest of the type—to the proposition that a woman had no legal status except in terms of her relation with man.<sup>12</sup> He wrote an illuminative treatise, *The Rights of Woman According to Hindu Law*. In this he attacked polygamy amongst other things. He pleaded for a Law denying the right of a man to take a second wife during the life time of the first except under one of the justifications as provided by the Hindu Law. The late Justice Sir Guroodas Banerji, an orthodox of the orthodox Hindus, has spoken very highly of this book. The Constitution of India now guarantees equal rights for men and women. Rights of women are further confirmed by a change in Law on marriage, divorce and inheritance, etcetera, paving the way for self-reliant womanhood.

Raja Rammohun Roy is one of the founders of the Vernacular newspaper in Bengal, the Baptist missionaries of Serampore, to their undying glory, having just preceded him. The line, he chalked out for his paper *Sambadkaumudi* is a convincing proof of his go-ahead views. He pleaded for Jury trial. He pleaded for the stoppage of export of rice till it was ascertained by a periodical enquiry that it would not tell upon the poor. He was, no doubt, for an agricultural basis of our Economy, but, as consistently, for Industry in order to tone up our standard of living. He was all hammer and tongs against caste system, cutting at the root of nationalism. What is yet suggestive of a deep, cogent thinking, is his clear-cut conviction that 'excess of civilization' and 'abstinence of slaughter of animals' contributed as much to our political undoing. By 'excess of civilization,' he

12. Mrs. Vijaylaksmi Pandit says that she was surprised to know of such a position only when she became a widow in the forties of this century. On the point of disabilities, it deserves to be noted, that in Bengal Jeemutavahan by the end of 14th century and Raghunandan by the middle of 16th century cut down many of the amenities, Manu and Jajnavalka allowed Hindu widows.

means the spirit of compromise and accommodation carried to an 'excess'. It defeats its own purpose and makes the opponent only intransigent. By 'abstinence from slaughter of animals', he means that people, who shriek at the sight of blood, are bound to fare ill as they come in conflict with predatory forces.

The foreign Government, naturally enough, viewed askance the propagation of such views. It took to curbing the 'native'<sup>13</sup> Press and imposed the system of licence. They chafed at this and set up an outcry. Rammohun Roy and five others moved the Supreme Court against it. As it turned down their petition, they carried the matter to King-in-Council. That petition too was rejected; but such was the atmosphere of resentment they had created that Sir Charles Metcalfe, as Governor General, restored the freedom of Press in spite of his predecessor Lord William Bentinck having left a note against it. Romes Chandra Dutt calls these six gentlemen 'pioneers of our constitutional struggle'. In honour of Sir Charles, the Bengal Public erected Metcalfe Hall at the Hare Street-Strand Road junction, Calcutta.

Raja Rammohun, in writing Bengali for his books, propaganda literature and newspaper articles, evolved a style, of his own. It is direct and free from the circumlocution, the Sanskrit scholars were used to. Some of his mannerisms provoke smile today, but his writings, on the whole, are colourful and yet conversational. Pramathanath Chaudhuri (Beerbal) calls him the father of modern Bengali prose. 'His devotional songs', says Pundit Ramgati Nyayaratna in *The History of Bengali Literature*, 'have the power to melt stony hearts'.

Even in that early nineteenth century, Raja Rammohun Roy dwelt on the economic drain of British rule. As though a Moses on Pisgah, he envisaged Dominion Status but, ere long, outgrew it. "In the end," as

13. The word 'native' was used in contempt and the vernacular press retaliated by calling even blue-blooded English people Firinghee.

Dr. Brajendranath Seal says, "the vision of a free, puissant and enlightened India came to this prophet of humanity." In the concrete, he left for his successor-fighters a blueprint of constitutional struggle. In fact, what Surendranath Banerjea says is so well to the point. Raja Rammohun Roy's 'labours', he acknowledges, 'have shaped the whole course of our constitutional movement.' Rabindranath Tagore hails him as 'the inaugurator of modern India'; and though he died in the third decade of the nineteenth century, calls him in terms of his thoughts and action 'the great path-breaker of this century'—the twentieth century.

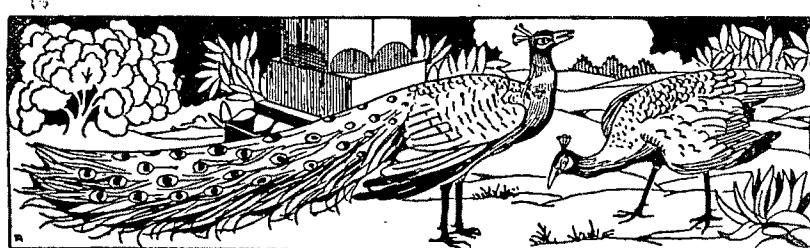
In 1821, the people of Naples made their king accept a Constitution for governance by the people. The -crowned heads of Austria, Prussia and Russia joined hands and crushed the people back into servitude. Such a great lover of freedom Raja Rammohun Roy was that he raised his voice to say, "I consider the cause of the Neapolitans as our own and their enemies as much our own." Jealously alive to the heritage of India, he conceived the world as one unit of many facets. Nobody before Raja Rammohun Roy has ever said, as Rabindranath Tagore points out, that the ideal of civilization does not lie in the isolation of independence but in the brotherhood of interdependence. It is no less remarkable that he anticipated such institutions as the Congress of Religions and the League of Nations, etc.

On 27th September 1833, Raja Rammohun Roy died at Bristol, attended to in the most affectionate manner by the English family he was putting up with. It was the year when the British Parliament passed the India Act 1833, which promised an Indian 'any Place, Office or Employ-

ment under the East India Company.' What Thomas Babington Macaulay said on the Bill in the House of Commons enlivened India for a long time to come. "It may be," he said, "that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may, in some future age, demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come, I know not . . . . Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history." Whatever factors might have induced Macaulay to speak in the above strain, it is accepted without a breath of demur that Raja Rammohun Roy was the largest single influence.

Science has liquidated distance and the world is now one large neighbourhood. At the same time, civilization, built up in the length of ages, seems to hang on the eruption of a pin-point. In a moment all the endeavours and achievements of mankind, manifesting themselves in art and architecture, in hospitals, libraries, museums and other formatory institutions, bid fare to tumble down into the smoke and ashes. One ray of hope, however, in the midst of these dark forebodings is the steady realisation that humanity, as India enunciated some about five thousand years back, is one. The salvation of mankind is in perfecting this oneness.

Were the ideal worth pursuing, no praise is, possibly, too high for Raja Rammohun Roy, who laid the foundation of modern India on her ancient shibboleth, unity amidst diversity.



## THE SWATANTRA PARTY : ITS IMPACT & PROSPECTS

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

### Parties and Democracy

Political parties have played a crucial role in the evolution of the political structure in the countries of Western Europe and North America which goes by the name of democracy. A distinctive feature of the democratic pattern is its more or less bipartisan character. Democracy has traditionally been defined as the fight for governmental leadership between two principal political parties within a broadly accepted socio-political frame-work. Whenever there was a conflict over the fundamental postulates of political life, the party system understood in this sense (in fact there is no other way of defining it) has tended to break down. Another peculiarity that deserves attention is the fact that bipartisan democracy has not been a success in countries which were late in breaking out of the shell of medievalism. Even in many countries of continental Europe a party system bearing a significant resemblance to the West European or the North American model failed to emerge despite considerable international support to national efforts to build up such a system which appeared desirable to many politicians and political commentators.

In the countries further east—Turkey, the U.S.S.R., China, Pakistan, Burma, Japan, Indonesia and India, to name only a few—bipartisan democracy was never, nor it is now, a practical reality. The picture is one of only one party standing out very much above the others not only in political influence but also in popular esteem. The overthrow of the Caliphate in Turkey was followed by a one-party rule the essential character of which never changed (as is conclusively demonstrated by the contemporary events in Turkey where the parliamentary opposition has been immobilized by a governmental decree for no other reason

than the people's desire to exercise their right to criticize the Government in public) despite the experimentation begun a little over twenty years ago with an officially-sponsored opposition party. The history of the U.S.S.R. is much too well known to require any elaboration. In China the Nationalist Party's (Kuomintang) dictatorial rule has been succeeded by an equally, if not more severe (so far as its dealing with political opposition is concerned) dictatorship of the Communist Party (Kungchuantang). Until the end of the Second World War Japan had never had a functioning opposition party capable of challenging the ruling party. During the fifteen years since the end of the war, and ten years since the conclusion of the peace treaty with the non-Communist world, the opposition has enjoyed a greater latitude in Japan, but the one-party character of the Government has not been seriously challenged. In Pakistan it was the rule of the Muslim League until it was swamped by the Awami League and its allies in the eastern wing and the Republican Party in the western wing—both of the latter having since been superseded by an avowedly dictatorial military regime. In Burma it is the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League which is still in power, may be under a different name. In Indonesia the experiment with a multi-party democracy has been unceremoniously abandoned to make way for a nominated Co-operative Parliament.

### The Indian Experience

In India also there is as yet no single political force capable of offering a serious challenge to the authority of the Indian National Congress on an all-India scale. No doubt, the authority and prestige of the Congress have suffered a rather serious decline in certain regions (West Bengal,

Kerala, Orissa and parts of Maharashtra); on Congress policies which it characterises but as an all-India party it can safely look forward to another decade of unchallenged supremacy, barring unexpected reversal of current policies or an accelerated depreciation in the ability of the leadership. The Communist Party of India is strong in its pockets; the same is true, to a lesser extent, for the Praja-Socialist Party; but neither of these two parties nor the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, which is the other party that completes the list of "national parties" recognized as such by the Election Commission, comes anywhere near the Congress in being a national political symbol. Despite its name the Indian Socialist Party of Dr. Rammanohar Lohia is still nothing more than a conglomeration of small groups scattered over a small number of States with very little organizational solidarity.

### The Swatantra Party

The announcement of the formation of a new political party—the Swatantra Party—with the avowed object of superseding the Congress Party in the national Government has naturally aroused considerable interest amongst all sections of political opinion in the country, since it stands to affect not only the fortunes of the ruling Congress Party but directly or indirectly of the other political parties as well. The question in every mind is, will the Swatantra Party succeed in achieving what has so far remained beyond the grasp of political parties with a much longer record of activity, that is—can the Swatantra Party assume the role of a national opposition in the next Parliament scheduled to be elected in 1962? Political predictions are always hazardous as it so amply demonstrates by experience. Yet every citizen must make his political assessment to determine how he can hope to fare in the near future. It is in this sense of a Jev-man's reading of the political situation that the following lines are written

### Its Stand: International and Obscurantist

The Swatantra Party has launched its political programme with a bitter attack

as a drift towards statism and totalitarianism. The party is avowedly an ideological enemy of socialism in any of its forms. This is the only sure thing about the party's stand that has so far come out. Its criticism of the Congress Party more than anything else centres upon the adoption, by the Congress Party the establishment of a socialist society as its goal. "If we are ready to give up democracy, we can adopt socialism. There is no room in the bottle for both," says Shri Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari, the spiritual guide of the party. Social welfare and socialism according to him, are different things. While the former is certainly desirable, the latter involving as it does a certain degree of levelling of income (which he chooses to call distribution of poverty) and loss of individual freedom is completely unacceptable. While the party is opposed to the very idea of socialism its criticism of the Congress party seems also to arise out of its view that the Congress party seeks to use the slogan of socialism as a deceptive mantle for its authoritarianism, that the party has adopted socialism to get total authority over the country. There is evidently a great inconsistency in this criticism. The Swatantra Party criticizes Congress for being a socialist party and not being so since a true socialist party does not use socialism as a deceptive mantle. The Congress must either be a socialist party or it is not. The leaders have not cared to explain this contradiction in their attitude to the Congress party, but in later speeches they have sought to identify Congress policies with the pursuit of socialist aims. Thus Prof. N. G. Ranga, President of the Swatantra Party, asked the gathering at the national convention at Patna to choose between what he characterised as the Nehru method of planning (represented by the Congress) involving centralization and bureaucratic rule and the Gandhian way of planning (offered by the Swatantra Party) ensuring maximum decentralization and democracy for all. "Do we want to march in the direction of Socialism with all its horrors of totalita-

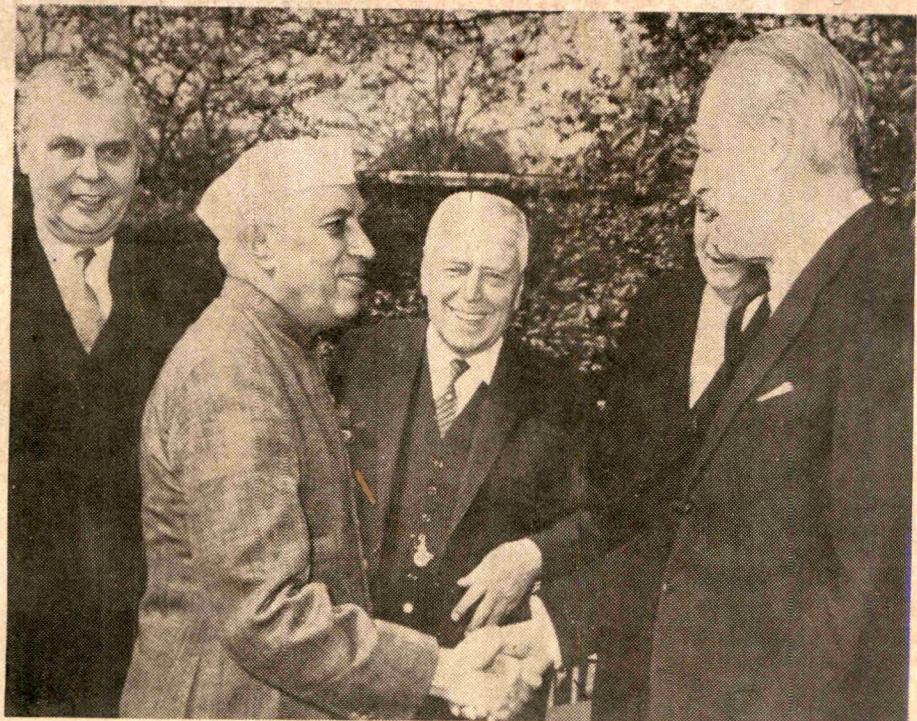
rian social controls, regulations and bureaucratic management of social relations and economic activities of individuals and their groups? Do we wish to allow our everyday social and economic life to be planned and modulated by the Planning Commission and the Government?" he asked. If people did not want to go that way and run the inescapable risks of becoming automatons and being enslaved to the State and its agencies, he said, then they must decide to oppose the Congress Plan. "If we are keen on promoting the creative passion of the people for freedom, which is ordinarily so irrepressible and not to allow it to become atrophied, we must free ourselves from the 14-year-old political power-of-attorney given to Jawaharlaljee," Prof. Ranga said.

This revulsion to socialism which involves planning of economic development and the public ownership of the means of production, it will be found repeated in the speeches of all the Swatantra Leaders. This criticism is by no means self-consistent. Thus while the leaders have asked for the unceremonious scrapping of the Planning Commission which, according to Shri M. R. Masani, the Secretary-General of the Party, is "an extra-constitutional body responsible to none" and is a source of "terror both for the Ministers and the popularly elected legislatures," the party has categorically stated that it does not stand for *laissez faire* but that it stands for a socially regulated free enterprise; while criticizing State participation in industrial enterprises it still considers that the State has a direct role to play in the national economy and that the "first duty of Government is to meet the common man's needs of food, clothing, housing and water in adequate measure." But are these precisely not the same arguments on which the socialists urge for larger governmental intervention in the management of business as distinct from the business of Government? How is the State to meet the common needs of men when powerful vested interests tend to monopolize the fruits of the labour of others? Moreover the Swatantra Party believes in a mixed

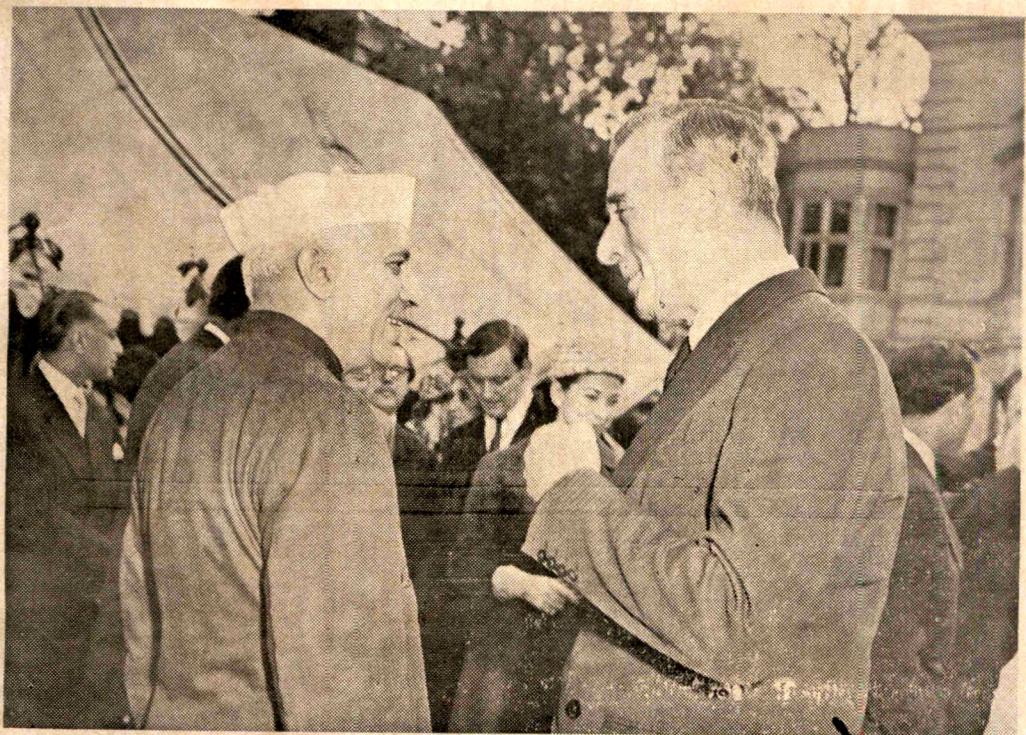
economy as well as in the need for the intervention of the State to punish anti-social activities and to protect the weaker elements of society. How is the State to fulfil this task if it is precluded from interfering with the working of private business? But this State interference (planning) is precisely the thing to which the party is most opposed. More important from the point of view of its political stand vis-a-vis the Congress Party is the question, has the Congress with all its socialist professions gone beyond what the Swatantra Party says it wants to be done?

### Party with a Difference ?

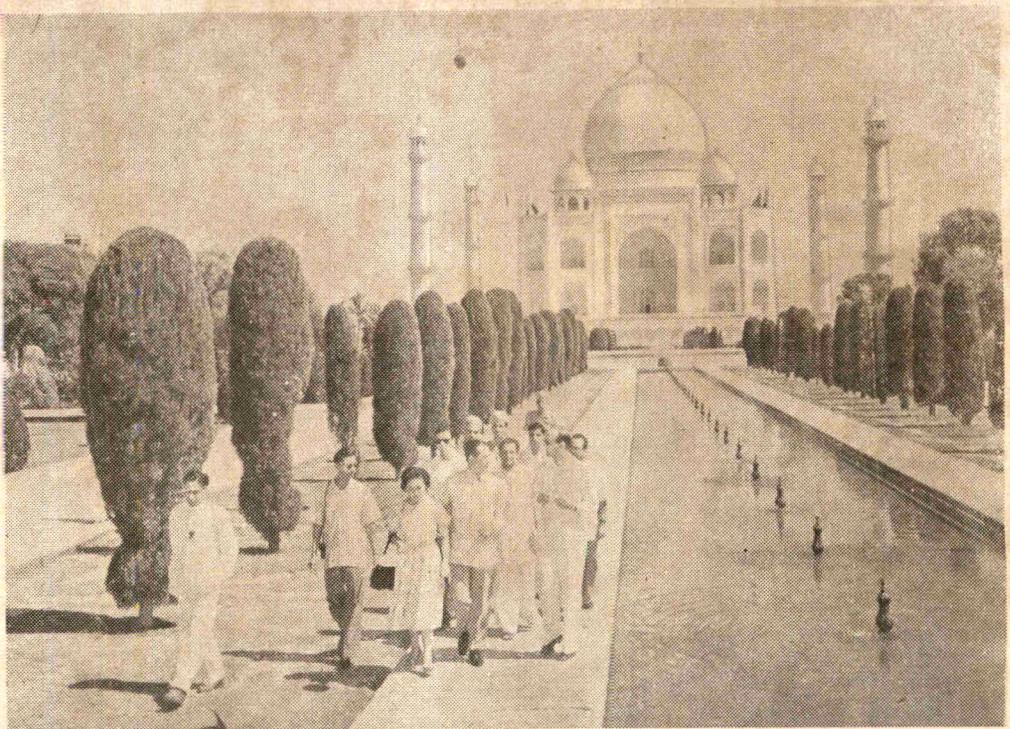
The programme is full of many such contradictions which are sought to be covered by the stentorian opposition to the Congress and to the ideas of socialism in general. But then, can a political party hope to pose a big challenge with such an amorphous programme? The answer is by no means easy since we do not have a full idea of how the voters' behaviour is determined. It is to be noticed however, that theoretical considerations and logical inconsistencies apart, the Swatantra Party's criticism of the Congress policies and actions definitely contains a large amount of truth that readily strikes the chord in the minds of the people. The depressing economic situation in the country and the growing discontent among an increasingly larger section of the people may lead many to be inclined to believe that the Swatantra Party poses an alternative to the Congress, unless the other political parties are able to overcome their inhibition of Shri Nehru. As they are now, the Communist Party and the Praja-Socialist party, which together constitute the main opposition, have failed to present a programme sufficiently distinguishable from that of the Congress. Their main political immaturity is further reflected in their patent unwillingness to criticize the Prime Minister, who is constitutionally and politically responsible for the success or failure of the Congress programme. Such infantilism on the part of the opposition political parties has obvi-



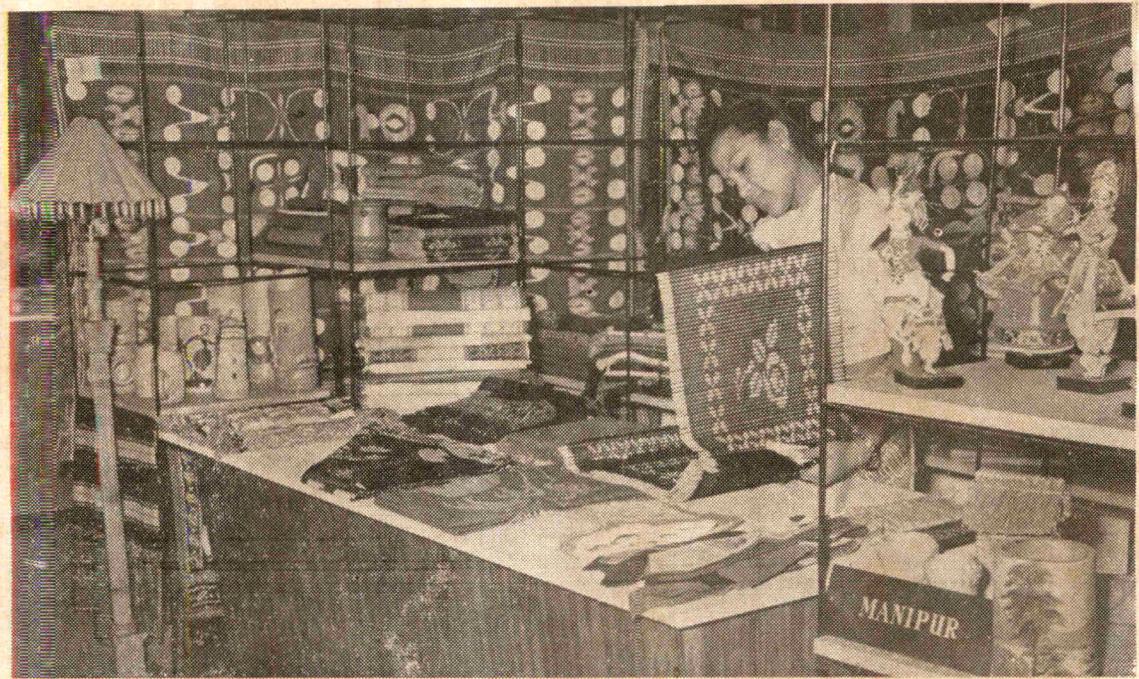
The British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan greeting Shri Jawaharlal Nehru on the eve of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, Mr. John Diefenbaker of Canada, Mr. Walter Nash of New Zealand and Mr. Robert Menzies of Australia are also seen in the picture



Reception at the High Commissioner's residence for Shri Nehru. Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and Lord Louis Mountbatten



Mr. Diosdado Macapagal, Vice-President of the Philippines, Mrs. Macapagal and party photographed at the Taj Mahal at Agra



A view of the Manipur Stall in the Social Welfare Exhibition organised by the Central Social Welfare Board in New Delhi

by the provision that no power belonging to a different geographical region could become a member of this alliance, but in later speeches Rajaji envisaged an alliance with the U.S.A. as well. The public disgrace of many of the committed countries following the shooting down of the U.S. spy plane by the U.S.S.R. will naturally make it more difficult for the party to preach the abandonment of non-alignment.

The party leadership has deliberately kept many points vague evidently because the leaders want to retain a wide latitude for tactical manoeuvres later. Though it is apparently allergic to the term "socialism" Prof. Ranga says that the party's aim is to establish Gandhian socialism—which, however, has never been satisfactorily defined. Rajaji considers it premature to think of equitable distribution now but, he adds, in the process of making wealth people should be made aware of their duty to the community. This should be done not by compulsion but by a moral drive. In keeping with this vagueness in defining its aims, in the field of enunciating practical policies also the party has refused to contest any bye-elections following which it did not put up any candidate during the February elections in Kerala. The party is a self-styled conservative party opposing even the very restricted Congress move towards a more equalised society and has legitimately been described as the spearhead of reaction. It is clear that the party's policies offer no hope of any effective solution of the problems of India which are certainly not due to the faults of socialism which is a long way off, but rather to the lack of any serious socialist effort.

### Prospects Before the Party

In so far as the party hopes to cash upon the blind fears, dissatisfaction and opposition of the people to the existing set-up its only hope of success lies in a dynamic and demagogic leadership. There is very little of ideological clarity among the membership (which was 336,150 in March last according to Shri Masani). There was a

sharp difference of opinion in the Patna Convention over the question of the imposition of a ceiling on the holdings of land in the rural areas. That there is a wide divergence in the outlooks of the members belonging to the professional classes and the members belonging to the industrial and agrarian classes is given by the sharp clash between Shri Lobo Probho, a retired member of the I.C.S. and others during the session of the Patna Convention when Shri Lobo Probho called for the inclusion of a provision for universal social security in the party's programme but was opposed by Rajaji and the others. That the Patna convention was not significantly successful in tiding over this ideological crisis finds fresh reflection in the emerging crisis in Madras (in mid-May) over the question of the party's attitude to the Madras Land Ceilings Bill. Rajaji has openly come out against the measure but many of the Swatantra Party Legislators, who constitute the most important political element in the legislature next only to the ruling Congress party apparently hold a different view about the matter.

So far as providing a charismatic leadership is concerned the new party is decidedly at a great disadvantage. Apart from Rajaji none of the other leaders of the party—although they are men of distinction in their respective fields of work—commands a great political allegiance. Shri H. P. Mody and Shri M. R. Masani fought the last elections under the aegis of the Forum of Free Enterprise—a body of businessmen opposing all socialist policies. Though both Shri A. D. Shroff (on behalf of the Forum) and Shri Rajagopalachari (on behalf of the Swatantra Party) have denied any connection between the two, the ideological unity of the outlook of these two organizations is very much striking indeed. Because Shri Masani and Shri Modi are associated in the public mind with "Big Business" they cannot ever conceivably become national leaders. The same is true of Shri K. M. Munshi, one of the country's foremost legal brains, and Shri Kamakshi Narayan Singh (Raja of Ramgarh) who are generally associated with the landed interests of large

landowners. The ex-civil servants, Shri V. P. Menon and Shri J. M. Lobo Probho are far too little known to the general people to be ever able to assume the stature of national leaders. They are again far too advanced in age, being over sixty. Prof. N. G. Ranga is undoubtedly a well-known political leader but it is exceedingly doubtful if he is the type of person who can provide an inspiring leadership which would induce people to brave risks and hazards. Of all the leaders only Shri Rajagopalachari has the qualities—even then perhaps not of the required degree—to command a nationwide respect. But he has grown old and cannot be expected to undertake the onerous tasks of enlisting a mass following in different parts of India and of building up the organizational links in those places. Shri S. K. D. Faliwal and Shri B. V. Narayana Reddy are leaders with local fame—but have been too long in the political field to mean much to the people who know them or to make any great import upon those who do not know them.

The experience of the growth of the Fascist parties (the Swatantra Party is not a fascist party although it has all the emotional ingredients of becoming one, should the exigencies of the situation call for such a thing) shows that the irrational political movements can thrive only if they have the benefit of leadership of a highly charismatic personality which generally arises out of the unknown ranks of leadership. The Swatantra Party's success will almost fully depend upon its being able in coming across a personality which will be able to sway the millions as say Gandhiji had done in the days before independence. Once such a leader has emerged neither the Congress nor any of the other political parties stands any chance before the Swatantra Party. Whether the party will succeed in finding such a leader is more than what can be said now. What can be said with a fair degree of assurance is that none of the present leaders is likely to fulfil that role and that some changes would have to be effected by reducing the emphasis upon private industry and increasing that on individual freedom and the protection of Indian culture which

also finds mention in the party's 21-point declaration of last August but is now insufficiently stressed in public.

### Challenge to the Socialist Forces

The socialist forces in the country are faced with the most serious challenge in their career. The Swatantra Party is openly out to exploit the people's exasperation at some of the policies and actions of the Government which strongly tend to create a popular feeling against socialism. The nationalized institutions are always so unsatisfactory! It is idle to believe that their position could be buttressed through a delicate differentiation between the conservative and the socialist and progressive forces inside the Congress and in seeking to influence the direction of the policies of the Congress towards the adoption of a more socialist programme. On the other hand such a course of action will increasingly lead to their identification with Congress policies and actions and a growing popular revulsion towards them. The Nag-Vidarbha Andolan which rocked the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra for a fortnight in April-May is a pointer to the emergence of a political force which is not afraid to function independently of the major political parties. A policy of clear-cut differentiation from the Congress programme based on a sober and objective assessment of the needs of the nation only is able to provide that alternative leadership which can successfully withstand the challenge of the Swatantra Party which will inevitably draw towards itself the right-wing of the Congress. The programmes of both the Praja-Socialist and the Communist Parties are far from fulfilling these requirements. The continued decline of the Praja-Socialist Party is largely due to its toeing the Congress line in every significant respect. The Communist Party is far too committed to uphold what it likes to call "proletarian internationalism" but what in reality is the manifestation of the most imbecile and coward mentality which refuses to undertake any serious analysis of the objective conditions—either at home or abroad ever to become a truly national force. No in-

At present there are only two other approaches to international relations which are universal in their intentions and indigenous in their origin. These are the normative ethics of international relations as followed by the United States and the partisan ethics of the Soviet Union.

In order to have a better basis for a comparison of these three attitudes toward international relations, we must outline American and Soviet foreign policy.

The American Revolution had a slightly different meaning to Americans on the one hand, and to Europeans and Asians on the other. To Europeans and Asians the American Revolution was and is the first spectacular democratic and anti-colonial revolution. Norman Cousins, reporting on the Bandung Conference, (*Saturday Review*, May 21, 1955), stressed this fact :

"President Soekarno of Indonesia, in opening the conference invoked Longfellow's poem, 'The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere', adding that the inspiration of the American fight for independence had meant much to peoples fighting for freedom against outside rule. In fact, the United States, far from being lashed to any whipping post, was held up as the finest example in history of a major nation freeing itself from colonialism."

To Americans the Revolution meant above all emancipation from the conflicts and vicissitudes of the Old World, and it was this fact which shaped American foreign policy for more than 150 years. During these years America could purge the Western hemisphere of the influence of European powers, except for the British influence, and established a solid hegemony in this area which was conceived of as a "hemisphere of peace". "Pax Britannica", which kept the Old World under control from the battle of Waterloo until the first World War helped America to attain this position. When Britain was no longer able to maintain or restore "Pax Britannica" it became plain that America had to step in and establish "Pax Americana". Since, this meant that one achievement of the American Revolution, emancipation from the conflicts of the Old World, had to be given up, it was natural that the emphasis shifted to the other emphasis of the Revolution, the establishment of democracy. Consequently "Pax Americana"

was backed by the will to make the world "safe for democracy". Therefore, "Pax Americana" had to rest on a normative basis, the norm being the safety of democracy. This was undoubtedly a proposition which seemed morally superior and therefore more stable, than the unprincipled "Pax Britannica", which rested on such things as navy, trade monopoly, a colonial empire, and a shrewd foreign policy, designed to maintain the balance of power in Europe by pitting one power against the other.

The norm of safety for democracy was not a break with the older tradition of American foreign policy, because the Monroe Doctrine also tried to guard the safety of democracy from the intervention of reactionary European powers. However, the Monroe Doctrine had been a unilateral declaration, implying that the United States were willing to stop any intervention in the Western hemisphere at its own expense. The extension of this norm to global dimension was too great a task to be achieved by unilateral declaration. President Wilson, therefore, wanted to extend this norm by multilateral obligations in the form of international assemblies and charters. From that time onwards unilateral declaration and multilateral obligation came to be the means of American foreign policy. Sometimes these two means were bound to jeopardize each other.

The First World War ended with a victory for the allies, a defeat of Wilson's plans in the United States, and apparent restoration of "Pax Britannica". America hoped to emancipate itself once more from the vicissitudes of the Old World, and leave the task of controlling this place of conflict and tension to Britain. Only the advent of the Second World War made it finally clear that "Pax Britannica" was beyond recovery. The 1940s saw concerted effort to create practically and theoretically the basis for an extension of "Pax Americana" all over the globe. Secretary Stimson invoked the Monroe Doctrine in order to save Britain, thereby relying upon the principle of unilateral declaration as a means of guaranteeing the safety of democracy, while Cordell Hull paved the way for the construction of a centralized United Nations, thereby relying on Wilson's innovation of multilateral obligations as a means for the maintenance of the safety of democracy. During the war years the

concept of multilateral obligations combined with the demand for the unconditional surrender of the anti-democratic enemy, seemed to promise a global solution of all problems, and a stable "Pax Americana" for the whole world, built not on a balance of power but on the adherence to the norms of international obligations. When after the war these hopes were deflated by the attitude of the Soviet Union, America had to fall back on the old means of unilateral declaration : the Truman Doctrine, like the Monroe Doctrine, defined an area in which the United States, if necessary, would stop intervention at its own expence. Like the Monroe Doctrine, the Truman Doctrine implied that the United States had to establish and maintain a hegemony in the area to which it was applied so that the United States could live up to the declaration which it had made.

While the concept of multilateral obligations was originally designed to replace and supersede unilateral declarations, this process was now reversed. Multilateral obligations were made subservient to the unilateral declaration : the Rio-Pact, NATO and SEATO were designed to re-enforce the Truman Doctrine. The normative philosophy which had sought to guarantee "Pax Americana" by international charters now found expression in a proliferation of security and defense treaties. Everyone who refused to join these multilateral obligations seemed to indicate that he did not want to increase the safety of democracy, an attitude which made him, from a normative point of view, an evil-doer.

The maintenance of hegemony as implied in the Truman Doctrine in an area so vast and diversified as the "free world", became a serious and often embarrassing problem to the United States. The main source of this embarrassment is the fact that the hegemony cannot rest entirely on the United States' own potential but has to rest on those multilateral obligations which often contain many multilateral liabilities. The partners to these obligations are outweighed by the United States, and therefore have no great influence on the overall policy pursued in the "free world". Because of this fact they often do not feel responsible for this overall policy. On the other hand the United

States will hesitate to "throw its weight around". In order not to hurt the feelings of its partners, it will cater to them and often go so far as to back their irresponsible policies rather than to lose their loyalty. The liabilities which the United States has to underwrite in this context include among many others, dictatorships in several countries, French and Portuguese colonialism, West European oil interest in the Middle-East. The whole complex of liabilities becomes in turn a liability to each partner of the United States by virtue of their obligation that ties him to that country. The same American concern for the loyalties and stability of the partners to the net-work of multilateral obligations that holds the Truman Doctrine together, gives rise to another dilemma. Because of its reliance on the vast network the United States is deeply committed to the *status quo* in world affairs. Revolution, social change and political conflict anywhere can mean a change in loyalties and therefore such events have to be viewed with apprehension. The "free world" area is seething with nationalisms, social and political revolutions, since so many of the nations have only recently emerged from a colonial or semi-colonial past. Naturally a great deal of change is always imminent in this area. America's commitment to the *status quo* therefore puts it into a strange position. It must disappoint the nations who look to America as the great revolutionary, while on the other hand a number of Governments which are unpopular for one reason or another, rally around the American flag because they are themselves vitally interested in the *status quo*. These Governments not only find support in multilateral treaties with the United States, they are provided, in addition, with good excuses for their policy by the American normative philosophy: they emphasize their legal status and denounce any opposition as Communist.

Considering these circumstances it can be said that America is ideologically and practically at a serious disadvantage. The normative and legalistic ideology of the United States does not provoke much enthusiasm but on the other hand it commits the United States to steadfastness in situations which are often militarily and diplomatically embarrassing. For this reason the

United States is sometimes obliged to enter into veritable military and diplomatic traps.

Another handicap of the normative ideology is that it has been derived from internal American experience of "Government of law and not of men", and is projected into a field of international relations which is still largely an area of "Government of men and not of law". As a result American foreign policy always has the character of law enforcement in an area where there is neither a universally accepted law nor a universally accepted police.

In the "cold war" American handicaps have usually become Soviet advantages, and Soviet foreign policy is always quick to capitalize on American embarrassment. In the following paragraphs we shall try to analyse the character of Soviet foreign policy which has been so irritating to American diplomats.

Russian foreign policy, like that of the United States, also has two different elements—ideological and practical. The ideological element is not normative, like the American one, but partisan. Partisan ethics as opposed to normative ethics does not follow a law of guarantees and commitments: it takes its directives from insight into historical developments as seen and interpreted by the Communist party. The process of insight and interpretation is easier to manipulate than the establishment of new norms. The ideological difficulty, however, enters with the question: Who has the right to interpret history?

The answer to this questions is a process of subversion on the one hand and of oppression on the other. Revolution is welcome and must be promoted but once it has been performed the forces released must be disciplined and the right to further interpretation of history must be centralized in order to avoid confusion. This discipline can be achieved only by the suppression of all deviations.

Just as America, under Wilson and subsequently, was disappointed in its belief that the world could be pacified by throwing a net of normative ethics over the unruly forces of the world, so, too, Russia was very early disappointed in its hopes that a world revolution would unite all forces in their adherence to one system of partisan ethics. Attempts to help the world-revolution along by subverting people in

other countries soon ended in frustration. Subversion alone without the possibility of oppressing "counter-revolutionaries" did not prove successful. Therefore both the ideological and the practical approach to international relations had to be changed. The first change was accomplished by Stalin's doctrine of "Socialism in one country," which maintained that the revolution could survive in the Soviet Union even if a world revolution could not be expected in the near future. The practical implication was that Russia had to become a citadel of the revolution. Thus could Russian hegemony in the Communist world and Russian expansion be justified. The practical pursuit of the hegemony plans could follow the old lines of Czarist imperialism. Since Peter the Great, the Czarist empire had pursued with varying degrees of intensity the same policy of Westernization of Russia and the same drive for access to the seas that surround the Eurasian continent. These policies have been pursued with the same eagerness by the Soviets. In 1939 the "Baltic Windows" coveted long before by Peter the Great, were thrown open. After the second World War the Balkans, an old aim of Russian expansion, came under Soviet control. In 1946, the Russians hesitated to leave their position in Iran, but here and at the Dardanelles the Western powers checked Russian expansion and the "cold war" began.

Soviet Russia made these advances at a time when America still had high hopes of restoring a normative world order. Russia had the advantages of valuable years of experience in Europe between the wars, which had demonstrated to Russia that the Communist ideology made little headway in Europe unless it was backed by occupation forces. Stalinism had solved these problems but Stalinism had its drawbacks, too. Since it was in essence a national communism and since it had replaced the all embracing concept of imminent world revolution, Stalinism carried within itself the seeds of Titoism. Furthermore, Stalinism tended to downgrade Communist parties in countries outside the Soviet orbit, implicitly denying their immediate usefulness for the attainment of world revolution by making them tactical weapons for Soviet hegemony. The nationalist outlook of this ideology, however, made it possible

for the Soviet Russians to side with revolutionary nationalist movements outside the Soviet orbit in "national front" campaigns. If necessary the local Communist parties in those countries could be sacrificed for such purposes. Inside the Soviet orbit exactly the reverse policy had to be followed: nationalist movements had to be kept down, and dedicated Communist Governments, but preferably not nationalist-communist ones, had to be backed.

This subversive-oppressive policy suffered from its inner contradictions. It did not necessarily score great success outside the Soviet orbit but created frustration within and encouraged and provoked national-communist reactions. De-Stalinization in 1956 was designed to do away with the frustrations and to preserve the advantages. But this attempt had dangerous consequences in Eastern Europe. Since then there has been a steady Re-Stalinization growing in all probability out of the insight that Stalinism after all met a serious need—that it was not just the whim of an ambitious ruler but evolved from the inner logic of the Soviet system of "Socialism in one country." As long as the world revolution does not arrive or is not renounced, and as long as Soviet hegemony has to be preserved, Stalinism will have its place. Thus the old pattern of tactical subversion and Soviet orbit oppression must continue. Seen from this point of view Soviet Russia is also interested in the maintenance of the *status quo* in its own orbit, for it is threatened by forces of nationalism and the "revolution of rising expectations" similar to those which often disturb the American system of alliances. But as the United States cannot much longer cherish political and social change within its own boundaries alone, while being embarrassed by similar though different changes without, so too, Soviet Russia cannot much longer back nationalist movements outside its orbit while oppressing them within.

We have now outlined the three approaches to international relations and may proceed to compare the Indian attitude with the two other approaches, examining their differences and their similarities.

The Indian and the American approach, the reflective and the normative, have a great deal in common. They both grew out of an attempt to apply universal ethical concepts to

international relations and to diminish and discourage the use of violence as a method of solving political or social conflicts. The ideals of national independence and self-determination combined with the idea of "one World" are parts of the background of the Indian as well as the American approach. The differences between the two are only those of means and not of ends, but these differences are magnified by disagreement over the degree of magnitude of contemporary problems. While the United States regards Communism as the Number 1 problem, India thinks that the emancipation and development of millions of colonial and for the most part poverty-stricken peoples is the number one problem of our century. America does not overlook this latter problem, but tends to look at it from the point of view of whether or not these emancipated impoverished millions will fall a prey to Communism. India does not ignore Soviet Communism but tends to think of it rather as one—though rather narrow and ruthless—way of dealing with the emancipation of the poverty-stricken millions.

This difference is understandable in view of the different national experience of the United States and India. The United States was taken by surprise after the war, when it encountered hostile and powerful Soviet Communism while India had lived through an intensive struggle for national independence and faced almost insurmountable social and economic problems.

But if it had not been for the pronounced differences of opinion about the right means in the approach to international relations, India and America might have forgotten about the differences of national experience and could either have joined in an alliance or have remained completely indifferent toward each other. The difference of opinion about these means, however, has created an uneasy atmosphere of mutual apprehension between the two countries.

Thus America, from its normative point of view, tends to criticize India's aversion to international defense-organizations as "immoral" while India from her reflective point of view tends to see the proliferation of such obligations as an increase of tensions rather than a means of defense. Furthermore, India in the identification with the peoples of past or present co-

lonial status, champions the cause of emancipation of those peoples and tends to think that the United States is unrealistic in disregarding this problem, while the United States tends to think that India is unrealistic in its appraisal of Soviet Communism.

Since both the United States and India are in agreement about most other points in international relations, co-operation between the two nations would yield good results. Under the present circumstances it is almost impossible for the United States to "identify" itself with poverty-stricken peoples who have just escaped Colonialism. However, the United States could do so in co-operation with India, if the United States would cut back its network of defense obligations.

India and the Soviet block, the reflective and the partisan approach, have nothing in common, for the complete subjection of means to ends (that is, the complete subjection of ethics to partisan truth) is the opposite of the reflective way of arriving at ends by adhering to "truthful" means. Nehru writes about Communism (*New York Times Magazine*, September 7, 1958) :

"Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence even if it does not indulge normally in physical violence. Its language is of violence, its thought is violent, and it does not seek to change by persuasion but by coercion, and, indeed, by destruction and extermination. . . . This is completely opposed to the peaceful approach which Gandhi taught us."

The Indian government certainly does not approve of Communism but it realizes that Communism has provided Russia and China with efficient though perhaps not "good" governments, which have successfully replaced feudal and corrupt regimes in these two countries. Alternatives to this kind of government can only be demonstrated by solving similar social and governmental problems in a better way. India therefore tries to maintain friendly relations with these governments, in due respect to their national and internal significance for their countries, while viewing the international policy of these governments with apprehension.

As we have seen from the comparison of

the Indian, American and Soviet approach to world affairs, both India and America are opposed to Soviet Communism and its partisan approach to international relations, India perhaps even more fundamentally than the United States. However, India and the United States differ in their estimates of what communism is and how it can be combated. The United States views Soviet Communism mainly as an evil in itself, an extensive conspiracy that must be resisted. India, in her reflective attitude, sees in Soviet Communism chiefly a violent short cut in solving the international, social and political problems of our century.

The United States never had to face the problem of getting rid of a backward, feudal social system and of liberating the majority of the population from abject poverty. This problem existed only to a limited extent in the pre-Civil War American South, and to solve it a Civil War was fought, which, again solved only part of the problem. Nevertheless this endeavour is still regarded as a major crisis in American history.

The high standard of living in the United States, the small percentage of rural population, and the 19th century anti-capitalist propaganda of Soviet Communism combined to obscure the real functions of Communism from the American people. The real function of Communism in Russia and China where Communism was the result of indigenous developments, has been to catapult these nations by totalitarian methods from a feudal torpor into 20th century activity. In both countries there were almost no liberal middle-classes which could have served as promoters of reform movements and gradual change. The small governing elite in these countries were either isolated or corrupt or both.

On the other hand the constant emphasis of the Soviet Union on its spectacular advancement, setting the revolution of 1917 as point Zero and ignoring the fact that the last few decades have been a time of global technological change tends to obscure the meaning of Communism in the eyes of peoples in underdeveloped areas. These constellations have tended to confuse different nations about the real challenges of Soviet Communism, and, indeed, different nations must face different

challenges. The challenge to the United States is that of Soviet territorial expansion along the lines of the old Czarist ambitions, but since this expansion hides under the cloak of Communism, the United States believes itself to be challenged by World Communism. India is faced by the challenge of the violent short cut to social problems which is not a territorial but an ideological challenge. Both challenges are real, both have to be met differently, and both should be clearly distinguished. Otherwise military and ideological issues, defense and diplomacy will constantly be confused. If this is not taken into consideration India and the United States will continue to think in terms of their own challenge and blame each other for not facing the real challenge. India will think that the United States wants to be so foolish as to point a gun at an ideology, while the United States will think that the Indians are stupid enough to imagine that they can philosophize away the threat of Soviet expansion.

On the whole, India and the United States have already tried to meet their respective challenges. The United States designed the policy of "Containment", which effectively checked Soviet expansion in Greece, Turkey and Berlin and several other places. The drawbacks of the policy of "Containment" were its ideological overtones. It was not announced as a policy to check territorial expansion pure and simple, but implied the hopes, that Soviet Communism, if contained, would choke itself and recede. When these hopes failed, the critics of the containment policy thought it to be not dynamic enough and started to talk about "liberation", but in fact the policy and ideology of "containment" were never abandoned or replaced.

To India the only dynamic policy against the challenge of Communism seemed to be to set an example of non-violent social change and advancement for the underdeveloped areas, thus providing an alternative to the violent and coercive methods of Communism. This policy had to

be based on internal and external restraint, which guaranteed the social peace within the country and the international peace without, so essential to such an experiment. Internationally this restraint was expressed in the Panch Shila, and in attempts at mediation of international conflicts and an emphasis on a better political atmosphere.

Fundamentally the two concepts of containment and restraint are not incompatible, provided that "containment" is stripped of its ideological implications and reduced to the guarantee of the defense of territorial sovereignty to those countries which have to fear Russian invasion, and provided that "restraint" means a consolidation of power by means of social improvement and a restriction of defensive alliances to a necessary minimum and to areas which can be defended.

In recent years George F. Kennan, who originally defined the containment policy in 1947, seems to have developed thoughts similar to those which we have summarized in the preceding paragraphs. He wrote in 1954, (in *Realities of American Foreign Policy*) :

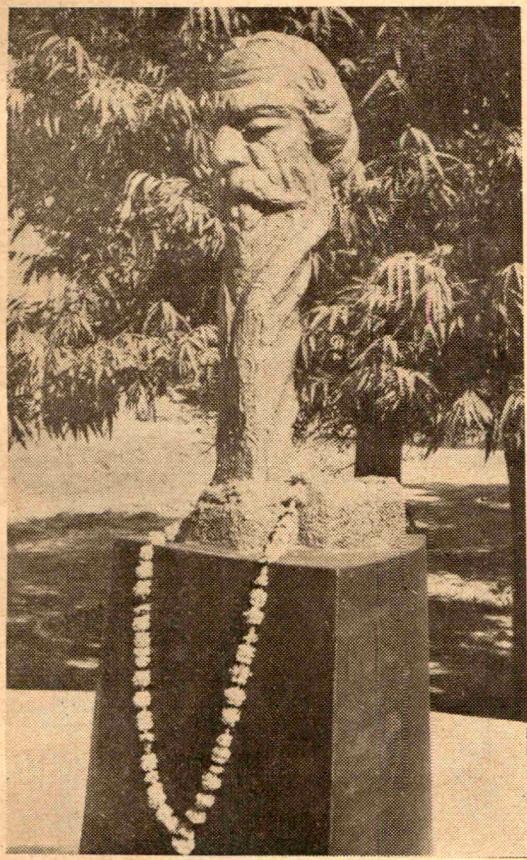
" . . . . . we must be gardeners and not mechanics in our approach to world affairs. . . . . The forces of nature will generally be on the side of him who understands them best and respects them most scrupulously. We do not need to insist, as the Communists do, that change in the camp of our adversaries can come only by violence. Our concept of the possibility of the improvement in the condition of mankind is not predicated as is that of the Communists, on the employment of violence as a means to its realization. If our outlook on life as we believe it to be, is more closely attuned to the real nature of man than that of our Communist adversaries then we can afford to be patient and even occasionally suffer reverses, placing our confidence in the longer and deeper workings of history."



## ARTIST'S JOY OF CREATION

By SUDHIR KHASTGIR

ABOUT twenty years ago, I wrote an article answering the question, "Why an Artist works?" I was twenty years younger in age at that time and naturally I was much less experienced than today. Yet, what I said at that time is far from truth, in which I believe even today.

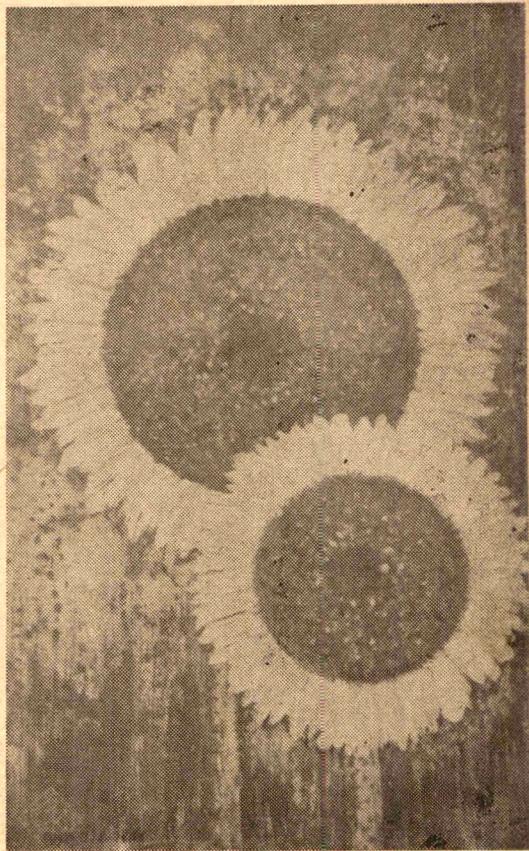


Rabindranath Tagore  
(Erected in the Garden of the Government College of Art and Craft, Lucknow)

I questioned myself, "Do I work for money?" I need money like every other human being. But if I worked only for money, why should I have taken up Art as profession? Why did I not go in for some other lines which were financially more lucrative?

Have I got a craving in my heart for making a name and fame? I still wonder. Do I want to show everybody that I am above average human beings? I still doubt. Do I work for others' sake? No, I am not a philanthropist either.

Yet, I love to paint or sculpt. I get



Sun flower (Flower study)

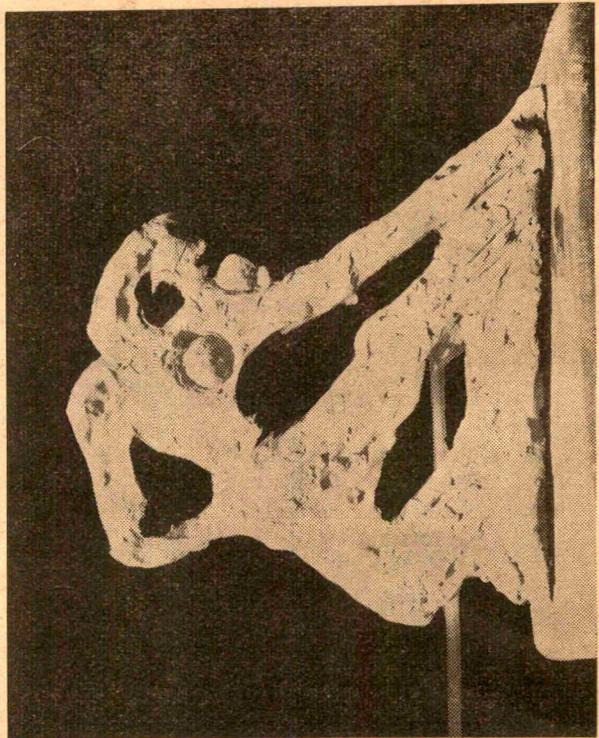
immense pleasure while making them. But once the work is finished, half the charm is gone, so far as the artist is concerned, it then becoming a public property to be accepted or rejected according to the vagaries of popular taste. The artist ceases at the point the work is done; so also his joy and responsibility. Thus, I concluded as an artist, I work for the sheer joy of working and so long as I am in my studio absorbed



Dancer in Ecstasy (Oil)



Sea Nymph



Dance

in my work, no other incentive is there save an intensive urge to plunge headlong into the creative work at hand, so joy of creation and nothing else. . . . .



Offering (Terracotta)

Musicians, Flowering Trees, Farmers at Work, Workers Going to Work, Mother and Child, Corn Fields, Flute Players, etc., are my favourite subjects in these days.



Terracotta Figure

. . . Since then, I think, I have not changed much. When I look back and study my own work, I find, in selection of subject matter, in technical treatment and style, I have become more partial—partial to joyful, colourful and rhythmic composition. Formerly—I often painted, subjects like beggar, hunger, sorrow, people in an unhappy mood, etc., form which I find, I have totally out-grown. I think, I have seen and experienced a certain amount of sad side of life—I need not paint them and make the world more sorrowful. I sublimate my sorrow and depression, and produce something which will make people happy and joyful. I have noticed—whenever I am depressed, my depression brings out some of my most bright colourful paintings with rhythmic composition. Dancers,

It is not necessary to be a happy-go-lucky type to paint a joyful subject. I often find, it is those happy-go-lucky types who generally paint pessimistic, unhappy and sad subjects.

The other type reminds me the story of Pom Pom, who was a great humorous actor. I do not quite remember, where I read it. Pom Pom the great actor used to go about with his troupe to various towns and put up his shows. People used to flock to his show to have a hearty laugh. The whole town, even the psychiatrists used to wait for his show eagerly and prescribed to their patients to listen to him to have a hearty laugh.

One day in a certain town, Pom Pom was giving shows. The famous psychiatrist of the



Shamal (Flower study)

town told all his patients to go to the show and have a hearty laugh. One new patient came to see the doctor. After hearing all his worries, the doctor requested him, not to take life so seriously and asked him to go to hear 'Pom Pom' and report him the next day.

The man was not at all eager to go to listen to Pom Pom and said that it was useless for him to go to listen to Pom Pom and insisted that doctor should prescribe some other method of treatment. The doctor insisted that he should go to hear Pom Pom as most of his patients have gained enormously hearing Pom Pom.

The new patient felt more unhappy and said, "How can Pom Pom make me happy, Don't you see doctor, I am Pom Pom myself?"

A person, who has mastered the technique to make people laugh and happy, in reality—may be a most miserable man himself. But

Pom Pom is surely a better person than a number of those—who make people unhappy relating their own sorrows and miseries to get sympathy from them.

I am one of those who likes to bring happiness to people's life instead of sorrow through my paintings and sculptures, whether I succeed or not, that is a different question. I do react to sorrows and miseries, which I experience in everyday life, but whenever I sit down to work, I sublimate my thought diagonally in the opposite direction. All the same, I do not want to escape sorrows by artificial happiness; but conquer sorrows thoroughly by getting deep down into it. To try to escape from it, is to bring more frustration in life. God has surely given us enough strength and power to endure and overcome all the difficulties, He puts before us. We only sometimes do not realize it.



## EXCAVATIONS AT LOTHAL

EXCAVATIONS at Lothal, a Harappan site near Ahmedabad, were closed on the 15th March, and steps are being taken to preserve the excavated remains permanently. A museum will be built have thrown more light on the causes of destruction of Harappa settlements and the circumstances leading to the degeneration of the civilisation.

### Well-Planned Township



View of a Lothal Street

at the site to house the valuable antiquities. A road is also being constructed so that visitors may reach the site at any time.

The discovery of Lothal, a Harappan site near Ahmedabad in the Bombay State in November, 1954, ranks, in the activities of the Central Archaeological Department, next in importance to the discovery of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro in the years 1920 and 1921. It dates back to 2500 B.C.—1000 B.C.

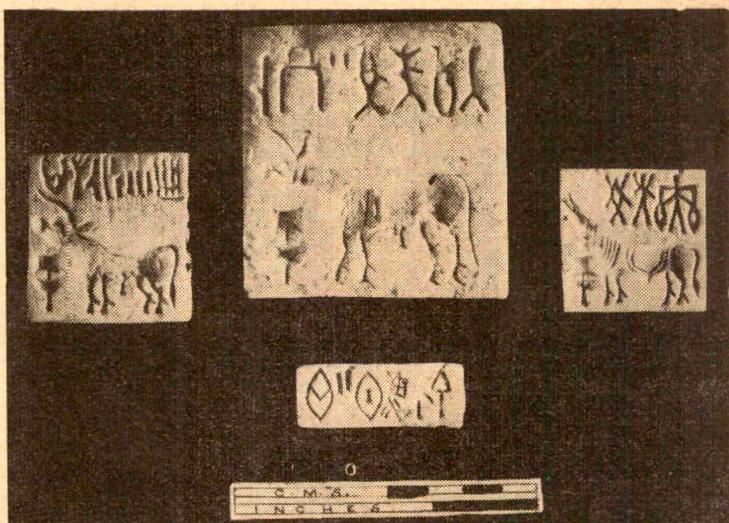
Large-scale excavations carried out since 1955 have established beyond doubt that Harappa civilisation extended far south of Mohenjo Daro up to the Gulf of Cambay.

Lothal is the only full-fledged Harappa township known within Indian borders. Excavations at the site have added to our knowledge of the maritime activities of the Harappans and

It is interesting to note that houses had large halls and verandahs. Every house had a bathroom paved with kilnburnt bricks and great care was taken to provide suitable out-

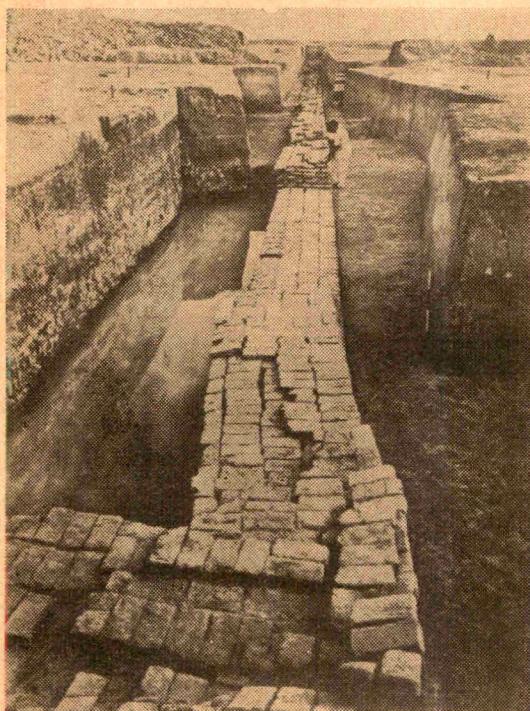
As in Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, the inhabitants of Lothal had a well-planned town. In all, four streets and several lanes have been laid bare so far. Houses are found to have been built in straight rows on either side of the road which was 12 feet to 20 feet wide.

The houses where bead-makers, copper-smiths and other artisans lived or sold their products are small, while others are fairly big with an overall measurement of 72 feet by 42 feet. Some of them have verandahs measuring 42 feet by 18 feet. For other workmen a number of small rooms are found built around a large courtyard with working platforms.



Lothal Steatite Seals

lets for sullage water. Underground and surface drains, manholes, soakage jars and cess-pools were constructed, and there must have been effective control over the layout of the houses and private drains. Periodical clearance of soakage jars in the streets was also ensured. The excellent brick work suggests that the masons were highly skilled.



A large dockyard built for providing shelter for small ships

#### *Port-town with Dockyards*

Lothal was a port-town with a large dockyard built for providing shelter for small ships. One of the main purposes of resuming excavations this season was to ascertain whether the rectangular brick structure laid bare, measuring 710 feet by 120 feet, was a dockyard or not.

The absence of any flight of steps or ramp leading to the fluctuating water level, the provision of an inlet in the eastern embankment and a spill-channel with water-locking arrangement in the southern embankment are features noticeable in a dockyard and not in a tank.

Postholes meant for wooden posts to which boats could be tied and anchor-stones with conical holes have also been found at Lothal.

Above all, this season's work has helped in tracing the courses of the inlet and outlet channels. The bowl-like beds of the channels which were subsequently silted up clearly indicate that ships used to enter the port at high tide. The Lothal dockyard is almost identical in plan with the modern docks at Gogha near Bhavnagar, where boats are sluiced at high tide. At both the places spill-channels have been provided. Whereas at Gogha the embankment is of mud, Lothal docks had brick walls. The latter is much larger in size and boats could move about in low tide also.

#### *Clay Sealings*

Lothal has yielded about 17,000 antiquities, some of which are unique. The clay sealings bearing positive impressions of seals found at Lothal prove, finally, that the famous Indus seals were not used as amulets but were meant for sealing packages of goods exported or imported. Some of them bear impressions of cloth, reeds, mats and twisted cords tied over the packages.

Lothal has also yielded in the late levels certain new types of seals without button on the back or animal figures on the obverse. The symbols are only linear. Associated with these 'late seals' are certain new designs painted on pottery. Whereas in the early levels several intricate motifs were painted in combination on the earthenwares as in Harappa and Mohenjo Daro, the late levels are noted for painting motifs individually.

Among artisans' tools found at Lothal mention may be made of bead-maker's copper drill-bit, mason's plumb bob in shell and a scale in bone. A right angle measuring instrument in shell is of particular significance. Bead-making was a flourishing industry. Semi-precious stone, gold steatite, copper and shell were used for beads.

Jewellery at Lothal consists of micro-gold beads, ear and nose ornaments and rings of gold. Thin circular pendants with axial holes, which have no parallel anywhere in the Indus Valley have also been found. Copper celts, pins, fish-hooks, razors, daggers and arrowheads formed the main weapons and tools.

The Lothal folk buried the dead. In the earliest cemetery level, three double burials were

noticed. But the practice seems to have been given up later on. Out of the fifteen graves opened up, three contained two bodies placed simultaneously. The grave furniture comprises earthenwares such as dish-on-stand, bowls and jars, shell beads and copper ear-ring. Several rectangular brick enclosures used for fire worship have also been laid bare this year.

Five building phases with two cultural periods have been made out so far. In the earlier period, the township was extensive and the people were prosperous. A severe flood destroyed the town but the inhabitants reoccupied the site. The township, however, shrank in size and prosperity declined. The dockyard fell into disuse and trade suffered.—PIB

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### FRIENDSHIP HOUSE GIRLS' CLUB

FRIENDSHIP House, an old mansion six blocks from the U.S. Capitol, is a girls' club offering a varied program of activities. Their girls need what we have to offer here at the Club," she said.

Friendship House was once known as "The



In a handicrafts project at Friendship House Girls' Club, an eleven-year-old girl paints her papier mache giraffe. The girl watching has made a swan



Dottie Monk (left) curtsies to Sue Cooper while performing the folk dance Green Sleeves

Girls between the ages of six and seventeen years are eligible to join. Dues are based on ability to pay, and no girl is barred from membership who is unable to pay dues.

"This provision is made," says Miss Gill, the director, "because of the nature of our community. Most families who live here have low incomes and are charged what they can afford.

Maples" and is one of the oldest houses in the nation's capital. Its occupants have been some of the city's prominent political and social leaders. At one time it was the home of Francis Scott Key, author of the national anthem of the United States. The central part of the building

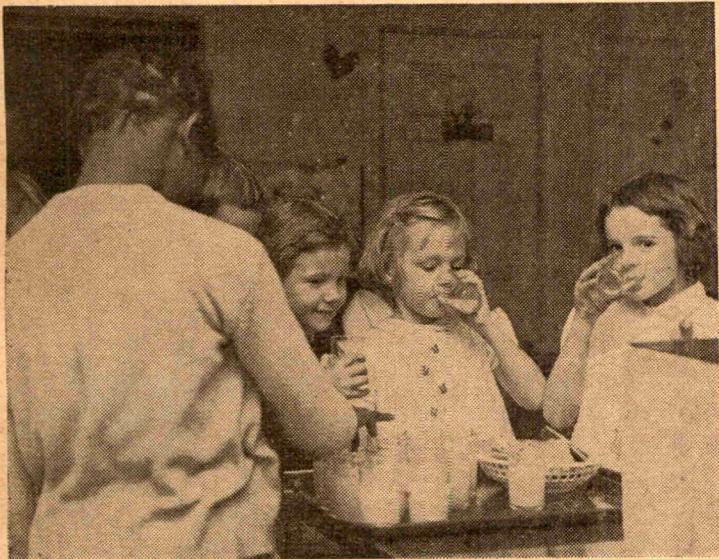


Some tricky rope jumping is demonstrated by Bonnie Lea Holt in the play-yard of Friendship House Girls' Club



This group of 10-year-old girls are learning to make paper baskets

was erected in 1794, and since that time addi- and maintenance staff, one full time program tions have been made on the east and west sides. staff worker, four part-time program staff work- Today, Friendship House consists of five con- ers and six volunteer program workers. nection buildings with a total of 52 rooms.

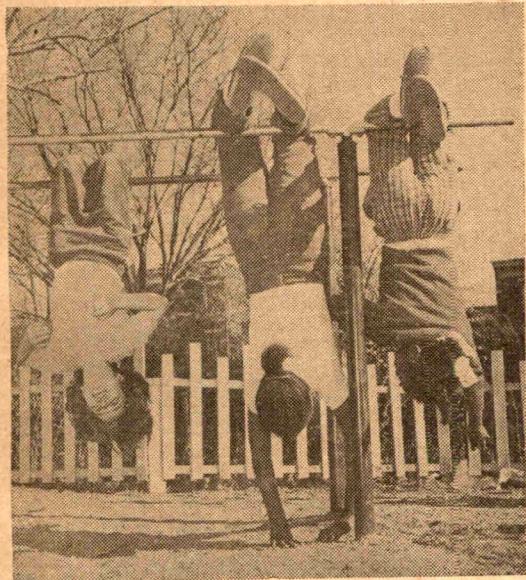


Participants in the after school program at Friendship House Girls' Club enjoy light refreshments

Funds to maintain the Club come from numerous sources : such as the United Givers' Fund, benefit performances, dues and donations. Recently Count Basie and his well-known orchestra played a benefit performance for Friendship House. Once each year a tour of old homes of historical interest and homes of Government officials is conducted to raise funds.

The program offered the 263 Club members is based upon their needs and age group. For example there is the after-school program for girls ranging in age from six to twelve years. These girls are members of families whose parents work outside the home.

The children come directly to Friendship House after school. If the weather permits they



These girls test their leg muscles on the horizontal bars at Friendship House Girls' Club

In addition to the director, the staff include an assistant director of programs, six domestic



These girls are leaving Friendship House Girls' Club after a happy time of social, recreational and educational activities

go outside to the playground for a half hour of free play, otherwise they may choose to play

quiet games in the gamerooms, listen to a story or watch a short movie. Then follows an educational program of folk dancing, painting, handicrafts music and dramatics.

For the older girls the program is centered around evening activities. Painting, ceramics, dramatics, instrumental music, singing and interpretive and tap dancing are offered, and one evening a week is devoted to social dancing.

Girls of all ages participate in the physical education program which includes calisthenics, volleyball, basketball and roller skating.

As summer approaches all members are encouraged to save money for a week or two of camping at Friendship House camp located about fifty miles from Washington on the Patuxent River, and small banks placed around the Club are full by the time the first group is ready to depart.

Said Miss Gill, "No girl wants to miss the experience of hiking, swimming, overnight trips and picnicing in the country, and no girl who really makes an effort to go is left behind."—USIS.

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## SIR ASUTOSH CHAUDHURI

1860—1924

We give below the life-sketch of one of the most brilliant sons of India whose birth-centenary falls this year :

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri was born on the 12th of June, 1860, and came from one of the oldest and most respected families in Bengal. In the paternal line, he was a direct descendant of Dewan Ram Deva Chaudhuri. Ram Deva obtained great distinction at the time of Nawab Murshid Kuli Khan. He was the eldest son of Durgadas Chaudhuri, Zemindar of Haripur.

Asutosh had lived in an atmosphere of culture as his father's house was the frequent meeting-place of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dinabandhu Mitra, Nabin Chandra Sen, Manomohan Ghose, Lal Mohan Ghose and many other distinguished men of Bengal. Needless to say, he made the best use of these opportunities as is evidenced by his later career. As a boy, he had his preliminary course of education at the Krishnagar Collegiate School, where he gave proofs of his talents in class, debating club and literary society. Even in those early days he was reputed for his highly cultured literary tastes.

In 1881 he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated with Honours in Mathematics and Law (1885) and obtained the M.A. and L.L.M. degrees. His inclinations as a young man ran in the direction of literature and most of his spare time at College was devoted to

its study. He was selected by his professor as joint editor of the College magazine. At Cambridge, he was founder of the "Indian Majlis", the oldest and best known society of Indian students in England. After his return to India in 1886, he married Prativa Devi, the eldest daughter of Hemendra Nath Tagore (the third son of Maharshi Debendra Nath Tagore). It proved an ideally happy union which did much to widen the horizon of the young lawyer. He experienced all the vicissitudes of a beginner struggling hard for a position as an author, a professor and a barrister simultaneously. During this period he compiled several notes on the text-books and such mathematical texts as Trigonometry, Conic Section, etc. He also contributed several articles to the *Bharati* in appreciation and criticism of the English poets. He was enrolled as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court in 1886, and had to face severe competition. His talents were, however, appreciated quite early in his career in spite of the fact that there was at that time a great prejudice against Bengali barristers.

During his long career at the Bar, he was identified with most of the important cases both on the Original and Appellate Sides of the High Court.

He acquired a great reputation by his skilful cross-examination and brilliant advocacy in causes celebres like the Clarke Case, Lajpat Rai

Defamation Case and the Midnapore Conspiracy Appeal. In his death the legal profession lost "one of its brightest jewels."

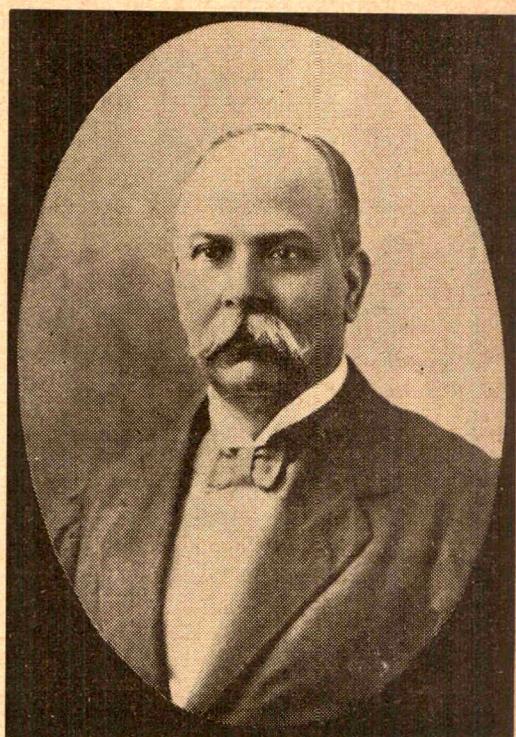
In 1912, after the Partition of Bengal was annulled, while at the zenith of his reputation as a public man and a leader of the Bar, he yielded to the urgent wish of Sir Lawrence Jenkins, C.J. and accepted a judgeship for the good of his profession although it meant an enormous sacrifice of income; the patriotic nature of his sacrifice was universally recognised at the time because it preserved the prestige of the Bench. He was the first Hindu Barrister Judge to sit on the Original Side and the first Indian Judge to take the Criminal Sessions of the High Court. The honour of Knighthood was conferred on him in 1917 and he retired from the Bench in 1920.

He took the keenest interest in politics and became a leading figure in the National Congress when it may be said to have attained the zenith of its reputation and was universally recognised as representing the aims and aspirations of educated India. "As an ardent nationalist, he strongly opposed the Partition of Bengal, organised the Bengal Landholders' Association and drafted for it a representation, which the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, characterised as the ablest and strongest produced by the opposition." As President of the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Burdwan in 1904, he strongly criticised the idea of "political mendicancy" and expounded his doctrine of political and economic salvation by self-help and self-reliance. He was of opinion that the industries of India should be encouraged and on principle claimed for the country the rights of Self-Government. His famous dictum, "A subject race has no politics", became a classic in the terminology of Indian Nationalism.

"It is this statement by which Sir Asutosh will always be remembered—which, among other things, set young Bengal thinking and ultimately to challenge the methods and assumptions of the politicians of old school."

Asutosh Chaudhuri's heart was rooted in Education. He took a leading part in establishing the National Council of Education, Bengal. On the 14th of November, 1905, a letter was issued by him convening a conference to consider the question of National Education

and a conference of leading Indian gentlemen was held at the Bengal Landholders' Association on the 16th. With the help of large donations, which he secured from Sj. Subodh Chandra Mallik, Sj. Brojendra Kissore Roy Chowdhury of Gouripur, Maharaja Surrya Kanta Acharyya of Mymensingh, Sir Tarak Nath Palit, Sir Rash Behari Ghose and others, the National Council of Education was firmly established. The National Council was constituted on the 11th of



Asutosh Chaudhuri

March 1906, and the Inaugural Ceremony of the Bengal National College was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 14th of August 1906. He was Hon. Secretary at its inception and after the death of Sir Rash Behari Ghose became the President, which he remained till the end of his life. His laying of the foundation stone of the Jadavpur College Building (in 1922) was symbolic of the part he had played in its initiation, growth and development.

In his lifetime, Sir Asutosh contributed a sum of Rs. 17,000 to the National Council and by a direction in his will, a further sum of Rs. 10,000 was made over to it for the formation

of a library of scientific and technical books for the Jadavpur College of Engineering and Technology.

Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri was one of the earliest 'elected' Fellows of Calcutta University. His co-operation was in constant demand with educational institutions, he was President of Vidyasagar College and Ripon (later known as Surendra Nath) College for many years. After retirement from the Bench, he was closely associated with Sir Ashutosh Mookherjee as a Syndic of Calcutta University.

When the Hindu University of Benares was started, he could be depended on by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as an earnest colleague. The valuable gift of books—mostly on world literature and history—which Sir Asutosh made by his last testament, has been appraised by the University to be worth about Rs. 40,000.

*Literature* : His literary activities and love for the mother tongue were crowned with his election to the Presidential chair of the Bengal Literary Conference held at Dinajpur, where he delivered his address, characterised by those present as "the musical recitation of 'mantras' similar to those of the ancient Rishis." In that address he put forth an earnest plea for a forceful and vigorous literature purging the Bengali language of all the effeminacy brought about by the writings of the ultra-modern poets and literateurs. His subtle aestheticism comprised Indian Art, Classical and Modern, and even the Art of the Far East. He was closely associated with the artists, Gaganendra and Abanindra Nath Tagore, in the Society of Oriental Art, and connoisseurs of art like Havell and Percy Brown.

With his gifted wife, Sm. Prativa Devi—the pioneer in the field of women's musical education—Sir Asutosh founded and nurtured into maturity the Sangit Sangha, long regarded as "the best institution in the country for the cultivation of Indian Music."—the legacy

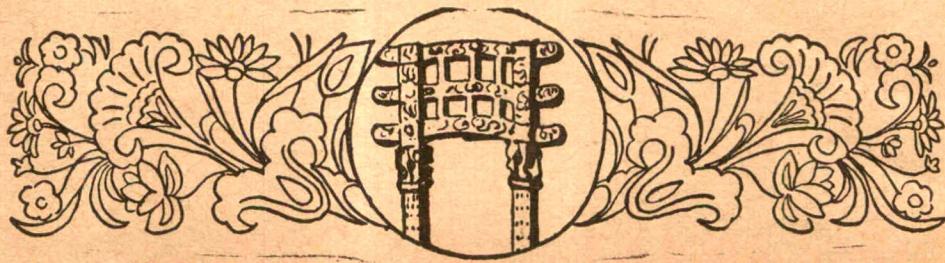
Rs. 10,000 left by him to form the nucleus of its building fund has not as yet been utilized. He was also President of the Bharat Sangeet Samaj, founded by Jyotirindra Nath Tagore. Musical entertainments and soirees were held at the house of Sir Asutosh and Lady Prativa Chaudhuri in Ballygunge, which became a meeting place of Eastern and Western Culture—a place where racial differences were unknown. "Indian music and art, indeed received a much deeper and more general appreciation because of their joint activities."

His rich sympathies manifested themselves in countless charities, private and public. On the governing body of the District Charitable Society of Calcutta, his position as Chairman was more than of a formal character.

*Last years* : He was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the 32nd Indian National Congress (Calcutta, 1917), presided over by Mrs. Annie Besant. After retirement from the Bench in 1920, despite failing health, he returned to political life as a member of the reformed Bengal Council. In November, 1921, at the instance of Lord Ronaldshay (Governor of Bengal) he tried to effect a settlement between Government and Congress on the basis of the immediate grant of Provincial Autonomy.

Lady Prativa Chaudhuri died in 1922 to the sorrow of a host of friends, both Indian and European, and her husband never rallied from the shock.

On the 23rd of May, 1924, the country lost one of her noblest sons by the death of Sir Asutosh Chaudhuri. Apart from his brilliant career as a student, advocate, judge and as a public man, he will always be remembered for his goodness of heart and generous disposition. "He was Nature's born gentleman and one of those of whom it might be said that he had no enemies." To him the words of the poet could fittingly be applied that "even his failings lean to virtue's side."



## A PRECARIOUS LIVING

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

INDIA's objective for economic self-sufficiency is being vigorously pursued through successive Five-Year Plans beginning with 1951, and signs are not rare of its partial fulfilment. But the needs of the vast population are large and various and the results so far attained have been able to touch only the fringe of the problem that affects everyday life of the common people. More and more taxes and a higher and higher price consequent on inadequate supply of the essentials of life have marked the progress of two Five-Year Plans, the life of the Second of which is on the verge of running out.

The difficult situation particularly relating to food manifests no sign of amelioration though a mint of money has been spent over agriculture (animal husbandry and irrigation combined). It is as elusive now as it was in the days of Grow More Food campaign started in 1942. There are promises galore of a comfortable living, (when nobody knows), except for those who can squander public money showing the greatest unconcern for audit, accounting and public opinion.

It was realised at the time of formulating the First Five-Year Plan that "for the large sections of the community which live near the margin of subsistence, a certain minimum supply of foodgrains at reasonable prices constitutes the rock bottom of the standard of living, a fall-in which would be seriously detrimental to health and efficiency." It would seem that the economic, physical and psychological condition of the common people was rightly assessed because the Planning Commission fully realised that "the experience of the past few years has brought out clearly the vulnerability of the economy on account of the inadequate production of foodgrains in the country. Foodgrains occupy a pivotal place in the price structure, and if this latter has to be safeguarded, as it

must be, the prices of foodgrains must be held at levels within the reach of the poorer sections of the community." Pious hopes, no doubt, that failed to materialise in actual practice.

In making provisions for attainment of the ideal, the Planning Commission placed ample resources at the disposal of the country. Funds allotted to agriculture proper in the First Plan was Rs. 197 crores and Rs. 384 crores to irrigation. Other sums spent during the period of the Plan for increasing the production of other 'food' were Rs. 22 crores for animal husbandry, Rs. 4 crores on fisheries. A part of Rs. 260 crores given to the production of 'Power' goes to the working of pumps, etc., used for the purpose of irrigation. Improved agricultural methods, better seed, liberal supply of manure, soil conservation, etc., produced favourable results. It was more so when nature in her bounty, in particular years, helped men in their efforts.

In the light of the growing demands the target fixed for the First Five-Year Plan, though materially achieved, was found to have fallen below the actual requirements and the target for the Second Five-Year Plan fixed at 75 million tons had had to be revised to 80.4 million tons during the life of the Plan. An abstract of the increase in production of foodgrains, cereals and pulses are given in the following table :

(See Table p. 56)

There has been considerable improvement in production of foodgrains during the two Plan periods. According to the authority quoted above the rate of increase averaged 2.3 per cent from 1949-50 to 1958-59, and an average of 3.2 per cent from 1952-53 to 1958-59. All possible means have been tried particularly in the use of chemical manure as would be seen

**India's Production of Foodgrains**  
 (Adjusted on the basis of 1956-57 final estimates)

Year	Rice	Wheat	Other cereals	Total cereals	Total pulses	Total foodgrains
1949-50	23.8	6.6	18.0	48.4	9.5	57.9
1950-51	21.0	6.6	16.1	43.7	8.7	52.4
1951-52	21.5	6.2	16.6	44.3	8.6	52.9
1952-53	23.1	7.4	19.0	49.5	9.3	58.8
1953-54	28.3	7.9	22.1	58.3	10.6	68.9
1954-55	25.1	8.8	22.2	56.1	11.0	67.1
1955-56	26.9	8.6	19.0	54.5	10.8	65.3
1956-57	28.1	9.1	20.1	57.3	11.4	68.7
1957-58	24.8	7.7	20.3	52.8	9.2	62.0
1958-59	29.7	10.0	21.9	61.3	12.2	
1960-61	(anticipated) ...	....	....	....	....	75.0
	(target) ...	....	....	....	....	80.5
1965-66	(target under discussion)	....	....	....	....	110.0

(Source : Report by the Agricultural Production Team, Ford Foundation.)

from the rapid increase in consumption enumerated in the following table :

**Consumption of Chemical Manure in India from 1950 to 1957-59**

(In thousand tons)

Year	Sulphate of ammonia	Super-phosphates
1950	275.0	....
1951	282.8	43.0
1952	276.3	48.0
1953	427.0	50.0
1954	453.0	80.0
1955	500.0	80.1
1956	593.0	97.6
1957-58	600.0	134.8
1958-59	n.a.	170.1

How much of the increase in the production of foodgrains is due to irrigation of additional lands or to the same land yielding more than one crop is not known yet. What the tax-payer knows is the total amount spent on approved (and unapproved) schemes and the portion of a particular project that has been completed or is nearing completion, and he knows nothing more.

The figure for total production of foodgrains has been considerable partly due to better yield per acre of land. But considering the rate of yield of the same grains in many other countries, it is painful to note that India is lagging far behind, perhaps occupying the last place in the list. Anyway, this deficiency should be removed by all means so that there may be no large gap between requirements and supply.

**Average Yield of Foodgrains per acre from 1950-51 to 1958-59**

(In pounds)

Food-grains	50-51	51-52	52-53	53-54	54-55	55-56	56-57	57-58	58-59
Rice	596	637	682	805	731	780	799	702	816
Jowar	315	340	374	406	470	346	402	438	457
Bajra	257	220	264	333	276	270	232	290	304
Maize	488	560	710	701	708	628	733	693	649
Ragi	579	535	532	717	642	714	659	751	650
Wheat	592	582	681	670	717	632	621	592	701
Barley	681	669	805	746	779	735	726	664	724
Small millets	339	359	341	389	595	346	360	316	377

There can be no sense of complacency over the increase in the production of foodgrains primarily for two reasons. The growth of population per year far exceeds the additional quantity of foodgrains that are raised each year, and secondly, due to larger consumption of foodgrains arising out of a better standard of living. For reasons which need no recapitulation, there has been more liquid money in the country during the Plan periods particularly in the hands of those who had heretofore passed their days in a state of semi-starvation. The Ford Foundation Team, mentioned previously, gives a bit higher figure than the actual during the First Plan when it states that "five million persons per year were added during the First Five-Year Plan, and seven million per year will have been added during the Second Plan period. Ten million per year probably will be added during the period of the Third Plan ending 1966." The actual figures of the increase as published by the Government of India are given below :

#### Growth of Population in India from 1948 to 1958

(In thousands)

Year	Mid-year population	Increase per year
1947	345,085	....
1948	349,430	4,345
1949	353,832	4,402
1950	358,293	4,461
1951	362,790	4,497
1952	367,530	4,740
1953	372,300	4,770
1954	377,130	4,830
1955	382,390	5,260
1956	387,350	4,760
1957	392,440	4,090
1958	397,540	5,100
1959	402,800	5,260

Anyway, in 1955, 1958 and 1959 the increase exceeded the five million limit a year and it is most likely that the rate of growth would be higher than in the past, unless the Family Planning movement can catch the mind of the people in its grip.

According to the common belief based on the insufficient supply and higher prices of foodstuff (supported by 'the Ford Foundation

Team') : "The gap between needs for foodgrains, as indicated by the Plan targets, and supply, as indicated by production trends, is growing wider. The relatively favourable 1958-59 season failed to reach the annual average of the foodgrain target by 4.3 million tons and the 1957-58 crop was 9.3 million tons short." The irresistible conclusion is that if the rate of increase of foodgrains fails to register a much faster standard, it is estimated that the needs of the people in 1965-66 will be about 28 million tons! The question is whether it will be possible to increase the rate by 8.2 per cent over the previous year for the next seven years. But there are no indications of anything happening like this in the meantime.

Let us cherish a pious hope that such a miracle would happen and that the fond hopes of the present Food Minister, Sri Patil, would be fulfilled and India will become economically self-sufficient in the course of the next five years (*i.e.*, one year ahead of the completion of the III-FYP).

It is now clear that no sector of the Indian economy is more weak than its most important factor, *viz.*, agriculture. It has presented a most intractable problem without betraying any hopeful signs of yielding to efforts. The country must be fed so that people may not feel the pangs of constant hunger and join the legion of malcontents who are out to create mischief. When the indigenous supply is insufficient for the purpose the deficit has had to be supplemented by other sources and the only way open is to live on other people's goodwill which is to all conscience a precarious existence. There are so many factors which may affect purchase of food from other countries. There must be surplus in the countries willing to supply; the price must be reasonable and above all, there must be easy availability of foreign exchange which is badly needed in other sectors of Indian economy.

But unfortunately this has been the case during the past many years and as years roll by we are out to secure through purchase larger and larger quantities of foodgrains, grains, pulse and flour from outside. The signs of abatement are still far off. The figures of imports during the past few years and the new food deal with the U.S.A. will give an idea of

the degree of India's dependence on others for the most important item of human existence.

### Import of Food from 1949-50 to 1955-56

Year	Tons	Rs. ('000)
1949-50	3,032,200	1,338,524
1950-51	2,085,904	804,114
1951-52	4,793,432	2,281,152
1952-53	3,953,257	1,590,983
1953-54	1,434,471	723,835
1954-55	1,222,879	681,885
1955-56	425,448	174,670

During the nine months of 1956 (April to December) 28,170 tons of foodgrains were imported at Rs. 1,30,82,433. The value of 10,40,730 tons of grains, etc., was Rs. 55,39,28,465 in 1957. In 1958 cereals and cereal preparations imports accounted for Rs. 1,43,83,58,430 and 1959 for Rs. 1,22,96,96,130.

The food position in India has become more elusive than ever. In 1960, the penultimate year of the II-FYP, dependence on foreign imports has not eased in the least. Some foodgrains are still to come during the year under contracts entered into with other countries before the year. Under a previous Public Law (P. L.) agreement, U.S.A. will supply 150,000 tons of rice. Under a barter basis for jute and tea, J.A.R. is to supply 100,000 tons of rice and an additional 150,000 tons rice is expected from Burma on payment of sterling. The last instalment of 400,000 from Burma under the previous agreement for the supply of two million tons over five years is also due this year. Excluding the supply under the latest P. L. 480 agreement, the total import of rice in 1960, therefore, will amount to 800,000 tons as against only 500,000 tons last year.

Even with such supply of heavy quantity of foodgrains India still feels diffident about the proper feeding of its teeming millions. To take no chance, on the 4th of May (1960) India's Minister for Food and Agriculture was pleased to receive a signed document from the President of the U.S.A. purporting to supply 587 million bushels of wheat (approximately 16 million metric tons) valued at \$965 million, and 22 million bags of rice (approximately one million metric tons) of the value of \$116 million. It also provides for \$195 million to cover half of the cost of ocean transportation. The

present agreement covers a period of four years. Of the rupees (Rs. 607 crores, equivalent to \$1,276 million) to be acquired by the U.S. in payment for the commodities sold and delivered, Rs. 512 crores (\$1,076) or 84.4 per cent will be made available to the Government of India for economic development projects. Of this half (Rs. 256 crores) in grants, so that the element of grant comes to nothing less than 42.2 per cent. The remaining Rs. 95 crores (\$200 million) will be used for meeting U.S. expenses in India and for financing other U.S. agency programmes, including development of foreign markets.

With the U.S. supply the total import of grains from abroad for consumption would be about 3.8 million tons per annum. The large stock in hand will certainly help in checking a rise in the prices of foodgrains and is sure to contribute to the stability in the entire economy of the country. It will enable to build up a reserve stock as an insurance against emergency food shortage due to various reasons. The sale of the stock, for which the Government would have to pay only a part, will bring full value of the entire supply obtained from the U.S. This would leave a substantial margin in the hands of the Government which together with the price realised from customers would possibly be invested on development projects. With stability in the price of food the public would feel more inclined to invest the surplus money in Government loans and savings projects.

This is one side of the picture that has been presented to the public. Heretofore the Government have not displayed sufficient care or knowledge in the storage of such huge quantity of grains. Instances are not rare when deterioration in the quality of the grains coming under the category of 'not fit for human consumption' is reported in the papers and grains are sold at a nominal price for purposes other than food. The storage accommodation will have to be carried out hastily and the chances of huge unessential costs coming in its train are there. With very little to bother about severe scarcity or famine conditions making their uncanny appearance from time to time, a sense of complacency may pervade both the Government and the producers of grains for fear of falling prices.

In this connection one matter of great moment should not be overlooked. The Government will add all the incidental expenses that would be incurred before the commodity goes to the ultimate consumer. Moreover, the Government have been found to be more greedy in their transactions with the public than the ordinary blackmarketeer. Mr. H. M. Hasham Premji, President of the Federation of All-India Foodgrain Dealers Association cited (on 9-4-60) an instance of the people's losses in connection with the State's participation in foodgrains trade. The Madhya Pradesh Government, we are told, purchases wheat at Rs. 13-14 per maund and places it at the disposal of the Centre at Rs. 19. The State Governments that receive this wheat sell it at Rs. 22. The price differential thus comes to as much as Rs. 8 per maund, when the total cost of transport, including net profit a trader would charge does not exceed Rs. 2-3, even if the grain is sold in the far South. The *Commerce* (of 16th April 1960) remarks, "Surely, one fails to see any justification for such a wide difference. Apart from the price factor, the consumer is subjected to much harassment at the hands of officials." Moreover, the gravel and other impurities that are found in the grains supplied by the Government stores should be taken into account.

The policy declared by the Government of India in regard to the present imports, as might

have been in the past, is to hold the stocks, still there is an urgent and insistent demand from any particular quarter. With small stocks the case is different from one that is huge because it might involve storage in unhygienic godowns for a long time. This would certainly affect the quality of the grain and may render a huge quantity absolutely useless. Not only that godowns which are capable of holding stocks for a fairly long time in perfectly healthy conditions are necessary, but that such stocks that have remained idle to the point of deterioration should be released from one end just to be replenished from fresh stocks procured inside the country or freshly drawn from foreign lands.

To live on the margin of danger for an indefinite period is not a healthy sign for any nation. That problem has been fully realised but it is regrettable that signs are wanting which would fulfil our hopes of self-sufficiency in food in the near future. In case of living perennially on imports, it has to be remembered that the uncanny signs of the cold war that has pervaded the world might any day develop into something 'hot' thereby affecting the facilities to bring the foodgrains to India by the sea route and all our efforts in procuring the surplus of many lands might be rendered useless, a rather terrible situation for India.

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## TAGORE'S INFLUENCE ON TAMIL-NAD

By K. CHANDRASEKHAR

It is not always easy to estimate accurately the influence of a great personality on contemporaries. More so if he happens to be a poet with originality of a high order and vision of surpassing magnitude. It may be often true also that a literary writer who is popular during his life-time reaps a reward some day much smaller and more reduced in value than that of one whose audience is limited. Perhaps T. S. Eliot's observation can readily be assented to when he said : "If a poet gets a large audience very quickly, that is a rather suspicious circumstance ; for it leads us to fear that he is not really doing anything new, that he is giving people what they are already used to and, therefore, what they have already had from the poets

of the previous generation." Naturally, therefore, if Tagore should have failed to impress all of his genius but only secured a circumscribed yet sensitive group to poetry, like Rothenstein, Yeats and others who were independent and somewhat in advance of their times, it only proves that Tagore's genius was unique and of lasting quality.

In Bengal itself, the home of Rabindranath, there was not much understanding at first of him and consequently not much of an enthusiasm for his poetry. Once the poet became famous by the award of the Nobel Laureateship, people vied with one another to decorate him with wreaths of flowers and honours of their own making. The poet hesitated legitimately to re-

ceive with open arms the sudden outburst of story, drama, allegory, satire, letters, essays, appreciation in its fullest measure. While the West's sensational tributes engulfed him after the year of the Nobel Award, he was not found losing his balance at all to be taken in by such an unforeseen reaction in his favour. On the other hand, with a calmness and naivete all his own, he waited for the flood to subside. He wrote to a friend on July 6, 1921 thus : "It is far better for a poet to miss his reward in this life—rather than to have a false reward or to have his reward in an excessive measure." But all the same, he was confident of recognition by posterity, and that too not in the distant future. His self-assurance is echoed in a tiny poem of his :

They call you mad. Wait for to-morrow  
and keep silent.  
They throw dust upon your head. Wait  
for to-morrow. They will bring their wreath.  
They sit apart in their high seat. Wait  
for to-morrow. They will come down and  
bend their head.

Whether still he has his detractors, we cannot be sure of. Yet one thing is evident, namely, the sceptically inclined too or even those with circumspection as their only strength will have, with E. M. Forster, to opine : "He is a good writer. All must assent to this minimum. But how good ? To that there can be no answer until the adoration and the reaction all adoration entails have passed away, until the mass of sacrifices have been cleared up, and Beauty can pronounce across the subsiding dust." True, the function of a genuine critic is to wait and weigh in the balance before pronouncing himself on anything of lasting merit.

But the influence of a poet on minds that are already tending towards inspiration, does not wait for critics to pass their considered judgments. Eminent intellectuals of the West like W.B. Yeats, Ernest Rhys, Henry Nevinson and May Sinclair, became deeply stirred by his lines as never before by anything else in their lives. In India, though Tagore's songs and tunes have had a rage with the common folk of Bengal, the intellectuals took time to be drawn into an admiring group. The loss was decidedly theirs and not the poet's. For he, unmindful of this Likewarmness, was pouring out his soul on all sides not only in songs but in ever so many varieties of literary form, such as fiction, short-

dialogues and what not. Discerning Bengal, awakened to a resurgence of ideas by the example of leaders like Rammohun Roy, Keshub-chandra Sen, Devendranath Tagore and others, began to notice unmistakable signs of a born poet and playwright in Tagore. Nevertheless, the entire world of letters got an inkling into his unlimited imagination and varied art only after the English translations of his 'Gitanjali,' 'Sadhana,' 'Chitra,' 'Crescent Moon' etc., got into its hands.

South India never lagged behind in its appreciation of the poet, however limited its knowledge of Bengali was in the early years after Tagore's shooting into fame. Only gradually people of the South realised how much more worthy of appreciation the poet could be if he is understood in the language in which he wrote. Anyhow, if poets like Subrahmanya Bharati should have drawn inspiration from Tagore for writing national anthems, it is indication enough that creative faculties overcome barriers of language and country. Again if great scholars like Mahamahopadhyaya V. Swaminatha Aiyar should have felt the force of the argument and agreed unhesitatingly with the poet, that the Muse, unless wooed in one's own language, would be like a bride being courted through the agency of another, there is no need to prove how wholesome was Rabindranath's influence on even persons working in other fields and on different languages. Sri T. K. Chidambaram-natha Mudaliar, of unforgettable memory, who spared no efforts to raise the level of understanding of Tamil classics like Kamba Ramayana, met the poet during his earliest tour in the South only to strengthen his own conviction that the Tamil language is second to none in its literature or in its traditions and the best of creativity in any writer will have to be only in the expression of ideas through his own mother tongue.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's novels, such as Chandrasekhar, Sitaram, Durgeshanandini, Anandamath, translated into Tamil had already taken readers by storm and they were waiting for similar masterpieces in fiction from Indian writers. Tagore's novels like 'Wreck', 'Gora', 'Home And The World', and some of Tagore's short stories began to influence Tamil readers and the result was a good harvest of translations

of them from different pens. Some of them have been directly done from Bengali by writers of distinction like T. N. Kumaraswami and T. N. Senapathy. There are others like the late V. Narayanan and K. Savitri Ammal who have rendered from English into Tamil 'Wreck' and 'Home and the World' respectively. The latter received the benediction of the poet for her translation of 'Chitra' from English into Tamil even so early as 1923.

Translations are no doubt clear indications of the influence of a writer on another language. But influences in the shape of emulation by intellectuals are certainly deeper and greater of a people's sure progress and culture. Many others, like K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, who, as early as 1918, devoted an entire volume in English to Tagore's works extant at that time and Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, whose almost first publication was to bring out the philosophy of Rabindranath to the forefront of people's appreciation, have done much to spread Tagore's extraordinary message outside Bengal among the rest of India. We are indeed under a special debt of gratitude to the English language for it's having been the earliest source for opening our eyes to the beauties of Tagore's poetry. But for English having remained our common language, Tagore would not have been known much outside Bengal as a poet with a universal claim to recognition.

Rabindranath's greatest assets are his originality and fullness of comprehension of life. Indeed, but for his unmitigated desire to soak himself in all forms of life and immerse himself in nature's own prodigality, he could not have become half so outstanding in his vision of a higher life or his perception of the true inwardness of art, as he impresses us today. Life and literature are one to him, and even as solar energy can fill all the space with its brilliance, his mind has left little in imagination and fancy unexplored or unenlivened by his magic touch. If today Tamil-Nad has realised a genuineness of approach to many of our ancient traditions and art-forms, it is not a little due to the inspiring reaction it experienced in favour of Tagore's wonderful interpretation of Indian thought and ideals. His short stories derive their singular depth from a concentration of his poetic vision upon human nature and universal life. If his story 'Drishti-dan' supplies readers with a wholly rich conception of Indian womanhood's highest dower of love, his

'Kabuliwallah' or his 'Babus of Nayanjore' provides us peeps into a strange world occupied with the unsullied mind and fancy of childhood. For his whose imagination in the *Crescent Moon (Sishu)* pictured the child's mind in all its manifold phases, it is not a great strain to make it quite as absorbing in fiction and play as in song and satire. Had he stopped with revealing the child's mind, he could not have been half as unapproachable as he strikes us by his vast output of thoughts concerning ever so many other subjects—the woman of today, the youth in the grip of western impact, the peasant in a changing India, the writer under the aegis of the Press, the officer in his craze for power and influence—all so very natural for him to give and for us so very natural to take without a shadow of any outraged sense of proportion or balance.

In a short article it will be impossible to estimate in detail the influence of Tagore on Tamil writers. But one can say this much, that though Tagore being essentially a poet has his own limitation of appeal to all and sundry unlike that of Sarat Chandra of Bengal, the master of the art of fiction, Tagore has permeated every bit of thinking and expression traceable in the ranscent creativity of Tamil-Nad.

That poetry has to be much more local than prose can be evident from its inherent quality of feeling or emotion. Poetry is and has to be the vehicle of feeling. Therefore it is certain that unless one is born in Bengal, one may not be completely comprehending Tagore. A thought, though not expresed in Tamil, may be practically the same to us whether it is expressed in English or in any other language. But a feeling and emotion expressed in another language cannot be the same to us. Hence, perhaps to some, Tagore, despite his out and out Indianness, strikes yet as belonging to a different world. But it may not take us far to realise that whatever else, Tagore is or is not, he is in the line of our great seers of old and in his spiritual outlook not a whit behind Valmiki and Kalidasa. He infuses into us, as did our sages of the *Upanishads*, the same high regard for true ideals, cherished for centuries and common to every Indian from the Cape of Kanyakumari to the heights of the Himalayas. To imagine that one can escape his message or philosophy, will be almost to all fatal our creative thinking or writing.

## REMINISCENCES OF LENIN

By MAXIM GORKY

### Lenin and the Middle Class Intelligentsia

I did not meet Lenin in Russia, or even see him from afar, until 1918, when the courageous and base attempt was made on his life. I came to him when he had hardly regained the use of his hand and could scarcely move his neck, which had been shot through. When I expressed my indignation, he replied, as though dismissing something of which he was tired, "It's a fight. Nothing to be done. Everyone acts according to his lights."

We met on very friendly terms, but of course there was evident pity in dear Ilyitch's sharp and penetrating glance, as he looked at me, who had gone astray.

After several minutes he said eagerly: "He who is not with us is against us. People independent of the march of events—that is a fantasy. Even if we grant that such people did exist once, at present they do not and cannot exist. They are no good to anyone. All down to the last are thrown into the whirl of a reality which is more complicated than ever before. You say that I simplify life too much? That this simplification threatens culture with ruin, eh?" Then the ironical, characteristic "H'm, h'm" . . . .

His keen glance sharpened, and he continued in a lower tone, ". . . We have got to put before the Russian masses something simple, something they can grasp. The Soviets and Communism are simple. A union of the workers and intelligentsia, eh? Well, that isn't bad. Tell the intelligentsia. Let them come to us. According to you they are true servants of justice. What is the bother then? Certainly, let them come to us. We are just the people who have undertaken the colossal job of putting the people on their feet, of telling the whole world the truth about life,—it is we who are pointing out to the people the straight path to a human life, the path which leads out of slavery, beggary, humiliation." He laughed and said without any trace of ill-will, "That is why I

received a bullet from the intelligentsia." When the temperature of the conversation was more or less normal, he said with vexation and sadness, "Do you think I quarrel with the idea that the intelligentsia are necessary to us? But you see how hostile their attitude is, how badly they understand the need of the moment? And they don't see how powerless they are without us, how incapable of reaching the masses. They will be to blame if we break too many pots."

### Lenin Correctly Estimated Importance of Intellectual Energy

We almost always discussed this subject when we met; and although in what he said his attitude to the intelligentsia remained one of mistrust and hostility, in reality he always correctly estimated the importance of intellectual energy in the revolutionary process, and seemed to agree that in essence revolution was the bursting out of that energy unable to develop regularly in the straitened conditions which it has outgrown.

I remember one occasion when I was with him and three members of the Academy of Sciences. The conversation was about the necessity of re-organizing one of the highest scientific institutions in Petersburg. When he had seen them off Lenin said contentedly, "Now that's right. They are clever men. With them everything is simple, everything is strictly formulated. You see at once that these people know exactly what they want. It is simply pleasure to work with such people. I especially liked. . ." he named one of the greatest names in Russian science, and a day later even asked me by telephone, "Ask S. whether he will come and work with us." And when S. accepted the proposal, he was sincerely glad, rubbing his hands together and saying jokingly, "One after another we shall win over all the Russian and European Archimedes, and then the world will have to change whether it wants to or not!"

### Revolution—Not A Bed of Roses

I often used to speak with Lenin about the cruelty of revolutionary tactics and life. "What do you want?" he would ask in astonishment and anger. "Is it possible to act humanely in a struggle of such unprecedented ferocity? Where is there any place for soft-heartedness or generosity? We are being blockaded by Europe, we are deprived of the help of the European proletariat, counter-revolution is creeping like a bear on us from every side. And what are we to do? Are we not justified? Ought we not to struggle and resist? No. We are not a set of fools, with your permission. We know that what we want can only be achieved by ourselves. Do you think that I would be sitting here if I were convinced of the contrary?"

"What is your criterion for judging which blows are necessary and which are superfluous in fight?" he asked once, after a heated discussion. I could only answer lyrically to this simple question. It would be impossible to answer otherwise, I think.

I often overwhelmed him with all kinds of requests, and often felt that all the trouble I took for various people made Lenin pity me. He would ask, "Don't you think you are wasting your energy on a lot of rubbish?" But I continued to do what I thought ought to be done, and I was not put off when the man who knew who were the enemies of the proletariat looked at me askance, in anger. He would shake his head with a crushing gesture and say, "You are compromising yourself in the eyes of the comrades, the workers." I pointed out that comrades, workers, when their passions were roused and they were irritated, not infrequently held too lightly the life and liberty of valuable people, and that this in my view not only compromised the honest hard work of the revolution by too great, sometimes even senseless, cruelty, but was objectively bad, as it repelled and restrained from participation in the revolution many important people. "H'm, h'm," Lenin muttered

sceptically, and pointed out to me many cases where the intelligentsia betrayed the interests of the workers. "By the way" he said, "many people go over to the other side and betray us, not only out of cowardice, but because of their self-esteem, because they are afraid of finding themselves in an embarrassing situation, afraid that their beloved theory will suffer when it comes to grips with reality. But we are not afraid of that. There is nothing holy or sacred about theories or hypotheses for us, they serve us only as instruments."

### Lenin's Kindness and Magnanimity

Yet I don't remember a single instance when any requests of mine met with a refusal from Ilyitch. If they were not always fulfilled it was not through his fault but through the faults of a mechanism in which the clumsy Russian State machine has always abounded, and, may be, someone's malicious reluctance to lighten the lot or save the lives of people of worth. Perhaps there were cases of wilful harming too; the enemy is as cynical as he is cunning. Revenge and malice are often effective through force of inertia; and of course there are petty persons with unhealthy minds with a morbid thirst for the delight of contemplating the sufferings of their neighbours.

I was often struck by Lenin's readiness to help people whom he considered to be his enemies, and not only readiness to help but even to care for their future. A general for example, a scientist, a chemist, was threatened with death. "H'm, h'm," said Lenin, after listening attentively to my story. "So you think he didn't know that his sons had hidden fire-arms in his laboratory? There is something romantic about it. But we must leave it for Dzerzhinsky (Head of the security organ of the state) to unravel. He has a keen instinct for the truth." Several days later he rang me up in Petrograd and said, "We are letting your general go—I think he has already been set free. What does he intend to do? . . . Tell me if he is in need of anything."

Lenin spoke ironically in order to

conceal the joy, which he did not wish to show, of saving a man's life. Several days later he asked again, "Well, how is the general getting on? Everything arranged?"

### "They Will Have Happier Lives Than We Had"

I knew and still know many workers who had to, and have to, grit their teeth hard, and stifle their emotions, to overcome their organic "social idealism" for the sake of the triumph of the cause they are serving. Did Lenin too have to stifle his emotions? He paid too little attention to himself to talk about himself to others; he, more than anyone, could keep silent the secret agitation of his soul. Once however

in Gorky, when he was caressing some children, he said, "They will have happier lives than we had. They will not experience much that we lived through. There will not be so much cruelty in their lives." Then looking into the distance, to the hills where the village nestled, he added pensively, "And yet I don't envy them. Our generation achieved something of amazing significance for history. The cruelty, which the conditions of our life made necessary, will be understood and vindicated. Everything will be understood, everything." He caressed the children with great care, with an especially gentle and tender touch.—*Information Department of USSR Embassy in India Bulletin.*

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## KERALA ELECTION IN RETROSPECT

By BIBEK BRATA SARKAR, M.A.

ON February 3, 1960, one of the most significant events in the recent political life of the country—the Kerala mid-term elections—smoothly came to a close. The United Democratic Front, (U.D.F.) consisting of the Congress, the P.S.P., and the Muslim League, registered a thumping victory over the Communists, earlier dismissed from the Ministry by the President.

The people of Kerala who have had the dubious distinction of experiencing ten Governments and four major elections within the short span of twelve years, no doubt now deserve a good Government for which they have been so ready to make experiments and pay the price. Whether they will get what they fought for remains to be seen.

But quite apart from its immediate local importance, the Kerala election raises a very interesting question which assumes national significance when viewed in the context of an evolving political trend in India. What exactly was the nature of electoral alliance that defeated the Communists in Kerala?

Out of the three parties in the U.D.F., the P.S.P., and the Congress are wedded to democratic socialism, while the third is a communal party with no political programme worth

name. But since all communal parties thrive on narrow religious considerations, they are also anti-secular and anti-democratic. Thus, in the United Front, two parties believing in democracy and socialism (there is difference in the degree of socialism professed by each) have united with an anti-secular, anti-democratic party without a political programme to oust another secular, anti-democratic party. This combination, then, cannot be interpreted as a rallying together of political forces on the basis of genuine affinity of principles; nor can it be unity based on common programme of action. It was at best an expediency that brought success, and at worst a political move fraught with dangerous consequences.

The results of the Kerala election would show the Communists how they can be kept away from power even in areas considered to be their strong-holds. But it has a bigger lesson for the non-Communists. Victory in Kerala was achieved not because there was a terrific swing of mass preferences in favour of democracy, but because religious and other sectarian groups backed by the Congress and the P.S.P., have successfully exploited the communal passions of a large section of the voters. Catholic elements, Muslim

the League, the Nair Society and vested interest

groups led by the Congress brought off a victory the Congress Party. But strangely enough, sectarianism cannot be said to have been directly encouraged by the Congress. The country has a secular Constitution and the laws maintain a scrupulous fairness in this regard. Popular national spokesmen of the Congress Party have throughout denounced communalism or any other kind of sectarianism in their speeches and writings. And yet why this weakness during the elections? It is a sad anomaly and perhaps a proof of the contention that the Congress Party continues to be a conglomeration of groups with divergent views.

During the past 13 years, many a time in several elections of minor importance, the Congress has been found to put up a joint front with communal and anti-democratic groups. Kerala has not only set a sinister precedence, it has actually aggravated a tendency that is already groping its uncertain way in our midst. In Kerala sectarian passions have substantially helped to tip the scale in favour of the United Front; for, otherwise how are we to explain the defeat of a respected and popular politician like Shri Thomas by a virtually unknown Muslim lady? Elsewhere, throughout the country the communal forces are gaining strength. In the recent KAVAL elections, the Jan Sangh candidates have registered notable success. The Akali Dal in the Punjab have come out with a thumping victory in the recent S.G.P.C. elections. In quite a number of local and municipal elections in different parts of the country, communal forces are more and more coming to prominence. Last year a few communal clashes occurred in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, U.P. and Kerala. Such a list of stray or more serious instances of communal outbreaks can be lengthened if we go back a few more years.

Such alliances with the ruling party invariably vests the communal parties with added prestige and strength, especially in the eyes of the illiterate and the politically un-initiated.

Strategic victories gained in their company makes it plain to the communalists that their assistance is actually sought. Moreover, since the only point in joining hands with these elements is to win votes merely on sectarian appeals and thus upset the normal pattern of voting, communal parties in alliance are likely to have a free hand in rousing popular passion on religious grounds. Such alliances are for them golden opportunities of making a come-back on the Indian political stage. The last General Elections had virtually wiped them off the scene.

And one could hope that at least the field was clear for possible political polarisation on ideological lines. That hope now seems to be a wishful thinking. So the peculiar alignment of forces in the Kerala election may with some justification be viewed as a culmination of a process of gradual disintegration of the secular front of

the Congress Party. Under the circumstances, the danger to democracy from sectarian forces may not be confined to communal parties alone. Even within the Congress Party today there seems to exist a powerful group who can be termed "extreme rightists" and who do not always see eye to eye with the progressive, sometimes drastic, social and economic measures taken by the Government. The popularity of certain top-ranking national spokesmen of the Congress stand on secularism and socialism has probably kept the natural tendencies of this group under control. But as soon as these founder-fathers of the Congress Party would be no more on the national scene, the most effective check so long operative on them would no longer be there. Moreover, with the Congress Party organisation riddled with internal wranglings and the left democratic forces too weak and divided to offer either an alternative Government or an effective opposition, the field will be clear for rightist reaction to forge ahead within the Congress fold. The extreme rightists would then find eager allies in groups of the vested interests and other communal and sectarian parties, i.e., groups which are basically unpolitical and naturally anti-democratic. Communalism, of course, is nowhere near assuming threatening proportions just now; but fresh grounds yielded to them through hasty, unprincipled alliances will only aggravate the crisis.

Politics is fast losing all its brilliance and sense of direction. Everywhere qualitative political forces are sought to be defeated by a quantitative superiority achieved indiscriminately. Such dangerous trends, if allowed to continue, may in the long run reduce political activity in India to a predominantly anti-intellectual affair.

# DR. A. SCHOPENHAUER, A TEUTON SEER OF RHINE VALLEY

By BISHNUPADA CHATTERJEE

THE name of late Arthur Schopenhauer, the Teuton Seer of Hindoo Spirit is well-known to the literary circles of our country. His death centenary falls on the 21st September, 1960. In the world-wide turmoil of Political-cum-Ethical conflicts of the day, it would be a pertinent endeavour for us to give a biographical Sketch of the departed Seer:

Danzig is indeed a remarkable spot on the map of Mid-Europe, standing on the river Vistula. This city experienced vicissitudes of political fancies for a long period since 1713 A.D., and ultimately was restored to Poland in 1945. This prodigious free city of cosmopolitan culture, in a like manner gave birth to a prodigious child of sharp intellect on the 22nd day of February, 1788. That was Dr. Arthur Schopenhauer. That intellectual giant of Teutonic race with much temerity professed a unique and contrary thought, less heeded to, against the contemporary formidable teaching of K. W. F. Hegel.

## *Domestic Environment and Early Education*

Arthur Schopenhauer was the only son of Heinrich Schopenhauer, a wealthy mill-owner of Danzig. This Schopenhauer family was in the good grace of Prussian royal court too. Consequent on a Prussian invasion against the free city, his parents settled down in Hamburg of Germany, when Arthur was a mere child of five years.

Arthur had his primary education in a Grammar School of Hamburg. His father wanted to see his only son as an worthy successor to his business, and trained him in commercial line. Through a tragic accident Arthur lost his father at the age of seventeen only.

His mother Johanna Nil Trosiener Schopenhauer could command little respect of this grim boy. Compared with the luxuriant growth of the lad the mother looked like a puny dwarf. So she could not tackle the son in an impressive mode befitting her superiority and position in the family. Besides lacking in tactics to manifest her control over the son, the mother verily nourished altogether a different temperament than her boy. Discrepancy of cultural tastes often kept them so apart in their mental arena, from each other,

that, soon after the death of his father, Arthur always tried to keep off from his mother, which practice ultimately caused a lasting separation when he hardly reached twenty-five years of age. After his father's death Arthur for a year joined his paternal business. But that monotonous affair having failed to attract the rich mind of the would-be philosopher, Arthur began an academic career again.

## *University Career and Studious Nature*

With a preliminary training in the Gymnasium of Gotha, at the age of twenty he got admitted in the Gottingen University, where he underwent a scholastic study of multifarious subjects : Science, Arts and Literature. His stupendous learning amazed all his fellow-mates and teachers alike. With a restless mind and with that limited scope of learning in that cloister, he soon entered the University of Berlin for further nourishment of his mental faculties.

Young Arthur since his early age showed indication of his future intellectual attainments. No outward sportive activities, nor even convivial gatherings of whatsoever nature, seemed to have any appeal to him. As a measure of daily routine Arthur would remain absorbed avidly in his books in the morning, than he would attend lectures half-heartedly, and then would come back in the hostel in a sullen mood. The young student of Philosophy was so eager about learning that gradually he was fully convinced that, with a few exceptions most of the University lecturers were but mere 'charlatans', devoid of genius, and, as such, he used to devote most of his time in reading works of distinguished authors. And from time to time he enjoyed association with Goethe, Schiller and Beethoven in between the terms and vacations.

## *His Wandering Life*

After obtaining a Doctorate from the University of Berlin Dr. Schopenhauer contemplated to start his career as an educationist. But strange behaviour of the young philosopher characterised by apparent rudeness and imbecility stood in the way. He cared very little

for the sentiments of others and showed indignation to the inane practices and formalities of the convivial phase of gregarious living. Besides all these peculiar traits, suited to his own fancies alone, his intuitive aversion for mundane life kept the philosopher away from the common track of materialistic pursuits, and as such, the philosopher could not engage himself for merely mercenary motives whatsoever. Ultimately regardless of unfavourable environments, and with the handsome bequest left by his father, Dr. Schopenhauer built up his world after his own mental make-up. And he used to walk freely along its entire space guided by his instinct and intuition.

Nevertheless, he was not at all averse to mundane interest. Dr. Schopenhauer was a great admirer of Arts, Literature, Sculpture and of Music. He was of aesthetic temperament also.

After his academic career Dr. Schopenhauer visited almost all the cultural centres, places of Historical interest and ruins of Archaeological importance of his own continent. In one word, this life-long savant like a diligent student travelled from one place to another for enriching his store of learning. During his stay at Dresden despite his mental aversion he enjoyed the association of the elite of the society.

His aesthetic aptitude helped him to enjoy the Society of Weimar, of Goethe, Schiller and other eminent persons. He was an ardent lover of Poetry. Petrarch's verses and Rossini's music appealed a great deal to his refined taste.

He had been to Italy on several occasions simply to visit the birth-place of these two poets. There in Italy, he used to attend 'Cafe Greco' regularly and enjoyed the catholicity of international congregation of taste and culture.

#### *Paradoxical Trait*

Mysterious were the gaits of the philosopher. From time to time he remained obsessed with frenzied emotions. Very often regardless of pros and cons, he used irrational words to others. And again, as a rule, he never trusted anybody, and was of abnormally suspicious nature and was falsely apprehensive of others' unfair intention to cheat him in every way. His unwarranted

caprices and fads gradually placed the philosopher exclusively in the self-made world of his own, here his pet dog *Atma* was his only comfort as a companion. Such cynical attitude startled his guests and friends alike.

On the basis of all such apparent caprices some of his contemporary critics heaped opprobriums on him. But they were not fully correct in appraising the conduct of the Seer. Surmounting all the odds and obstacles of a century-long chronological events, when we retrospectively look into the philosopher's life, with an unbiased sentiment, we find a different picture of his personal traits. Owing to his early imbecilities and capricious literary practices Dr. Schopenhauer could not impress the reading public with his earlier compositions. And this disappointment caused him to suffer extremely throughout a particular period of his life. For that reason a certain amount of dissatisfaction got stored up in a morbid corner of his philanthropic heart. Incidentally as a psychological response, that morbid corner used to give away some peevish smoke. Deprived of appreciations and adulations from all the expected quarters of intelligentsia, the mortified philosopher at the age of 45 took refuge to a voluntary seclusion in a sequestered house of the city of Frankfurt-on-the-Maine. The brilliant aspect of his life was revealed in that state of seclusion.

Dr. Schopenhauer was a misogynist of an extreme type. To summarise the philosopher's idea regarding the 'fair sex', we are to repeat his remarks verbatim, she 'is an entrapment for exploiting the male race.' Some of his bitter experiences confirmed his thoughts about the other sex. Bearing in mind the torture perpetrated on his beloved philosopher Plato by his wife this Seer of Rhine Valley never allowed himself to be snared by marriage.

#### *His Philosophical Insight and Ethical Concept*

At long last the goddess of fame favoured the philosopher with her grace and his recognition as a 'Seer' materialised in reality. The depth of his thought, was, however, realised and relished by the students of Philosophy and Moral Science. His lofty thoughts were revealed in the pages of *On the Will in Nature*. His *The Two*

*Fundamental Problems of Ethics* and subsequent *Essays* amazed the contemporary scholastic coteries of Europe. They created sensation in the leading seats of learning throughout the length and breadth of the Western World. His philosophical exposition of "Will" along the track of the Vedantic doctrine of Ego focussed a new light to his countrymen.

The Hindoo Philosophy, the *Upanishadic* teachings and Buddhistic Renunciation shaped his philosophical doctrines. In his own exposition of the *Upanishadas* and Buddhistic '*Shunyabād*' Dr. Schopenhauer displayed the acme of his wisdom. After all, he was himself a pessimist of stoical resignation and preached with assertion—"Hope and happiness are two inconsistent terms in human life."

With all his so-called craziness and practical imbecilities of mundane life, this 'Prophet of his Age' created a remarkable sensation amongst the intelligentsia, and with all his earnestness he tried to cast aside the sanctimoniousness of the Church and its Dogma.

It should be said his Ethical conceptions were not confusing in the least. His pessimism and philosophical contentions were counter-balanced by his robust optimism and ethical exposition. With his clear insight this Seer reached the very root of all evils in the Society, and in many of his essays he unfolded all those debris to the eyes of escapists, rationalist charlatans and others. His philosophical work—*The Two Fundamental Problems of Ethics* extolled him to the pinnacle of fame.

#### *Seer's Last Days in Frankfurt*

This Seer of the Rhine Valley led a spectacular life of a sage in his house at Frankfurt. He was transformed into an out-and-out Indian monk with dreams and aspirations of the *Upanishadic* age. In pursuance of Hindoo *Yogis* this Teuton hermit very frequently went on observing the vow of silence for weeks and months together. In the last phase of seculded life this sage with Indian spirit spent most of his time meditating deeply on the *Upanishadic* lessons and study-

ing avidly Buddhistic Scriptures. He spent most of his morning hours in his study where above him hung an oil-painting of W. V. Goethe, and on the desk, face to face, were two busts—one of Lord Buddha and the other of Immanuel Kant. He would be found very often gazing for hours together on either of the two busts. And sometimes the Seer could be seen meditating deeply with his eyes shut up and body filled with ecstasy of thrill. Immanuel Kant and Rene' Descartes were his beloved authors. Volumes of works of these two philosophers remained before his eyes, lying on the writing desk. Still he frankly confessed, "I get more out of one page of these ancient Hindoo books than I do out of ten volumes of European philosophers after Kant." Sincerely the sage uttered—"The aphorisms of *Upanishads* are a great source of my solace in these gloomy days."

Being a devout student of Hindoo scriptures the sage rightly realised that the concept of '*Atma*' is the very essence of Hindoo philosophy, and, as such, as an external mark of his psychic communion with the "soul" of the *Upanishadic* age of India, *Rishi* Schopenhauer used to call his pet poodle *Atma*. And he spent much of his valuable time for the care of *Atma*.

At the age of seventy he was attacked with consumption, which malady in a galloping way sapped up all his energy and the Seer of Rhine Valley died much earlier than his *Vedic* belief of century span of life.

In the midst of sanguine war between Latin and Teutonic races, marked by a titanic conflict, the philosopher often uttered before his demise—"Only those who can renounce the mundane world are the greatest ones of all ages. History would not remember these warriors; but she would record the names of peace-makers only.

With the approach of his last hour the philosopher elucidated his idea of Buddhistic annihilation to his friend Dr. Gwinner—"Only honest living can attain that absolute emancipation." And in the same morning of the 21st September, 1860, this Teutonic prophet of Hindoo spirit closed his eyes for-ever, to find out his contemplated world of eternal solace.

## FREEDOM'S CHALLENGE

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

THE Years following the end of World War II (1945) has witnessed, among others, the birth of many a new nation in Asia and Africa. India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, Viet-nam, Cambodia, Laos, Syria and Lebanon in Asia and the Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and Ghana in Africa became independent. Singapore and Malaya in Asia and Nigeria in Africa stand on the threshhold of nationhood. Egyptian sovereignty became a reality with the withdrawal of British forces from the Canal Base in 1955. The independence of Algeria from French tutelage may not be far off.

The new Afro-Asian nations are different from one another in many respects. Each has its own peculiar problems. But certain problems are common to them all. These problems are all the more serious—hence a solution is all the more urgent—because the new Afro-Asian States have been born in a period, which is in itself revolutionary in nature and outlook. The world has become a single entity. Barriers of Geography have tumbled down. The nineteenth century and the first quarter of the 20th had, of course, given the impression of a unity to the world. But based on the supremacy of European and Western nations over the rest of mankind, it was superficial in nature and political in content. The emerging unity of the period following World War II is altogether different in character : "As the social and industrial structure of the world and the interdependence of people have become much more definite and are clearly in the process of an evolution, when the differences which were once considered fundamental are being gradually obliterated" (*Afro-Asian States and their Problems* by K. M. Panikkar, p. 12). Born in a new world, the new Afro-Asian nations are confronted with problems of unexampled complexity and that without an adequate administrative and political organisation, without essential skills and technical equipment, "and also without a social preparation which could release the energies of the community to deal with the problems of transformation."

Dr. K. M. Panikkar examines in a brilliant monograph the problems of the new Afro-Asian States.\* He classifies them into the following categories—political structure, administration, economic life, education, science and social problems.

Most of the new States adopted the democratic form of Government. But the experiment has failed almost everywhere. Some, after toying with democracy for a time, have adopted non-democratic forms of Government, such as, "guided democracy," "controlled democracy" or military dictatorship. A successful working of democracy and democratic institutions pre-supposes, among others, the acceptance of the doctrine of obedience (to the will of the majority), the association of the people with the Government at all levels and independent thinking connected with political problems. Democracy, says the learned author, must be provided with ideas. The conditions enumerated above are, unfortunately, missing in most of the new States of Asia and Africa, and "They have, in fact, become textbook democracies with but little relation, in most cases, to the social and economic conditions of the countries concerned" and in many of them there is an air of unreality—"an attitude of make-believe" as Dr. Panikkar puts it. If democracy is formal or if it is discredited, the army becomes a rival centre of power and may lead to the rise of military dictatorship.

The civil services inherited by the new States have been weakened by the withdrawal of the superior personnel, which always came from the metropolitan countries. Even in the countries which had effective civil services, in an attenuated form, however, "the changed purposes, motivation and enlarged activities of the State" demanded an immense increase in supervisory as well as technical personnel which most of the states failed to supply. Loan of foreign experts helps, but does not go to the root of the problem. The future of the new countries depends, therefore, to not a little extent on the rapidity with which they can build up a competent, honest and trained administration which is essential for the stability and success of a democratic form of Government.

The economic problems of the new Afro-Asian States are threefold, viz., (i) the creation of a balanced economy suitable to the conditions of the respective states in place of a colonial economy ; (ii) raising the standard of living by

\* The *Afro-Asian States and their Problems* (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London—12sh. 6d. net).

industrial development and exploitation of the natural resources, and (iii) the transformation of rural life and modernization of agriculture to enable the peasantry to come out of their age-long torpor and backwardness and to share the national prosperity with other sections of the population. A solution of these problems is the *sine qua non* of a self-sustained economy without which a State may stagnate or even fall back.

No less complicated is the problem of education. Universal education must be provided to the people. Each new State must at the same time provide a comparatively wide system of higher education to enable the nation to handle its own economic, administrative and political problems. Young men and women must be educated in the principles of social service at the same time. Last but not least, if the hard-won independence of the new states is to have significance, they must provide the technical skills and scientific education.

No country can build up a modern society on the basis of second-hand science. To take advantage of the progress of science anywhere, a country must have a corps of scientists who are capable of exploiting and assimilating the results of the latest research. But few of the recently emancipated Afro-Asian nations have scientists enough for the purpose. Their educational system must be transformed. But such a transformation is no easy job. Scientific work, it must be remembered : "Cannot progress in a vacuum, that is, without a background of modern industry, which in its turn is dependent on a high-level of technology" (p. 80). There is but little interest in scientific development in the South-East Asian and African countries. They, it may be said, are only spectators in this fast-changing twentieth century scientific world. The world stands today on the door-step of a tremendous scientific transformation "which will make the gaps between the scientifically advanced and the scientifically backward nations deeper and wider, making the latter more than ever dependent for all essential things on the more powerful nations." (p. 80).

The re-organisation of the social structure to "conform to the political economic and moral ideals of modern life" is a major problem facing new Afro-Asia where society was—and is still—wedded to traditional forms. The problem is one of finding a social ideal which combines

those aspects of their own inherited traditions which appear valuable to them with the new urges of our times.

The problems enumerated above, Dr. Panikkar points out, are mainly due to the fact that for more than a hundred years characterized by revolutionary changes in the economic, scientific and political life of the West, the new States of Asia and Africa were not their own masters. Political tutelage produced two bad results. For one thing, it changed the course of their evolution and independence found them in a state of social and political uncertainty. Their own traditions had been undermined. The new ideas of the West were at best imperfectly understood and partially assimilated. For another, foreign rule deflected the course of their economic development and "they stepped out of their dependence in a State of economic backwardness, insufficiently equipped to deal with the stupendous problems which faced them" (p. 96). The age which they have entered as free nations is itself undergoing revolutionary changes in every sphere and this has made their problems infinitely more difficult.

It is not a little strange that the problems of national and emotional integration so vital to the life of nations—new and old alike—have escaped the notice of so learned and careful an observer that Dr. Panikkar is. Regionalism, linguism and sectarianism constitute a formidable threat to not a few of the new States. The threat is perhaps more real to India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia, among others. The reason is not far to seek. Fissiparous tendencies in the body politic of these countries were carefully nursed by alien rulers. But they were kept well under control. The successor governments in these countries are weaker than the foreign Governments they have replaced and cannot effectively control, far less to cure, them. The Karen revolt in Burma, the *Dar-ul-Islam* movement in Indonesia and the Naga revolt and the Punjabi Suba demand in India, for example, indicate the existence of cankers eating into the very vitals of the nations concerned. The suspicion—not always ill-founded—that some of these movements are encouraged and helped by foreign agencies make them more ominous.

All in all, Dr. Panikkar's *Afro-Asian States and their Problems* is a notable addition to works on current history and will re-pay a perusal.



# Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

ORIENTAL ESSAYS : Portraits of Seven Scholars : By A. J. Arberry. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 1960. Pp. 261.

This work from the pen of the Professor of Arabic at Cambridge University consists of a series of biographies of British Orientalists who have been selected out of many for having been the author's fellow-workers in the field of Islamic research. The account opens with the career of Simon Ockley, the fifth occupant of the University Chair in Arabic at Cambridge in the early part of the 18th century, who has been characterised as the pioneer. They follow in succession the biographies of Sir William Jones (the revered founder of The Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and one of the greatest humanists of all time). Edward William Lane (author of a monumental Arabic-English dictionary), Edward Henry Palmer (best known as the translator of the Koran), Edward Granville Browne (the renowned author of the *Literary History of Persia* and other works), and, Reynold Alleyne Nicholson (the greatest interpreter of Islamic mysticism in western lands). The reader's interest is throughout stimulated by appropriate quotations from the writings of the scholars including the stories of their hopes and aspirations and disappointments as well as methods of work. The author's judgments throughout are marked by soundness and discrimination. The work concludes with the author's modest account of his own career introduced to the reader as "the story of an ordinary man born in an ordinary household" (p. 233). The chapter closes with relevant extracts from that great "charter of modern Orient-

talism" in Great Britain, the Report of the Scarborough Commission of 1947, whose recommendations have been unfortunately much pruned in the following years. The author concludes his work with a passionate plea for the advance of Oriental studies in the West in the face of the tremendous difficulties in its path. The lofty humanism inspiring the author's statement is best expressed in the last two sentences of his work (p. 256) : "The world's greatest and most clamant need is for such an integration of creative impulses as will lead to the emergence of a common civilisation pursuing one common purpose . . . . a civilization infinitely varied, drawing on the water-springs of all previous civilizations, realizing itself in the peaceful and neighbourly exploitation of mankind's inexhaustible wealth of mind and heart and spirit."

Upendranath Ghoshal

THE VEDANTA PHILOSOPHY : By Swami Abhedananda. Published by Ramakrishna Vendanta Math, 19 B, Raja Raj Krishna Street, Calcutta-6. Pp. 52, Price Rupees Three.

This is an unpublished lecture of Swami Abhedananda delivered before the Philosophical Union of the California University at Berkeley, U.S.A., in 1901. Four hundred prominent professors of different Universities of the United States assembled there to hear this grand speech and sat still for one and a half hours before this Lion of Vedanta from the then benighted India. Before coming out in the

form of this book, this historical and memorable lecture appeared in 1956 in the *Vedanta and the West*, a Journal conducted by the Vivekananda Home of Hollywood. The manuscript of this lecture was handed over to the learned editor of this Journal by Ida Ansell before her death in January, 1955. A microfilm of the complete text of the lecture was also procured from the University of California for this publication by the Ramakrishna Vedanta Math of Calcutta.

Swami Abhedananda was a direct disciple of Sri Ramakrishna and after Swami Vivekananda preached Vedanta in the western hemisphere for about a quarter of a century and for this noble mission crossed the Atlantic Ocean seventeen times in those days. He delivered a good number of learned lectures before many prominent cultural Academies of Europe and America and left an indelible impression on the philosophical thought of the Western world. He will be ever remembered in India and abroad as a pioneer of Comparative Philosophy and Comparative Religion. He was an ideal Philosopher, a real Vendantist in the truest sense and clearly explains in this lecture the central idea of Vedanta philosophy. Rightly this Indian philosopher observes that the Vedantic Brahman is none other than the Absolute Reality of the Western philosophers and is identical with the Good of Plato, Substancia of Spinoza, Ding un sich of Kant, Unknown and Unknowable of Herbert Spencer, Will of Schopenhauer and Oversoul of Emerson. Western Absolutism and Mysticism are not at all new and novel in Indian Philosophy and Religion. That is why Sir Monier M. Williams remarked that Hindus were Spinozites before Spinoza was born and Prof. Huxley opined that the doctrine of evolution was known to the Hindu sages long before Paul of Tarsus was born.

This short but substantial lecture will be interesting to the students of philosophy and the reading public alike. Swami Prajnanananda's lengthy preface has enhanced its readability. It should be rendered into Bengali, Hindi and other Indian Vernaculars for wider circulation. This small board-bound volume is nicely printed and attractively got up and quite suitable for the libraries.

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Swami Jagadiswarananda

SOCIAL HISTORY OF ISLAMIC INDIA (1605-1748):: By Mohammad Yasin, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow. Pp. xiv + 234. Price Rs. 15/-,

History is no longer a catalogue of Kings, Emperors and their generals, and of their successful campaigns and wars or of humiliating retreats and surrender, treachery and intrigue, almost oblivious of the common people except as subjects of oppression, or victims of war, pestilence and famine. Today we have a more exalted conception of History and its province. England has J. R. Green's History of the English People. India wants her Green. In the book under review, the author has partially supplied a long-felt want, and is almost a pioneer.

The best service the reviewer can do to his readers is to try to introduce the book to him and ask him to read it for himself.

India is a luxuriant field for the growth of schism and sects Islam which had already broken up into the traditional 73 sects, got further disintegrated in Hindustan since its introduction into this country. The Shias, a small minority among the Indian Muslims, are divided into 22 sects, according to *TazKira Mazahib-i-Haftad wa seghana*, each one calling another a *Kafir*. How bitter was the Shia-Sunni quarrels may be gauged from the fact that during the Adil Shahi regime at Bijapur, persons were employed to curse on the Sahabah, who became the first three Khalifs of Islam. Even death could not obliterate this enmity. It was thought that the dead, if they happened to belong to the opposite sects, could not live in peace in their graves if buried side by side. During the reign of Akbar a Shia was buried in the neighbourhood of the tomb of Amir Khusrus. Sunni Ulema objected to it and represented to His Majesty that Amir Khusrus was a native of India, and a Sunni and hence, he would be very much annoyed by the company of a Shia in the grave. The Emperor gave orders that the Shia's body should be removed from there and should be buried somewhere else.

Again, we read that Mughal service in Hindustan was predominantly foreign, and it was not at all opened to men of Indian

nationality. Even under Akbar 70 per cent of the Amirs and Mansabdars belonged to families which had either come to India with Humayun or had arrived at court just after the accession of Akbar; the remaining 30 per cent were held by Indians, rather more than half by Muslims, and rather less than half by Hindus. There were 51 Hindu Mansabdars out of the total of 415.

There are many interesting side-lights on social life of this period.

J. M. Datta

**KHURSHED NARIMAN :** By Shankar-prasad S. Nanavaty. Published by the author from 448/16, King's Circle, Bombay-19. Pages 62. Price Rs. 2/-.

This is a short biography of K. Nariman, who in the words of the late Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel "was the uncrowned King of Bombay" for a long period. He came from a humble Parsee family and had to struggle hard in his early life but he was successful as a lawyer and established a lucrative practice within a short time. He had a passion for public service and entered the Bombay Municipal Corporation where he was elected Mayor later. Nariman was associated with many public organisations of Bombay. He was an influential member and President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and had been elected to the Provincial Legislature on Congress ticket. He became well-known all over India by exposing what is known as Back Bay Scandal. But difference with Congress High Command, particularly with Sardar Patel, brought his downfall. Although a Congressman he had no charm for Mahatma Gandhi's ideology and he expressed it in his book "Whither Congress" in 1933. Nariman suffered much and courted imprisonment in his fight for India's Independence. He died in New Delhi on 4th October, 1948.

The book under review is a welcome addition to the biographies of Fighters for India's Freedom and deserves wide circulation.

A. B. Dutta

**A NEW ASPECT OF HOMEOPATHY :** By Dr. S. M. Chowdhury. Published by Hahnemannian Homeo Clinic ; 3, Sambhu Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 3/-.

The book under review is the outcome of laborious research work of Dr. Chowdhury, who has earned some reputation as an author of a few books in Bengali, on Homeopathy. His

article, "The Law of similars and the Law of cure" published in an esteemed American Homeopathic Magazine has highly been appreciated by no less a veteran Homeopath than Dr. Allan D. Sutherland, M.D. With a view to solving some of the difficult problems of this Medical Science, full of intricacies so far as innumerable symptoms of diseases are concerned, Dr. Chowdhury has been working hard for more than two decades and he has, admittedly, been able to throw new light on the aspect of Symptomatology.

Dr. Chowdhury's book which is written in a simple style will be immensely helpful not only to professional Homeopaths but also to laymen who are interested in this Medical Science. Dr. S. N. Sengupta, the learned author of the *Science and Philosophy of Homeopathy* has contributed a thought-provoking introduction to this book wherefrom Homeopaths will get practical hints in the treatment of hereditary, alien, chronic and all other classes of diseases. A number of case-histories will be of much help in this respect.

Nalini Kumar Bhadra

**GASTRONOMIC TOUR DE FRANCE :** By Jean Conil. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. Price 35s. net (Cloth) ; 30s. net (Board).

Human inquisitiveness has been daily expanding and almost every aspect of life now finds keen observers and collectors of materials. They make specialized study and record all they have known about their object of interest. Here 'the President of the International Epicurean Circle' has given us a detailed account of all kinds of French dishes and delicacies with information about the principal hotels and restaurants in different parts of France. Those who have a taste for foreign savouries and hope to travel abroad will find the book useful and interesting.

D. N. Mookerjea

#### BENGALI

**BARANIYA :** Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Messrs. A. Mukherjee & Co. Private Ltd. 2, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-12. Price Rs. 5.

Sri Bagal has been systematically trying to bring to light the complete picture of our Nineteenth Century Renaissance. For sincerity, perseverance and neatness of exposition, he has earned distinction among our historians. In this interesting volume he has presented before us, in

his characteristic way, the lives and works of some of our great men of recent times, such as, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Basu, Prafulla Chandra Roy, Aswini Kumar Datta, Subhas Chandra Basu, Bipin Chandra Pal, Ramananda Chatterjee and the like. The short biography of Dinesh Chandra Sen is a worthy tribute to the great explorer in our literary history, unfortunately ignored today. It is time that a comprehensive biography of this eminent historian and litterateur should have been written. Besides these he has drawn nice pen-portraits of some less-known and unknown persons, unknown but not insignificant. Among the less-known may be mentioned Kiran Chandra Mukherjee, the exemplary selfless revolutionary hero, Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya the unassuming silent scholar and Radha Charan Chakravarti, the shy sweet-tempered poet and journalist; and among the unknown—his village teacher of early boyhood and three idealist teachers he came in contact with in his youth.

These are days of rapid moral degradation. To uphold the eternal ideals of life is a real social service. If Sri Bagal's earnest attempt can remind us of our glorious heritage and inspire us to struggle for a "life sublime" he will have his mission best fulfilled.

D. N. Mookerjea

### MARATHI

**VIDUSHAKA** : By Govinda Keshav Bhat, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Maharashtra Grantha Bhandar, Kolhapur. 1959. Price Rs. 9/50/- nP.

Lovers and students of Sanskrit literature and specially Sanskrit Drama will welcome this dissertation on Vidushaka, produced by the learned writer after years of study. He has carefully gone to the origin of the type—was it a type?—which seemed to cling to Sanskrit dramas. Was it Vrishakapi, a Brahmachari carrying on some great *vrata*, or like the Western prototypes such as Vice, or Clown? Bharata has presented him as a hump-back Brahmin with a comic appearance. He, however, is an active participant in the action, with a predilection for good food, with his peculiar language which serves to point at the same time to the real condition of the society. He is not always a mere entertainer.

The learned author has made a detailed analysis of the characters of 16 Vidushakas, which will be read with pleasure by those who have gone through the dramas.

P. R. Sen.

### GUJARATI

(1) **KAMALKUMAR** : By the late Mrs. Sumati, the daughter of the late Sir Lallubhai Samaldas Mehta. Pp. 115. Price 12 annas.

(2) **ANDHARI RATE** (In a Dark Night) : By Ketan Munshi. Pp. 140. Price 12 annas.

(3) **RAMANAN RAKHOPATI** : Translated by Jayant Parmar, from Sane Guruji's Marathi Novel. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 4.

(4) **MANASAINI VATO** : Edited by Pitambar Patel. Pp. 305. Price Rs. 2.00.

(5) **AKSHAYA PATRA** : By "Sarang" Barot. Pp. 264. Price Re. 1-8.

(6) **MATINI MURTIO** : By Mohammad Mankad. Pp. 120. Price Re. 0.12.0.

(7) **VAITALNI VATO** : By Prof. Dr. Bipin J. Jhaveri and P. J. Mistri. Pp. 210. Price Re. 1-8.

(8) **THANDA POHORNI VATO**, (Stories told in Cool Moments, i.e., at Eventide) : By Harrai Amutukhsai Desai, B.A., S.T.C.D. Pp. 100. Price Re. 0.12.0.

(9) **SAUBHAGYA SUNDARI** : By Mulshankar H. Mutani, Pp. 240. Re. 1-8.

**ALL NINE** : Published by the Society for Encouragement of Cheap Literature, and printed at its own Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Thick Card Board Covers. (1951-1952).

Sumati Behen was a cultured young girl, who died very early in life. This story, very intelligently written, is in its Second edition and depicts a faithful picture of a Hindu's domestic life in the present times. *Dark Night* begins with an adventure of a young man, who being involved in love, was on the point of drowning himself in the stormy seas of the month of July at the Marine Drive, Bombay, when a stranger rescued him. Sane Guruji's novel in Marathi, called *Ramacha Sheta* is well-known. Mr. Parmar has translated it well, and has preserved its spirit correctly. A collection of 17 stories of recognised and representative story-writers, like Petlikar, Umashankar, Chunilal V. Shah, Madia, Mrs. Vinodini Nilkanth, Sopan, Ramanlal V. Desai, the late Meghani and others are reprinted here. *Akshaya Patra*, the never-failing Pot of Entertainment similarly contains also 17 stories, the production of a

rising story writer, who deserves encouragement. *Images of Clay*, the composition of a Muslim writer claims to draw pictures of village life, of which the prevailing note is dust, clay, earth and where still the belief prevails that it is inauspicious and immodest for a husband to call his wife by name and vice versa. The village dialect which the characters speak, gives it a genuine ring of country-life. Samal Bhatt's *Vaitalni Vato*, Stories of Vaital, a genie, in the Dhara Nagri of King Bhoja, written in verse and called *Mada Pachchisi* have been rendered into easy prose by Dr. Bipin Jhaveri and his co-

worker. *Stories told at Eventide* are really entertaining and "airy" and therefore cooling. Kavi Mulani has been enriching the drama literature of Gujarat for the last several years. *Saubhagya Sundari* is one of his best plays and was staged successfully for a very long time. A collection of several other plays, written by him and staged, are printed here. It will serve the purpose of preserving them, as representing a certain stage in the history of staged plays in Gujarat in the past.

K. M. J.

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# Indian Periodicals

## Rabindranath Tagore

*Chowringhee* writes editorially :

Rabindranath Tagore was a genius of a rare and unique type. Never in the history of the world has a man been born who had all the qualities that Rabindranath Tagore had. He was a man whose physical appearance immediately struck one with its uncommon magnificence. Tall, well-proportioned, shapely and handsome of features, he reminded one of the kings described in fairy tales of the *rishis* of classical times. His facial expression was ever changing and as he talked, sang or recited people watching him were spell-bound by the mobility of expression of his handsome face. His eyes expressed his emotions with lightning changes in their shape, size and colour, and his lips moved to create a flow of illusions of anger, love, anguish or divine ecstasy as occasion demanded. In his movements he was graceful, and when in his old age, he could no longer walk or dance, he moved his hands in a manner which had a poetry of its own. Physical perfection combined with great intelligence and depth of outlook in all fields of thought, gave him a personality which was magical and which roused respect and admiration in all hearts. His physical presence had such a hypnotic quality that wherever he had gone, in Asia, Europe or America, people stood and watched him as an object of wonder and super-natural grandeur. Some said he was like Christ, some saw in him a divine light and no one ever looked upon him without feeling an over-powering admiration for his marvellous appearance, his wisdom which emanated from him and his many-sided genius which enveloped him like the atmosphere in which he moved. Most ordinary people, like bus conductors or restaurant waiters spoke of Rabindranath Tagore as they would of saints and prophets and wherever he went, he left an atmosphere of veneration behind him.

To come back to the genius of Tagore, we have to discuss his most outstanding quality, *viz.*, his poetry first. He began writing poems at the age of twelve and from the beginning his poems acquired those qualities of imagery, vision, form and word perfection which one associates with

poetical excellence. Of the thousands of poems that Rabindranath Tagore had written, not one lacked those qualities and thousands of critics have looked for defects in his writings without success. The translations of his poems have never expressed the magnificence and splendour or the subtlety and fragrant charm of his poetry very successfully. Only those who know Bengal and the Bengali language can really appreciate the wonders of Tagore's poetry.

Rabindranath Tagore composed nearly 4,000 songs and he set the tunes of about 3,000 of these songs himself. As a composer of songs he has no rivals anywhere in the world. This is true in point of the number of songs composed, the rare beauty and charm of the melodies and great poetry imagery and word perfection of the songs. Many of these songs were composed for "operas" like *Valmiki Pratipa* and for dance dramas like *Chandali* and *Chitrangada*. His songs are unique in the cultural history of India and they should be sung by all people in their original Bengali form and with the music that Tagore composed. Recent attempts at translating his songs into Hindi or some such language and at improving the music have been murderous as well as ridiculous failures. Such attempts should be discouraged even if they are found advantageous by the transcribers.

Tagore's adaptations of his musical "operas" to dance or Manipuri style ballets are another wonder of his versatile character. In his sixties he sat and made these adaptations and imagined the various *mudras*, *talas* and movements, which later, he caused to be reproduced in actual song and dance by real singers and dancers. These dance operas are quite remarkable for their beauty, grace and artistic excellence.

About the same time Tagore flourished into a full-fledged painter of pictures, which for their weird imagery, powerful form and striking colours are hard to beat. We cannot call his pictures by any of the names found in the dictionary of art history. He is not an impressionist, a post-impressionist or a surrealist. He is not a painter of abstract imagery nor of symbolic subjects. His pictures are realistic and the realities are entirely his own in the truly personal sense.

Rabindranath Tagore has been a great

philosopher, a theologian, a politician, educationist, social reformer and a writer of great novels, wonderfull short stories, impressive Belles Lettres and humorous skits. His efforts at architecture, furniture design, interior decoration, etc., have been quite remarkable. And above all, his faultless understanding of all subjects that had anything to do with human upliftment. In his mind he had a vision of a united humanity which he tried his best to realise.

### New Trends in the Indian Newspaper Industry

Frank Moraes, Editor of the *Indian Express*, writes in the inaugural issue of *The Editor*:

Journalism is passing through a crucial phase in India. Like other institutions, newspapers have felt the impact of independence, and developments such as the growth of literacy, keener interest in national problems and progress, along with a livelier awareness of the world outside, have collectively and cumulatively influenced the content and views of the Indian Press. To pore over newspaper files of the decade before independence and those of the decade after is an illuminating lesson in contrast and change.

With the exception of a few months during a transition from Ceylon to India, I have functioned as an editor since 1946, and it is therefore principally through editorial eyes that I view the newspaper world of independent India.

By and large the changes have been for the good. The newspapers of independent India are livelier, more comprehensive, more acute and perceptive than they were before freedom came. In a sense this is inevitable for the constricted atmosphere of foreingn rule is at once anomalous and artificial affecting both rulers and ruled, and the newspapers of those days reflected this abnormal relationship.

If the national atmosphere is now more real and normal, it does not necessarily follow that all the accruing changes have been beneficial to the Press. The cleavage between the Indian-owned Press and the British Government was basically political and surfaced sharply in periods of tension. Then, as now, the Government sought to influence the Press positively by its power and patronage, which consisted largely in advertising doles. Negatively, the British raj had its punitive machinery of confiscation, closure, fines, deposits and imprisonment. The

national Press played a decisive role in the achievement of fredom.

Today, the pressures exercised by the Government on the Press, particularly the smaller newspapers if far less punitive, are no less potent. This is not entirely the fault of the Government but the outcome of a developing situation which with the official adoption of a socialistic pattern for India means the enlargement of the public sector and consequently a tremendous expansion in the range of official advertising which in turn signifies a sizable power of patronage.

Add to this the maze of import and export controls, along with the difficulties in obtaining licences and foreign exchange, and the pervasive if impervious strangle-hold of officialdom can be appreciated. For newsprint, machinery and many other vital necessities, newspapers are dependent on the goodwill of an abnormally sensitive Government. Moreover, big business has entered the newspaper domain and exercises its influence far more assertively, selfishly and capriciously than did the newspaper magnate of pre-independence days who was almost exclusively concerned with the production and sale of his newspapers. The commercial interests of a modern Press baron might extend from cement to chemicals and from textiles to automobiles and shipping. The wider the range of a newspaper owner's commercial empire, the greater his dependence on the favours of the Government—more so a Government controlling most avenues of trade and industry.

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Government intrusion and influence do not end there. No reasonable person would say that there was no need for improving the conditions of pay and work of Indian journalists, but experience proves that the most practical way of doing this is to encourage a stronger esprit de corps among journalists themselves and a healthier, friendlier relationship between journalists and proprietors. However well-intentioned it might be, the imposition of Government-regulated scales and standards of pay, emoluments and leave have led to some unfortunate results. They have intensified the commercial bias and basis of newspaper organisation and production, thereby virtually equating the journalist's work with the work of a factory employee or a mill-sand. Additionally, the so-called working journalist is encouraged to ignore his editor and proprietor and look to the Government as his *ria-bap*.

Thus the newspaper profession is trisected, with the working journalists and the proprietors leaning on the Government for concessions and favours while the editors, although theoretically classified as working journalists, are in practice treated as a caste apart. The trisection is reflected in the separate organisations of the Working Journalists Federation, the All-India Newspaper Editors Conference and the proprietorial Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society. Between them, these three organisations hold the newspaper baby while the Government holds the balance.

With the consequential diminution of the editor's status, newspapers in India are beginning to lose their individuality and very few newspapers today are identified with the names of their editors. On the other hand, the intensification of the commercial basis of a newspaper has led to an unhealthy growth in the authority of the general or managing director who is the commercial functionary of the proprietor and who is sometimes a man whose lack of general knowledge, grammar and the elementary courtesies is only rivalled by his sense of self-importance and conceit.

A significant development of Indian journalism is the rise in the influence of the political columnist writing under his own name or a widely-known pseudonym. I have a feeling that more and more readers will turn to the columnists, and that editorials in consequence will be less read and less heeded. This is happening in the United States and in Britain. And I personally shall welcome the day when that trend is on the ascendant here, for by allowing a columnist freedom to express his views the

banner of independent journalism might still wave over our newspaper barricade.

### Military Training for Students

Raghuvir Sahai Nigam observes in *The Indian Review*:

The Government of India is going to launch the scheme prepared by Dr. C. D. Deshmukh. The Central Advisory Board of education has plumbled for it. Even the doubting Thomases had to accept it as the state of discipline in the institutions has reached the dangerous level, and the country has not been taken by storm by the National Plans. There has been criticism about its practicability only. If it fails, the matter will be doubly worse. A colossal organisation and a very great amount of effort and money will be needed to see it through.

It proposes to carry on General Education also along with physical labour under military service conditions. Ideas about it have been floating in the educational mind, but the propitious moment has arrived now. The national scheme of N.C.C. and A.C.C. should have prepared the field before this Deshmukh's scheme is launched in actuality.

U.P. had tried this scheme for graduates but given it up though it was deemed as the entrance passage for government service.

The programme of Moral and Religious Education should also be shoved in.

There will be certain practical (and even legal) difficulties because most of the intelligent boys will be 17 only, too tender for this rough work. Their day and night association with more grown up boys, of coarser fibre and with the atmosphere of the street, will bring down the sense of finer values. Already the boys in the colleges and the universities coming from families, where the earlier generation had no higher education, have spoiled the atmosphere in higher educational institutions. Vulgarity has become the norm. Had we had the Intermediate Examination wherein the successful candidates would have been 18 years of age, the problem would have been simpler. Boys passing the Higher Secondary Examination will be 17 only unless they are rotters or come from comparatively backward families. Hence it will be prudent to mobilise only boys of 18 and above immediately after their passing the examination, leaving out the younger ones for one year. They may be roped in next year. Thus in the beginning we will have only half the population in our hands.

Those tender bodys may join the first year of out by force. Otherwise they will spoil the whole degree course or go in for apprenticeship. They may be called up when they are 18 or later.

A large number of workers in the cause will be needed. Honorary workers from the Sadhu Samaj, R. K. Mission, Scouting Organisation, Social Service Organisations or from amongst retired post-graduates may be included.

The bucolic folk may face partial unemployment on account of this corps of voluntary labourers.

All the camps must be treated as Military Camps and political agitators should be shut

Complete detailed preparation must precede the starting of the scheme. Otherwise uncontrollable chaos will result. This is the biggest hurdle.

Let us wait with a well-wisher's heart but a sceptic's head.

A sufficient quantity of small arms can be made available for the military training part ; but are there enough competent military officers to go round ?



# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## A Century of Evolution

In an article under the above caption in *Unity*, March-April 1960, John M. Morris writes :

A century has gone by since Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace developed the first clear, consistent, and complete explanation of the process of organic evolution. In America, and to a lesser extent in England, the theory of evolution has been attacked, ridiculed, and scorned by a vocal minority in the Christian churches, giving the impression that evolution is somehow anti-religious. Attacks like these have largely been given up, however, as a growing majority insisted that the truth can never be anti-religious.

We may turn to some of the deeper and more permanent questions upon which a century of evolution has cast some light. Under the influence of Darwin, men have discovered not only their kinship with the animals, but a new sense of their relationship with nature. They have also found some justification for their long-cherished belief that they are not tied helplessly to the past. And they have come to believe that they can build structures of thought, of art, of society, of religion, and of human relationships that are truly new under the sun.

First, then, evolution showed man his relationship with nature. Although he has evolved from animal origins, man's body is an animal body. His anatomy is like that of the great apes. His eyes (by a coincidence) are like the eyes of the octopus; they are animal eyes. The tides of the sea run in his veins, recalling an even older inheritance—the fluids of man's body are salt solutions of approximately the same concentration as the oceans in which he once lived. The human embryo, bathed in a memory of the primordial ocean, with curling tail and slits for gills, is an heirloom a billion years old.

Man is, of course, also different from the other animals, because of the way he thinks. For example, a human child can learn to talk, while a chimpanzee, even though it is raised in pre-

cisely the same way, will never learn articulate speech. Somewhere in the course of evolution, there was a basic change in the kind of brains possessed by our simian ancestors.

Man has, however, tended to over-emphasize his differences from the animals, cutting himself off from the rest of nature. This is part of what the psychologists call "alienation." Just as the alien has no roots in the country into which he emigrates, the alienated person has few connections of love, of sympathy, or of mutual support with his society or with the natural world. He drifts as helplessly as an unguided missile—and as destructively, too.

The concept of evolution showed that man is a member of the family of nature. His life has meaning in its relationship to the life around it. One author, Leslie Reid, puts it this way : "(There is a) fundamental unity which is the very essence of the natural world. Only (when we realize this) can we begin to apprehend the fact that each single phenomenon of nature has no meaning, no existence, except by virtue of its relationship with all the other phenomena . . ."

There is no doubt that man shares with all living things a unity of origin and a unity of ultimate destiny. There is, as we shall see, a fundamental principle of mutual aid, for which the word "love" might be a weak but indicative term, giving a partial unity to life. The principle of evolution, by reasserting man's fundamental unity with nature, has given a new and broader meaning to John Donne's familiar words, "No man is an island, entire of itself ; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main . . . any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. . . ."

Under the name of Darwinism a somewhat different doctrine has been claimed as scientific "fact." According to this view, all of life is engaged in a fight to the finish. Nature is a vast battleground, in which "survival of the fittest" is the rule. Those animals which cannot compete in the struggle for existence are eliminated. Through this process, which Darwin called "natural selection," certain characteristics are

preserved and passed on to succeeding generations.

If Darwin was inclined to overemphasize the element of competition in nature, it was only because he was so familiar with it in human society. Victorian England was a place where the "law of the jungle" often prevailed. Karl Marx developed his theories of the class struggle as he watched the operation of the same society ; he was so impressed with the similarities between his own and Darwin's theories that he almost dedicated the first volume of *Das Kapital* to him. Fascist writers, too, have found inspiration in Darwin's writings, which might be interpreted in such a way as to justify the elimination of "inferior" races.

Darwin, however, was not a Darwinist. He took some trouble to point out that man is a social animal, and that mutual aid and compassion are essential if man is going to survive as a species upon this planet.

It remained, however, for another man to give the full answer to those who held that nature is "red in tooth and claw." That man was Peter Kropotkin, a Russian prince, a philosopher, and a refugee from the Czars, whose authority he despised and denounced.

In a series of articles published in England under the title "Mutual Aid : A Factor in Evolution," Prince Kropotkin supplied the element that the Darwinists had forgotten. In great detail, he showed that it was not necessarily the most vicious animal, or the one with the best defences, that was preserved in the struggle for existence. It was rather those that could best learn the principle of mutual aid. Thus do ants band together in the nest ; thus do birds gather in flocks for their migratory flights. Often, it is not the animals that compete, but those that refuse to compete, that are preserved. When snow covers the ground, the bears and certain rodents simply go to sleep, instead of fighting for their life ; when the food is exhausted in one place, the herd of deer or buffalo migrates to another place.

Happily enough (Kropotkin concludes) competition is not the rule either in the animal world or in mankind. It is limited among animals to exceptional periods. . . . Better conditions are created by the *elimination of competition* by means of mutual aid and mutual support. In the great struggle for life—for the greatest possible fulness and intensity of life with the least waste of energy—natural selection continually seeks out the ways precisely for avoiding competition as much as possible. . . .

Although kropotkin's work only slowly

gained recognition by the professional biologists, it is generally admitted today that competition is only one of many factors affecting the process of evolution, which is not nearly so bloodthirsty as the Darwinists supposed. We are slowly coming to the recognition that, in the words of the poet W. H. Auden, "We must love one another or die."

To reach this level of social existence requires a basic, radical change in man—both as an individual and in society. No implication of evolution is more important than its proof that such radical changes *do* happen. There are new things under the sun, and we can point to the whole history of life on this earth to prove it.

Evolution turned Christian theology upside down. It said that man is *not* an inferior kind of angel, but a more complex kind of animal. It said that life on this earth is not a series of imperfect copies of heavenly patterns. It said that higher and higher levels of organization and consciousness had appeared. The amoeba gave birth to the sponge, and the sponge to the fish, and so on, up to the highest mammals, insects, composite flowers. In short, *man has risen not fallen*.

Man has, with characteristic conceit, placed himself at the summit of the evolutionary process. To do so ignores the fact that many other forms of life have come through an equally long evolution. The ant, the cockroach, the rat, the daisy—all these are admirably endowed with qualities man cannot match. We might even argue that the insects are superior to man upon two counts : They are better able to survive the effects of a hydrogen-bomb war ; and they are not known to be planning one.

But whether or not we think of man as the highest thing that life has produced, we are forced to recognize that it has produced him. For the first time, Darwin showed that we have to see the life-process as truly creative.

The theory of evolution has given birth to the recognition of *emergence*. According to this view, new or novel structures *emerge* in the course of time, which not even the most observant investigators could have predicted. If you study the gases hydrogen and oxygen separately, you will never be able to predict what will happen when they are combined to form water. We say that the characteristics of water *emerge* out of the chemical combination of the two gases. In the same way, life emerged out of certain chemical combinations in the early history of the planet ; and at length human consciousness emerged out of the thought-processes of certain ape-like creatures.

The essence of emergence is surprise ; it is

the soul of the unpredictable. If we could divorce the world "miracle" from its supernatural connotations, we might even call it miraculous.

Religions have looked to the past for their miracles; evolution suggests that the basic miracle is in the on-going process of existence. Religions have looked to certain holy books or great prophets of the past; evolution suggests that the greatest prophecies lie hidden within man himself.

Man's evolution is still going on; there are creative possibilities within him that have not yet been realized. The Golden Age does not lie in the past, nor does it lie in another world in the future.

Anthropologists have been impressed with the fact that human cultures, throughout the world, have exploited only a very narrow range of the possible methods of existence or modes of life open to them. Taken as a whole mankind has not been nearly so inventive as it could be.

We have learned that new characteristics have "emerged" at various times in the past history of the earth—characteristics that could not have been predicted on the basis of anything that preceded them. We know that man has used only a small portion of the possibilities.

We may hope, then, that there can be a new vista—a new kind of life for men upon this earth. It may come as new physical forms of life. We know that human evolution is not over, and that the bodies of men are still changing, just as they have evolved in the past. Yet the more likely areas are new ideas, new forms of social structure, new religions, new ways of responding to other persons.

Man's situation today differs from that of any other creature at any time in the past. He now knows a great deal about himself and about the way in which his life, as an individual and in society, has developed. Up until now, the individual has been a passive object, changed by the blind processes of genetics, tested in a very real "struggle for existence," and eliminated when his nature did not carry survival-value. Today it may be that man's society as a whole does not have survival-value. It may thus be eliminated in the unceasing process of natural selection. If this is the case, it may happen that the insects will inherit man's place in the sun.

Yet man has one potentiality that the insects do not have. He has the ability in small measure to control his destiny. He can, in his imagination, look ahead into the future. No dinosaur, sabertooth, or woolly mammoth could foresee the possibility of its extinction; still less

could it have taken steps to change its destiny. But man, with his unique imaginative power, can come to an understanding of his world, perhaps in time to change—to adapt himself—before the catastrophe occurs.

Many look to something beyond the stars to intervene in time to save man from himself. Darwin himself could not do so. He found that he did not need the hypothesis of a creative "force" outside of life itself. Perhaps there is some cosmic puppet-maker looking, as so many have supposed, down upon his little foolish creatures. And perhaps he will appear at the last moment, just before the final bang or whimper. But we had better not count on it. The puppet-maker should have been here long before this—before the ovens at Dachau or the fireball at Hiroshima. If he could not, or did not want to stop these horrors, who is to suppose that he can, or will, stop the ultimate horror?

All that man can count on is man himself—a weak reed to use as a crutch, but the only one we have. All that can save us is ourselves—you and me, good people. Evolution has taught man a great many things, but the most important is the phrase given us by the renegade Russian Prince, Peter Kropotkin—the phrase "mutual aid." As living things have learned to give each other mutual support, understanding, and love, they have survived in this long struggle for existence. From the past we have received this bit of protoplasm, these few square feet of earth, the wild ideas that clutter our brains, and the spirit that aspires to something that it has never seen.

This is what we have. What it becomes is up to us.

## O. Henry

We reproduce here the following article on O. Henry, the most popular of all American short story writers, who died on June 5, 1910 from *Cultural Notes* published by the United States Information Service.

In the history of western literature, there are a few men who have decisively influenced the course of the short story—de Maupassant, Edgar Allan Poe, Bret Harte and Rudyard Kipling. A name to be ranked with these is O. Henry, a supreme teller of tales, an artist who revealed the tragedy, burlesque, romance and pathos that underlie our daily lives.

Born in North Carolina on September 11,

1862, William Sidney Porter used the pseudonym O. Henry because he wanted to forget, and make people forget, that as Porter he had once spent three years in prison after being charged with embezzling funds from a bank in Austin, Texas. But for this experience, the O. Henry that the world knows today might never have been, for it was in prison that he wrote many of the stories that made him famous.

From prison he also wrote numerous letters to his little daughter Margaret pretending to be travelling in order to shield her from the talk that was inevitable after his conviction. Writing many years later about this black mark in his past, O. Henry said : "I state solemnly that in spite of the jury's verdict I am absolutely innocent of wrong-doing in that bank matter."

In 1902, O. Henry went to New York where he believed nobody would know him and started his career as a writer. Here he found the great diversity of life any big city can offer. He haunted streets, parks and restaurants, he observed women and men, he talked with them and captured picturesque details of expression and experience. Before long his stories were accepted by several magazines, and his fame grew so fast that he could hardly keep up with the demand for his writing.

In 1904, he wrote 65 short stories ; in 1905, 50 stories ; and the tales of humour and suspense about little people were soon collected and published in book form. From 1906 to 1910 he published nine books, mostly about life in New York, but also about people and events in Central America and Texas.

His vision was ironic but not bitter, although he had spent three years in prison. "His humour was of that deep quality," one of his biographers writes, "that smiles at life itself and mingles our amusement with our tears." In his heart he was a pure type of the American romanticist of his day, Bohemian in his nature, sympathetic to the under-dog, restless and nomadic in temperament. He always seemed to seek out the down-and-outers of this world to sense the colour of their lives, to catch the romance of their story.

The best O. Henry stories are about New Yorkers, about stenographers, musicians, shop girls, art students, people who have yet to make their mark, who you sense will never make their mark but who hopefully lean far over the banister-rail when the door-bell rings.

The greatest contribution to literary technique was the mixture of human element in his stories, of suspense and a surprise ending. He also possessed the rare power of gripping his

reader's attention and holding it to the end. Journalistic smartness, after-dinner wit, slapstick farce and theatrical melodrama—he mastered them all. Readers were enchanted with the romance he found in drab boarding-houses and forgotten New York streets. They shared his pity for little people and they were delighted when the surprise endings of the stories routed misfortune and brought a happy end.

Many of his most popular and most widely translated stories, among them "The Gift of the Magi," are based on his favourite use of coincidence. But in all his tales of confused or mistaken identities, a tender spirit—here of sacrifice—imparts a special glow.

It is true that O. Henry's short stories have little characterization, that they do not portray individuals, that they deal with types and that we see only the externals of costumes and masks and exaggerated physical peculiarities. But he knew what makes men happy and what makes men sad, and he was endowed with a unique sense of humour. "I am the only original dispenser of sunshine," he once wrote whimsically.

His life was short and rather uneventful after he arrived in New York, eight years before his early death. He was much admired by his contemporaries because it seemed that no one, not even Mark Twain, was more a product of American soil, mixing in his style modern slang and strange verbal flowers, paragraphs of beauty ending in a caper.

With his death his fame grew rapidly. It called forth four posthumous books. The Society of Arts and Sciences founded in 1918 an O. Henry Memorial Award for the best American short story to be published each year. He was called "The Yankee Maupassant" and one writer said : "England has her Dickens, France has her Victor Hugo, and America has her O. Henry." He was translated into dozens of languages.

Many of the 252 short stories which he wrote, will survive. There can be no doubt that he enlarged the area of the American short story by enriching and diversifying its social themes, too. In his hands the story became the organ of a social consciousness more varied and multi-form than it had ever expressed before. This, because he was at heart an optimist who believed that in every human being there is to be found something good, however mixed it may be with other qualities.

In one of his stories he wrote : "Life is neither tragedy nor comedy. It is a mingling of both. High above us omnipotent hands pull the strings that choke our laughter with sobs and cause strange sounds of mirth to break in

upon our deepest grief. We are marionettes optimism. This feature of his works fascinates that dance and cry, scarce at our own wills and the reader. The characteristic of his writings at the end, the flaring lights are out, we are laid to rest in our wooden boxes, and down comes the dark night to cover the scene of our brief triumph."

### Thomas Mann

The 85th birth-anniversary of Thomas Mann (1875-1955), winner of the Nobel prize for literature in 1929 and in 1949 occurred on June 6, 1955. The following estimate of this great novelist is reproduced here from *German Views*, June 11.

The German author most widely known outside his country in the present century is probably Thomas Mann who was born in Luebeck. English translations of his works have passed through successive editions, and his novels and short stories have found admirers among avid and critical readers in India.

He always dabbled in complicated ideas which could not lend themselves to simple explanation, without affecting adversely the subtle shades of meaning. His style is, therefore, complicated and is characterised by countless ramifications. Expressions of emotions and delicate feelings are accompanied by a rich vocabulary and long sentences. This character of his writings makes an exacting demand on his readers' patience and attention. Still, he has been quite successful as an author. Is the subject-matter of the works the reason for his popularity?

A disquisition of the modern system of society in occidental countries is again and again the theme of his works. This is the background to Mann's description, say, even of the personality of an artist whose methods of creating works of art have an individuality of their own. That is, Mann considers that the study of the artist and his work cannot be dissociated from the social surroundings in which he lives and works. His destiny, according to Mann, is no longer a personal matter; on the other hand, he and his work bear on them the impress of the society of which he is a part. It is on the basis

of this polarity that Mann's literary thought is built up. The inter-relationship between the individual and the society is the central theme of his works. The masterly ability with which he depicts this relationship is the reason for his literary success. He discusses the society in

which we live with an irony which, in spite of its sharpness, is not disrespectful. On the other hand, his irony infuses hope and encourages

This feature of his works fascinates that dance and cry, scarce at our own wills and the reader. The characteristic of his writings at the end, the flaring lights are out, we are laid to rest in our wooden boxes, and down comes the dark night to cover the scene of our brief triumph."

### First Novel

Born in 1875, Thomas Mann grew up in an environment which he depicted, at the age of 25, in his first novel *Buddenbrooks*. The novel relates the story of three generations of a family which overcame obstacles and reached the zenith of happiness till the decline of its fortunes is marked by the suicide of the last remaining male representative. The story places emphasis not so much on the decline of the family as on the robustness of the earlier generations which is shown to have been replaced by an artistic ability to discriminate. Gains and losses always go together, and Mann fully succeeds in depicting the different aspects of an apparently unequivocal fact.

Mann's works always conform to the actualities of life, because they grow out of the demands of the times they deal with. His most popular short stories *Tod in Venedig* ("Death in Venice"), *Mario und der Zauberer* ("Mario and the Magician"), *Tristan*, etc., are interpretations of contemporary life. It is for this reason that Thomas Mann's works are closely associated with the history of Germany and of Europe during the last few decades. He left Germany in 1933 and after long years of exile went to the United States of America.

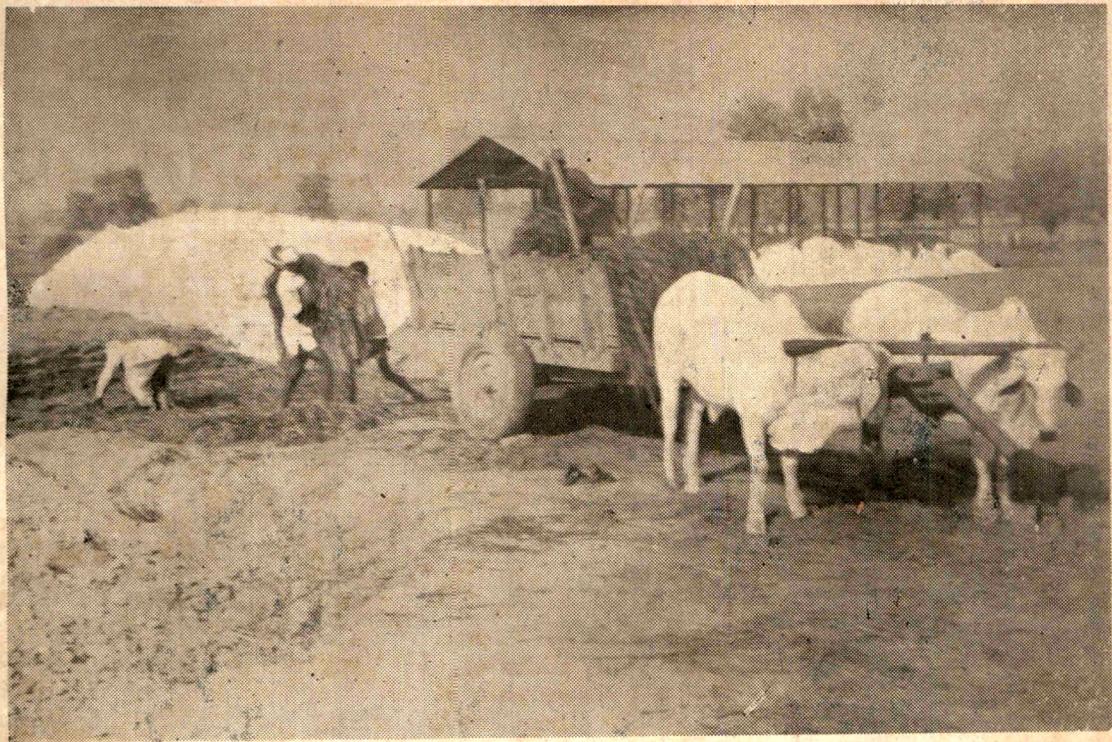
His most important and widely discussed novel is *Dr. Faustus*, which he wrote in the United States. This is the story of a German intellectual during a period of thirty years, and brings out all the blunders and catastrophes of the period. It discusses the activities of the artist and his work cannot be dissociated from the fateful years 1920-1930. Two extremes touch each other in this book; the main character is brought to the world. He dies of a fell disease which he had himself knowingly contracted.

*Dr. Faustus* has been the subject of much negative criticism. It is difficult to find anything positive in it. Still, the overall performance of the author is above criticism, because the book is based on a principle which he places before the world.

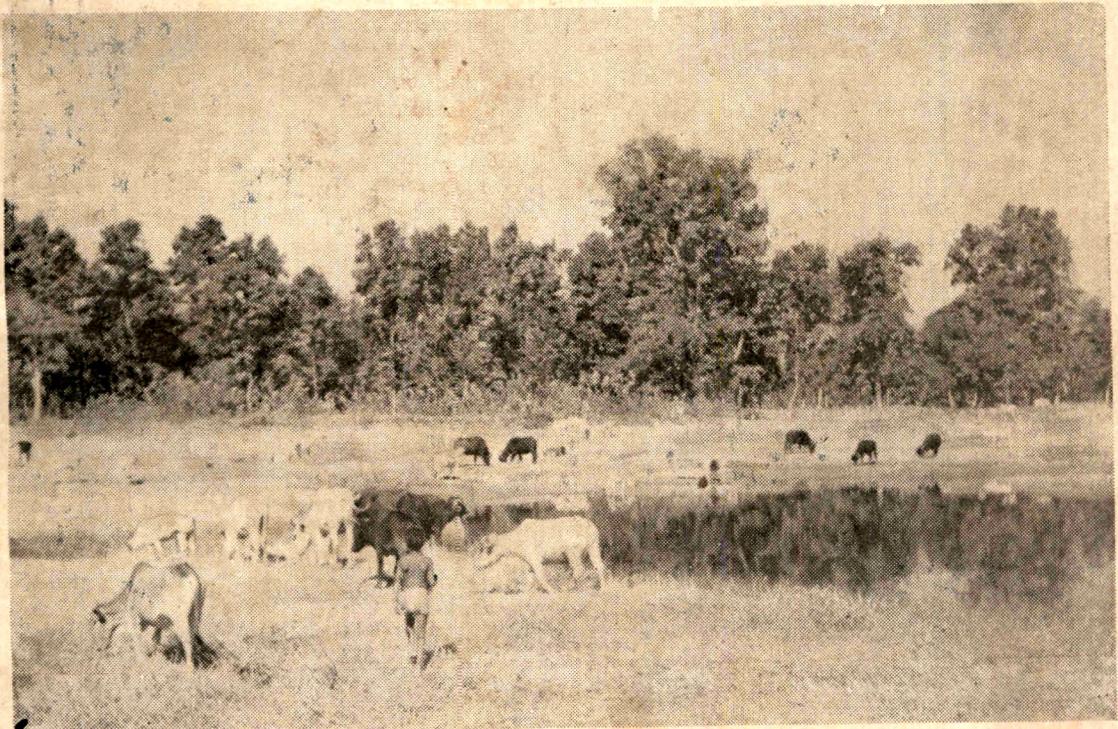
After World War II Thomas Mann returned to Europe and settled down in Switzerland where he died in 1955.

Editor—KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

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In the outskirts of a village



SRINIVAS ACHARYYA IN AN ECSTASY

The Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Nripendraprasad Bhattacharjya

*Founded by*—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



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## NOTES

### The Cold War

The World had experienced a thaw, a lowering of tension between the embattled camps awaiting the final trial-at-arms for world domination between the rival groups aligned under the banners of International Communism and the Western concept of Democracy. There had been prolonged exchanges of opinion at the highest level, Mr. Khrushchev had visited the U.S.A. and President Eisenhower was expected to visit Moscow immediately before the Summit talks at Paris. The World was awaiting with bated breath the final outcome, which would decide the course of World events.

Then came the U-2 incident, followed by a flaring up by the Soviet authorities and a spate of conflicting statements from the U.S. Administration. Moscow withdrew the invitation to the U.S. President and the Summit talks fizzled out at Paris. And ever since there has been an intensification of the Cold War, with repercussions on all parts of the World.

In the Far East, Russian threats to hit U-2 bases in Japan resulted in a wildly hysterical movement by massed demonstrators drawn from the students and leftist ranks, denouncing the new U.S.-Japan Treaty, the pro-U.S. policies of the then Premier Nobosuke Kishi and the impending visit of President Eisenhower on June 19. The demonstrations succeeded in cancelling

the U.S. President's visit to Japan and later on in forcing Premier Kishi into resigning.

These riotous demonstrations, set-off by the threats from Moscow and spearheaded by the students, with the support of the Socialists, Social-Democrats and the Communists of Japan seemed to have achieved little else as yet beyond what is noted above. The disturbances were confined to Tokyo, the U.S.-Japan Treaty was automatically validated prior to the resignation of Kishi—who deferred his departure from politics until that much was achieved—and now there is a caretaker Government in the saddle, under Hayato Ikeda who was Minister of International Trade and Industry in the Kishi Cabinet. He is a supporter of close ties with the United States, like his predecessor. He was nominated leader of the party by the Liberal-Democrats, at an extraordinary session of the Diet (Japanese Parliament). It is understood that the caretaker Government is to function till fresh elections which are to be held about the autumn of this year. It remains to be seen whether the new Government can restore and maintain public order till then, as the Liberal Democratic party itself is an uneasy coalition of eight factions that range from the centre to the extreme right.

In the West the Soviet has challenged the Monroe Doctrine. **The New York**

Times of July 17 details the challenge and the U.S. reply in the following words :

The challenge came over the U. S. dispute with the Cuban Government of Fidel Castro, which has increasingly turned for support to the Communist bloc. Over last week-end, Premier Khrushchev threatened to launch intercontinental missiles against the United States if it intervened in Cuba, and President Eisenhower, in an implied invocation of the Monroe Doctrine, replied that the U.S. would not permit the Communists to intervene in the Western Hemisphere.

Last Tuesday, Mr. Khrushchev attacked the Monroe Doctrine which he said the U.S. was using "to substantiate a right to rule all the Latin American countries and meddle in their domestic affairs." The doctrine, he said, has "outlived its time," "died a natural death," and "should best be buried \* \* \*." He said he had no interest in military bases in Cuba, for rockets launched from Russia could hit any part of the globe. But he inveighed against the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, held under a treaty drawn in 1903, as "sheer iniquity."

On Thursday Washington delivered a sharp reply. The State Department said that the Monroe Doctrine was "supported by the inter-American security system through the Organization of the American States," and that the U.S.-Cuban treaty was none of Russia's affair. The State Department further declared :

The principles which the U.S. Government enacted in the face of the attempts of the old imperialism to intervene in the affairs of the hemisphere are as valid today for the attempts of the new imperialism. It consequently reaffirms with vigor the principles expressed by President Monroe \* \* \*

Observers believed that the Soviet rocket threats and attack on the Monroe Doctrine are aimed at intimidating other Latin American nations, and strengthening Cuba as a bridgehead for Communist penetration in the hemisphere. The U.S. aim is to keep the Communist powers out of the hemisphere and to strengthen the U.S. position by marshalling Latin American opinion

on its side. Both political and economic moves by the U.S. are under way.

The Monroe Doctrine, which was enunciated by President James Monroe, the Fifth President of the United States, in a message to the U.S. Congress on December 2, 1823, has succeeded until now in checking all attempts at imperialistic adventure by European powers. It checked the European Holy Alliance from launching into a war of reconquest over the former Spanish Latin Americas, and the French intervention in Mexico while the Civil War was raging in the United States, in the sixties of the last century.

This famous diplomatic doctrine proclaimed that "North and South America are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power."

In Africa, particularly in Congo, there has been an increasing tempo of Soviet interest in African independence movements. Over Congo it resulted by Premier Khrushchev justifying the revolt of the Congolese soldiers against their officers (Belgian) and openly accusing the U.S. and the N.A.T.O. of conspiring to re-impose "a colonial status" in Congo by sending Belgian troops there, under the guise of suppressing riots. The matter was, however, amicably settled for the time being through the acceptance in the Security Council of the U.N. of a Tunisian resolution, calling on Belgium to recall its troops and authorizing the Secretary-Generals to send "such military assistance as may be necessary until, through the efforts of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able . . . to meet fully their tasks."

The U. N. forces are now flowing in and it is to be seen what moves follow. For the time being there is no untoward event.

### Congo

The people of Congo have achieved freedom from Belgian Imperialism. In the past the Belgians had exploited Congo in a manner which had no semblance of civilisation about it. We remember the rubber plantations of Belgian Congo in which the

African workers were treated inhumanly. Sometimes when their day's collection of rubber was not up to the mark, their Belgian masters ordered their hands to be chopped off. What else they did we have no recollection of, but this hand-chopping has stuck in our mind. For long before that when Britain was organising the sale of Manchester-made cotton goods in India, the thumbs of Indian weavers were sometimes removed by amputation in order to discourage them to weave. Modern methods of advertisement, salesmanship, securing orders through influence and other methods replaced the old tricks of trade which were not very civilised. In the Indigo plantations, the British used to subject workers to slow torture and brutally forced many cultivators to plant indigo. The Belgians in Congo, no doubt, learnt quite a lot from the British, but they had a special genius for crude brutality which impressed itself on the African mind never to be erased out entirely.

With changing circumstances in which being overrun by German Armies in the First and Second World Wars were important in point of toning down sadistic tendencies in the imperialists of Belgium; made the outlook of the white rulers of Congo more human and reasonable. The example of other European countries might have brought sense to the Belgians too. And, generally speaking, after the atrocities committed by white men (and Christians too) in Europe in these two World Wars, the old stories about spreading civilisation and preaching the one and only true religion died a natural death. Nobody believed any more that Europe had much to teach anybody morally. Rather European influence caused moral degeneration wherever Europeans went. They could teach the peoples of Asia and Africa a lot about industry, finance, science, social organisation, public welfare and the weapons of war. But as far as true human civilisation went the European rulers of imperially-dominated and exploited countries had nothing to gain by being under the British, the French, the Germans, the Belgians or the Portuguese. Imperialism destroyed the civilisation of the

ruler as well as of the ruled. So, it has been a great boon for all subject countries that imperialism slowly died out in most subject countries. There are little pockets still under the old imperial system. The Portuguese pockets in India, for example. New subject states are also coming into existence by reason of Communist "liberations" of various unfortunate peoples. Tibet is a good example where thousands have been butchered and the old order ruthlessly uprooted in order that the Tibetans may become Chinese and liberated Communists. The Czarist imperialism was also maintained by the Russian Communists and all the countries of Asiatic "Russia" came into the U.S.S.R. more or less automatically. Whether this has been good for the peoples of these countries is not known to us. All people in the U.S.S.R. are pressed into the same cultural mould and they all talk and behave in a certain standard manner which is the Communist way of talking and behaving. Whether these people are frustrated and are psychologically repressed is not known. There is every reason to believe that discipline can make all soldiers look the same in so far as their external conduct is concerned. But do they all become mentally, morally and spiritually exact replicas of one another? No, most certainly. All the races in the U.S.S.R., therefore, are dominated and ruled by the Bolshevik Party and Communism. It is a form of imperialism in which the sovereignty rests with the party. The satellite countries of Russia are also similarly subjects of the same oligarchical imperialism. In point of material exploitation, the Communist imperialism is not so bad for the backward communities. But for those who work well, skilfully and hard, like the Hungarians, the Poles and the Czechoslovakians, the exploitation is extensive.

To go back to Congo, we are glad the Belgians are getting out. They should get out quickly. For the Congolese leaders are impatient and are quite willing to choose the fire in order to get out of the frying pan. They have even got in touch with Mr. Khruschev, who is the greatest liberator of the peoples of the Earth. If the Congolese

are foolish enough to allow Russia to enter their country, they will, no doubt, have a dose of the new imperialism. For, Russia is now feeling strong, too strong, and looking for trouble in Cuba and elsewhere. Apart from Congo and her true independence the arrival of Russian troops in that country will precipitate further troubles, in so far as the U.S.A. will probably land troops in Congo too. The best solution will be that the Belgians get out quickly. The Congolese can then manage their own affairs without any outside help. When foreign assistance is sought it is always wise to invite helpers from opposite camps; for that reduces the risk of helpers helping themselves to the sovereignty of people who ask for help. But the risk is increased if there are any potential supporters of a foreign power within the country. The Congolese may or may not have a Communist party of their own. If they have a Communist party of Congo, the coming of Russian soldiers will surely lead to fraternising and the party will gain in power. That may not be so good for Congo, which is not very advanced economically and is not geographically in a position to go behind the iron curtain. By the time the economy of Congo adjusts itself to exclusive commerce with the Russian bloc countries, a large number of Congolese may be utterly ruined. A self-contained economy for Congo may not be possible and Congo will surely suffer if she tried swimming against the current in the matter of foreign trade.

A. C.

### China Violates Nepal Territory

In a report sent by the staff correspondent of the Calcutta Statesman from Kathmandu on July 22, 1960, it is alleged that "Chinese incursions into Nepalese territory have been widespread. In the past two months, Chinese troops or survey parties transgressed into Nepalese territory at least at 12 places.

"Some of these incidents are understood to have taken place subsequent to the Mustang incident last month. Limi, Narlanga, Chiktu, Mustang borders, Larkhya Riu and Jangding Khadka are some of the important strategic points along the border

where the Chinese troops intruded into Nepalese territory." Mr. Koirala, the Nepalese Prime Minister, is evidently incapable of impressing upon the Chinese the importance of keeping out of Nepalese territory. In this, probably, imitates his friend Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has kindly allowed the Chinese to occupy about 20,000 sq. miles of Indian territory. He has not even obtained any compensation from the Chinese who killed one or more Indian soldiers in Ladakh. Mr. Koirala has obtained some money and is probably feeling so happy over it that he is forgetting that money cannot buy lives, nor Nepalese territorial rights. At least the Prime Minister of any country, Nepal or India, has no right to sell the lives of the nationals of that country or its territory to a foreign power.

We have said repeatedly that all countries dealing with China should make it clear to the Chinese that they have forcibly occupied Tibet and destroyed the sovereignty of that country. Tibet never was, nor will be an integral part of China. The Chinese cannot overthrow her imperial past and take shelter behind Manchu history at the same time. The only way in which China can be stopped from being a universal nuisance is to tell her, forcefully, to get out of Tibet. Until and unless this is done, there shall be no peace on our Himalayan border nor in Nepal, Bhutan or Sikkim. If Pandit Nehru and Mr. Koirala cannot put a stop to foreign aggression into their respective national territories, they should resign and let others do what they have failed to achieve. The Government of India very recently talked glibly about border defence and how the strike by the Central Government employees was going to affect it; and they also passed an ordinance in order to be able to better protect the Indian border. But where have they protected the border? The Chinese have taken what land they wanted out of India and our border forces have not been ordered to take those areas back from the Chinese. Not to our knowledge.

A. C.

### The Gathering Clouds

By the Lhasa Convention of 1904, Tibet undertook to obtain the prior consent of

India Government in order to send out any number is significant—fired at Nepalese representative abroad. She further agreed patrol party, which was according to agreement that she would not harbour any foreign armed. This sudden, wanton shoot-power to have any hand in her affairs. As such has a family resemblance with what a token of her acknowledgement of India's 'special interests,' an Indian military escort was, since now, stationed at Yatung and Gyantsi. By the Peking Convention of 1906, China accepted each of the above three conditions. Russia set her seal of consent to such external relations of Tibet vis-a-vis India by the St. Petersburg Convention of 1907. The Sino-Indian Treaty of 1954 gave a complete go-by to all this. In fact, in defending it in the Parliament, Mr. Nehru cast an oblique glance on Lord Curzon for the aforesaid conditions by which Tibet was bound down to India. They were to him all 'types of arrangements,' an imperialistic power devised to enforce its stranglehold upon weaker people. He, therefore, surrendered all these rights, not to Tibet—there would have been an element of grace in it—but to China, which had most superciliously asked him to mind his own business in answer to his protest against her invasion of Tibet.

In the inevitableness of two and two making four, China is moving apace—desperately and sleeplessly round the clock—to consummate the process of completing her Himalayan Federations. If we react like do-little shirkers and would not dare to read her mind, which is an open book, we ourselves are alone to blame. Has not she stubbornly persisted in exhibiting in her various maps that many thousand square miles, spread over India's Ladakh and North-East Frontier Agency as belonging to her? Is not she as unflaggingly at work to draw in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan along her perimeter? She cast the die by breaking open the traditionally-accepted border line and occupying portions of India. She then hastily concluded an agreement with Nepal and made Mr. Koirala believe that he was being treated with a deference that was not accorded to Mr. Nehru. But even before the ink of Sino-Nepalese agreement had dried up in full, she violated its vital clause of demilitarization of the border to the depth of twenty kilometres. Chinese troops numbering about two thousand—the heavy Nagas,

she did on the Indian border. Nepal's Home Minister says that as the Subedar fell mortally wounded, the Chinese troops rushed into the Nepalese territory and took into custody army personnel and horses.

Mr. Chou En-lai has offered a meticulously fulsome, spruceiy-worded apology in respect of the incident, but has not said a word with regard to the violation of the clause of demilitarization. Rather, his earlier statement that 'it was a necessity' carries with it the implication of a tyrant's plea, 'necessity knows no law.' All the same, Mr. Koirala got hysterical with hiccups of satisfaction. 'To whom else,' he asked in puerile simplicity, 'has China apologised?' This is, obviously, eyeing Mr. Nehru askance. We do not grudge Mr. Koirala being vouchsafed a greater respect and consideration by Mr. Chou En-lai. We only wish that it is not in line with China softening the victim for the final kill.

Be that as it may, what we are so deeply concerned with is our realisation, to a man, that never before was India confronted with a more difficult, rather, insidious situation. The Sino-Indian amity, Mr. Nehru has strained every nerve to build up, has broken down. Communist China has been found guilty of acts of bad faith. It will not be safe to take her at her plighted word any more, if we cannot muster the will and strength to enforce it. It is high time for Mr. Nehru to accept without any equivocation that he is and can be no match for Mr. Chou En-lai in cunning, duplicity and the rest of what they connote in the composition of a statesman(?); and that he is completely outwitted and outflanked. The supreme need for India now is to chalk out a long-term, concerted line of action in order to tackle the explosive border by which China's extended frontiers now abut on her.

J. B.

#### Phizo in London

Phizo, the leader of the rebel group of Nagas, has reached London under mys-

terious circumstances. His sponsors, in the attempt at launching a publicity campaign at London, are Reverend Michael Scott and Mr David Astor, of whom the former gentleman is well-known because of his African activities.

The publicity attempt has misfired so far, because of the total ignorance of the sponsors regarding the origins of the "rebellion" and indeed about the entire affair. Phizo himself has not been able to impress the press and public in London regarding the justifiability of his cause, nor has he been able to outline the political and geographic targets of his movement. All that he had to say was that he and his party was willing to accept "any reasonable solution," when the British and foreign press correspondents asked him about his "minimum demands." He was not willing to give any answer to the straight question as to whether his demand was for outright independence or was it a demand for local autonomy.

Rev. Michael Scott did not seem to be very sanguine about the results of Phizo's present bid for rallying "World opinion" around him, for he attempted to persuade the Indian journalists, present at the first Press Conference called by him on behalf of Phizo, to press Mrs. Pandit, the Indian High Commissioner in London, "to meet Phizo on neutral ground" so that an understanding might be reached between him and the India Government. He admitted that he had no first-hand knowledge about Phizo's allegations against the Indian Army.

The United Nations had refused to take any notice of Phizo's past representations and hence this move on the side of Phizo and his sponsors, of whom only the two British gentlemen are in the open. As to who were the prime movers in this mysterious materialization of Phizo in London, there is no clear information. Of course, Britain has a long-established tradition of giving asylum to political refugees, and so long as the British regard Phizo as such, no useful purpose will be served by making any demands for extradition. Indeed, it will possibly only aid the misguided gentlemen who are sponsoring

Phizo's moves, in their bid for world publicity.

### The Congress and the Nation

Ever since the Indian National Congress inherited the power of administration in India from the British, it changed its outlook and stopped fighting for national independence and freedom in order to establish peace among the nations of the world, to set up some industries in India, introduce prohibition everywhere, make Hindi India's national language, send cultural and other delegations to foreign countries and to achieve a lot of other things which in no way made India stronger or prosperous, but which had value from the angle of ideological publicity. This peace business began with the shameless and weak-kneed division of India into Pakistan and Bharat. After fighting against British Imperialism through two world wars and for a period of over forty years, the Indian National Congress suddenly forgot the Swadeshi Movement of 1906, the political martyrs of Maharashtra, Punjab and Bengal, Jalianwallabagh, the Chittagong battle, the Indian National Army and made a disgraceful settlement with the British and agreed to a partition of India into two States. The British were at this time devoid of power and economic resources and they were only taking advantage of the weaknesses that India suffered from. The Muslim League were, with the help of the British, rioting and carrying on a bitter propaganda and the Congress leaders were unable to cope with the situation. They had alienated large sections of the people by their cliquish activities and the Communist party of India were helping the British in everyway. Yet, the Congress did not try to take the people of India into their confidence, nor did they attempt to recruit greater numbers from the public and make their party stronger and a more representative body. They wanted to avoid a fight with the British-aided Muslim League and to attain a raj for themselves anyhow. Had the Indian National Congress been a truly representative body, they would never have feared the British or the Muslim League. But they remained a narrow and weak body

of mediocre persons who could not command where in their millions. The political parties, the confidence of the youth of the country. viz., the Congress, the C.P.I. and the other So, when India was divided and there were minor groups were run by tub-thumping widespread communal riots everywhere the second-raters who thought politics would Congress could do nothing to save the help them to achieve a position in society. people. In places like Calcutta, the youth There were of course a few honourable ex- of the country fought back and retained ceptions who came into these cliques and possession of the great city in spite of the conspiracies by unexplained psychological best efforts of the British and the Muslim accidents. The vast majority of the people League Government who wanted to capture of India who had a stake in the country and the city for Pakistan by direct action. who did all the work for the land and When, however, the city was won back for its people did not belong to any political India by the local young men the Congress parties. The Congress, the Muslim League arrived on the scene in order to save the and the C.P.I. had different inspirations for Muslim hooligans from annihilation. The engaging in political activities and for Congress cult of peace was born of their claiming the right to rule the country. The weakness and so was Pakistan.

After winning "Independence" the Congress began their now well-known and futile International campaign for peace. The Panch Sheel which preceded and indirectly led to the Chinese aggression in Ladakh and N.E.F.A. and those other useless activities for making the world safe for the sanctimonious and the weak are now part of a miserable history of reducing a great land and a 6000-year old culture to the condition of a rubble heap of civilisation. The world saw a new idea in national Government which considered the Nation to be of secondary importance all the way. India progressively became weaker, financially overburdened with debts, taxed to a degree where honesty disappeared entirely, bureaucratic control and corruption ran

the people because their leader Gandhiji dressed like the ordinary people of India. The others, the lesser leaders, were building up a career and expected, some day, to rule the country. The Muslim League was a British-inspired conspiracy to damage India's national aspirations and to create discord among the peoples of this great country. The C.P.I. was organised by foreigners and was carried on by Indians who thought nothing of selling India to foreigners. Communists, by nature, do not believe in freedom for all. They want to reduce all persons to a condition of state-slavery and establish their party as the supreme employers, capitalists or masters as one likes to describe the persons in whom the sovereignty of the State rests.

riots in India and the people remained ignorant, poor, undernourished and suffering from diseases which were curable but were not cured. The art of planned overstatements and deliberate omissions or under-statements became the most practised art in India. This State which had **Satyameva Jayate** as its official motto.

When, therefore, the Congress grabbed political power over an attenuated India, there was a scramble among all the power-hungry second-raters who were the leaders of the Congress party in various parts of India. Overnight one came to hear of thousands of people who were unknown the day before and who now demanded to guide

The majority of the Indian people have the destiny of the Nation from all points of never been members of any political party. Some who were the most educated and the Congress parties of the various provinces, by the way, had not selected sphere of activities and others who much to do with race, culture or history but were ignorant and poor surrendered meekly had their origin in British administrative to whoever came to govern and rule them. These leaders were by and large The first group of qualified people were half-educated, uneducated, cliquish and found in the services and the learned and self-seeking. The only proof of character technical professions and the latter every- they had given to the nation had been by

going to jail for long or short periods with the greater national leaders. Their "fight" with the British for independence was non-violent and most of them had never been in mortal danger of any kind. When, therefore, the Congress became the rulers of India, these provincials immediately took it for granted that they would be the rulers of the provinces. The conclusion that their progeny, relations and proteges would occupy all the paying posts and get all the profitable commissions from Government, was drawn naturally from the pre-established practice in Government from time immemorial. The only difficulty was education and other qualifications. The idea of making Hindi the official language of the nation suited the Hindi-speaking Congressmen and the Constitution of India was drawn up accordingly. That Hindi as a single language did not exist was no consideration. Even the Biharis, who never spoke Hindi, became Hindi-speaking; for they thought it would be easier to learn Hindi than English. The non-Hindi speakers of India, immediately raised their heads, particularly those who were backward and had little knowledge of English. In Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madras, Andhra or Kerala there were no controversies over language. For the Bengali, Marathi, Gujarathi, Tamil, Telegu and Malayalam languages were well developed and the people of these areas also had the highest education in English. The people who squabbled for doing away with English and establishing their own languages or dialects as *raj bhasha* were the backward peoples of India. Their idea in backing these retrograde "ideals" was profit through gainful employment and control of trade and industry. English education stood in the way of all who were diffident of their intellectual ability and the hope that English will be ousted meant, to them, that the English-educated Indians will be ousted too from jobs and business.

The recent atrocities in Assam, which have been explained to be the result of a language controversy are the direct product of the activities of those Assamese people who rule Assam and belong to the Indian National Congress. Pandit Nehru has also

tried to whitewash their deliberately-planned murders and acts of looting and arson as a fight for their own mother language. Had there been any feelings in Assamese hearts for their language they would hardly have had only 10 newspapers in Assamese (dailies, weeklies, monthlies, etc.) with a total circulation of 34,000 only in an alleged population of over 5,000,000 Assamese. In Bengal with a population of 25,000,000 there are over 300 newspapers (in Bengali) with circulation of nearly 10,00,000. Bengal also publishes over 700 newspapers in English, Hindi, Urdu, Sanskrit and other languages. The Assamese "language controversy", therefore, is not born of any feelings for the Assamese language. It is in fact a fake. It has in fact nothing to do with language.

The **Bangal Kheda** movement of Assam (drive the Bengalis out) is sponsored by those Assamese, who want complete control over the province without reference to facts of race, language or history. Certain parts of Assam are Bengali-speaking and some are populated by Tribal people speaking Tribal languages. Most of the Bengalis and Tribals know English and have little knowledge of the Assamese language. If, however, Assamese were to be established as a language it would probably be the Bengalis of Assam who would become the leading exponents of the language for the reason that the Assamese never could take a lead in intellectual pursuits. But the Assam atrocities were all planned since many years and the A.P.C.C. and other groups of Assamese had been involved in it up to their eye-brows. **Bangal Kheda** movement is the real name of the movement. And the one purpose of it has been to drive the Bengalis out of jobs and trade and industry. The refugees from East Pakistan who went and settled down in Assam, where the density of population is only 106 p.sq. mile, were good trades people. They were immediately disliked by the other traders who had a near-monopoly of trade in Assam. These people aided and abetted the **Bangal Kheda** hooligan army of Assam. There were certain non-Hindu Bengalis too in Assam who liked to expand in numbers in that province and aided the Assamese

hooligans. So that the so-called "language controversy" in Assam which fake description of the **Bangal Kheda** movement has been apparently accepted by Pandit Nehru, is in fact no controversy about a language. It is for driving out Bengalis from Assam province and must be dealt with accordingly.

In other provinces, too, the cliques ruling the Provincial Congress are the chosen people for jobs or profits. Even in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar one finds only Hindi-speaking Biharis in good jobs everywhere though the Bengalis and the Tribals of the area are intellectually certainly equal to the Bhojpuris of Bihar. This is another case of Congress self-denial movement, by which all Congressmen get their own people into good jobs all over the country.

On the 16th of July 1960, Calcutta expressed its sorrow over the Assam atrocities in a manner befitting the occasion. The local trades people who were the caste brothers of the Assam traders did anti-Bengali propaganda in the city of Calcutta too. They also hired hooligans for retaliatory action in case the Bengalis began to attack them. The word went round that if the Bengalis attacked non-Bengalis in Calcutta, the Bengalis in the non-Bengali areas in India should be attacked too. But all these anti-national forces were greatly disappointed because the Bengalis did not rise to the infamous hopes of the profit-seekers of India. The day passed off peacefully and the world saw how non-violence should be practised. But the people who upheld non-violence in Calcutta on July 16, 1960 were not the Congressmen of Bengal. The Congress and the C.P.I. are now-a-days always found in the camp of untruth and violence. Assam is a clear and outstanding case proving this, Pandit Nehru should now take action in the light of this fact.

A.C.

#### Nehru Guarantees Safety

On the 20th of July a press report published a statement made by Shri Nehru on his return from Assam. "Asked about the present situation in Assam, Shri Nehru said, it is excellent. It is not absolutely normal, but it is absolutely secure and there is no

question of disorder or riotous behaviour. There is now full assurance of security." Shri Nehru was also reported to have said that the refugees could go back to their homes "the sooner the better."

The **Amrita Bazar Patrika's** own correspondent on the same date issued a statement from Gauhati which differed from the cheery statement made with such sang froid by Shri Nehru. This statement said, "A fatal fear psychosis has gripped the linguistic minorities wherever they were in Assam today . . . . The fury of the violence that had been raging over the last one month had just halted, if not spent up . . . . The evacuees were feeling far from secure to go back, because, it was stated the assailants were still at large in many places. For reasons known to the police, even identified assailants had not yet been arrested."

These two statements lead to only one conclusion, which is that our Prime Minister got some assurance from some person or persons in Assam that the atrocities will be stopped with immediate effect. Whoever gave this assurance to the Prime Minister, when the latter believed this guarantor of safety for the minorities, the guarantor should be of recognised standing. For had the guarantor not been of great power and prestige in the province of Assam, the Prime Minister could never make a statement like he made frivolously and not knowing whether his promise of safety to the minorities would be honoured by the hooligans of Assam. Only two parties could have given this assurance to the Prime Minister. The Assam Government or the Assam Provincial Congress Committee or both jointly. If the Assam Government had been in a position to call off the orgy of looting, arson and assault then why did they not do so before the arrival of Shri Nehru ? Or, were they the sponsors and organisers of the riots ? If Shri Nehru could accept their word as a guarantee of safety for the minorities, then he must have seen through their mask of constitutional raj and realised that they were the forces of anarchy and disorder. In which case he should have ordered their arrest rather than allow them to continue in office. Had it been the Congress Committee of Assam

whose word Shri Nehru accepted as a guarantee of safety for minorities, then again we would say that those Congressmen were the real culprits who organised and arranged the rioting. In that case also Shri Nehru should have ordered their arrest and not protected them in the manner of a patron. We believe both these groups of Assamese public men and officials were involved in the riots and that Shri Nehru is now rehabilitating them morally. The only other possible explanations of the assurance of safety given by Shri Nehru would be that Shri Nehru had enough forces in Assam to police the entire province. Or, that he just told the minorities to go back home without really knowing whether they would be safe from molestation. We do not think the Indian Army is occupying all vantage points in Assam. We also hate to think that Shri Nehru has made an irresponsible statement. We rather think Shri Nehru has failed to do his duty to the country by not ordering the arrest of many leading men of Assam.

A.C.

#### Assam—A Portent

In our June issue we wrote under the heading 'Linguistic Nationalism': "We do not feel happy to see India cut down to bits. All the same, the reorganisation of States on sound lines is a necessity." Referring to the bifurcation of the State of Bengal into its linguistic components Maharashtra and Mahaguzarat after an orgy of violence, we expressed our apprehension that 'Assam might be following suit.' Little, however, we imagined that it would come to pass so soon. As ill luck would have it, a very large section of the Assamese—we are loath to tar all with the same brush—have made the choice to force the issue of state-language by dagger, arson, rape and pillage. The news, as they have leaked out with gruesome details mouth to mouth and through newspaper columns, are revolting in the extreme. Assam is at the bar of humanity; Assam is a blot on the fair name of India.

The most unfortunate part of this dark episode is that it is a premeditated, planned attack. The letter of Captain P. B. Chakrabarty of the North-East Frontier Agency to

**The Statesman** in respect of the assault upon his wife, sons and daughters at the Railway Station of Siliguri, on their way to Calcutta on the 19th June, is conclusive on the point. The letter, in a nutshell, is this: a mob of over fifty people rushed into their compartment, shouting anti-Bengali slogans, beat all of them right and left and looted what they could lay their hands on. Significantly enough, the police, all the while, were on the station platform but did not budge an inch to help them. "Everywhere," Captain Chakrabarty concludes his letter after stating what his family observed throughout their journey, "the Assam police officers and constables were seen in uniform but nowhere were they rendering any help to the passengers. If there was an attack they turned away from the scene. When the attack was over they appeared on the scene and dispersed the attacked persons." This letter of Captain Chakrabarty is dated 22nd June and is published on 11th July (Calcutta Edition) when the mob violence was at its height. It, therefore, fell short of its elementary purpose in alerting the unwary and those of the authority who had not pawned themselves to the fanatics. It, however, throws a lurid light on the conduct of the custodians of Law and Order in the preparatory stage of the flare-up, and negatives the view, if at all seriously held anywhere, that the Assam Government was taken unawares.

It is an immutable law of Nature that violence breeds violence and the desire for retaliation is instinctive. There are, therefore, bound to be, as there have been, immediately after, some attempts of reprisal at the contiguous Siliguri and Jalpaiguri, rendered eruptive by tales of savagery upon the Bengalis. It is, however, observable that the West Bengal Government has, with a remarkable promptness, stemmed the tide of massed anger. And no praise is, possibly, too high for the police personnel, who in the teeth of enormities, that have as much cut them to the bone, rose equal to the emergency. This is an object lesson to the Assam Government, which destroyed what little morale there was in their police force by ordering a judicial inquiry, just in the course of a few hours, into their very first

action to stop incendiary by a few bullets. It was tantamount to countenancing barbarism running its malignant course. A Government which acts with such blazing indiscretion, leave alone falling in line with a set plan, forfeits its right to govern. In fact, it is singularly revealing that with such a huge carnage enacted before their eyes, they did not initially hold down one single soul under the Preventive Detention Act. Moreover, there is that piquant fact that two dailies of Assam did not scruple a whit to chastise in hectoring, bullying terms the Inspector-General of Police and the Deputy Commissioner of Kamrup, who are, by the way, Bengalis. There have been outrageous charges in print against the police. We do not cite any one of these nor make a comment on them, because they are due to be adjudged. A commission is a necessity, because such attacks are not sporadic.

The responsibility of the Central Government cannot, as well, be lightly skipped over. They took an unconscionably long time to think and cogitate. They, even now, look shy of any decisive measure; and, we are afraid, look very much like trusting to time for the boiling sentiments to fizzle out. It is suicidal to avoid considering the feeder background of these calculated barbarities. There is the frenzied determinations to drive out the Bengalis from Assam. It manifested itself in an ugly form when in 1947 the Assam leaders pushed down unabashed Sylhet to Pakistan. It has been reported in newspapers that when people were being incited to violence this time, they were assured that no action would be taken against them on the analogy that the India Government took no action against those, who swooped upon the Bengalis on a mass-scale at Goalpara on the eve of the State Reorganisation Committee visiting Assam. The other factor of sinister implication is that in twenty years since 1931, the Assamese had jumped from 1,992,346 heads to 4,972,493. What else is it for, but the hard-boned spite and malice, lest the Bengalis swamp the administration and other avenues of life in the new industrial set-up? Such, in fact, is the cheek and audacity that they refuse to adopt Tagore's *Jana gana mana* as their national anthem.

A few years back, an English daily of Assam wrote editorially that the one way to solve the problem arising out of the preponderance of the Bengalis in the district of Cachar is to make it over to Pakistan. The imbecile mentality which could have suggested it is no more reprehensible than the leadership, which could extend its indulgence to the propagation of what is manifestly a treason. We desire Mr. Nehru, who is not yet tainted by a political animalism, to remorselessly search his heart to assess if things have been fair and square for the Bengalis in Assam. To the extent it is not, the Central Government is not playing a clean, honest game. We must, as well, speak out without a mental reservation that this attitude of the Congress rule to the Bengalis in Assam is the measure of the weak, degenerate leadership of the West Bengal Congress. It as much indicates the absence of stamina and cohesiveness of those who seek to justify themselves as non-Congress leaders of West Bengal. One group, with the luminous exception of Dr. Roy, is getting constitutionally incapable of saying a 'No' to their high command; and the other group would not act except in a fitful, slipshod manner. Anyway as things stand, the Assam Government is branded for doing what it did and for grossly omitting to do what it was its primary duty. At the same time, the Central Government adds one more feather to its cap of achievement that it cannot muster foresight, courage and statesmanship to solve the question of state-language, wherever it presents itself as a problem, unless the State in question wades through pools of blood.

J. B.

#### Assam—A Pointer

The special correspondent of *The Statesman* stayed for a fortnight in Assam for an on-the-spot study and writes on July 18th, Calcutta Edition. "Assam," he says, "has seen the worst rioting in history in recent times. This is the view of some of the Ministers and senior officials I met. It was the worst because of the brutality, the loss of life, damage to property and displacement of several thousand families some of whom have lived in the State for genera-

tions. Such a holocaust, I was told, had not happened in Assam even in the worst days of the communal rioting following partition."

Nothing in the face of it seems so fantastic as what Mr. Sanjeeb Reddy, the Congress President, suggests that the Assam Government was taken by surprise. Did he care to take note that a Deputy Minister openly participated in a meeting, organised by the R.C.P.I. to demand the resignation of Mr. Chaliha for his counsels of prudence? Was he not aware that the State Reorganisation Committee had laid down that no State should be considered unilingual, unless one language-group constitutes at least 70 per cent of the people; and that, even after wide manipulations without let or hindrance in the 1951 Census, Assamese do not go beyond 60 per cent? It is sheer commonsense that all this pother is for weeding out the Bengalis before the next Census in 1961. It is now obvious that the Congress High Command has decided that Assamese shall be the State-language of Assam; and that they would, without compunction, give a go-by to the recommendation of the S.R.C. that 'Assam be recognised as bilingual for administrative purposes.' Even if it were so, with Assam like a rick on fire, it was highly improper for the Prime Minister of India to assure the Assamese regarding their state-language in utter disregard of what the non-Assamese have been hitherto lulled to a belief on the strength of the aforesaid recommendation.

Mr. Nehru flatters himself off and on for his historic sense. Has he taken into consideration that the national unity of India, built up untiringly in the length of ages from out of a welter of confusion, anarchy, misery and ruin, has been flayed alive in Assam? Does he believe that his academic dissertation will deter the assassin or instil a sense of security in the mind of the affected? Mr. Sanjeeb Reddy says that the sufferers are mostly 'poor' people and there will be no difficulty to rehabilitate them. But to consider it from another standpoint, it is very surprising that neither Mr. Reddy nor Mr. Nehru ever bestowed a moment's thought on the question, why the 'poor' people, who are not certainly vocal to the

extent, as the tall poppies are, over the issue of language, were subjected to such colossal sufferings and deprivations. What other alternative is left but to conclude that it was solely to strike terror in the mind of the rank and file that they do not gather round their leaders? Is the hand of the India Government so weak and palsied that it cannot bring to book the brute offenders? There seems to be yet a soft corner over a possible punitive levy. Tagore has an immortal line, which invokes God, that His wrath may as much visit those who stand by and see the wrong committed as those who actually commit the wrong.

We notice with deep regret that there is a belief, fast gaining grounds, that the Centre did scent all right the impending crisis. It is really painful to probe it deep; but nobody can escape some notable facts. One of them, with regard to which there is no dispute, is that in the second week of June, there were some ugly disturbances in Upper Assam. They were quelled by police force. All sorts of pressure were then brought to bear upon the Chaliha Ministry to revise its policy. To the very casual it yields no room for doubt that there was a deeply-laid conspiracy to mount operations on a gigantic scale. Would Mr. Nehru personally look into the Assam File of his Home Department? We wish him seek the verdict of his conscience.

Whatever it is, we miss in Mr. Nehru's condemnation of the atrocities the flavour of what he said in the Constituent Assembly with regard to the Calcutta 'killings' of August, 1946. 'They are,' he then said, 'such as make the dead shake with rage.' The fervour of sincerity was one of his captivating points, even if he was never credited with a cool, dispassionate thinking. As of old, he glides to the convivial excess, platform speakers are prone to; and is reported to have said at New Delhi on 20th July that the situation in Assam is 'absolutely secure.' It is as much childish for him to expect the Assam Government to complete the rehabilitation work in two to three weeks' time. It is an impossibility even on paper in the cool, composed atmosphere of the Secretariat. Better sense, however, prevailed and on the 21st July, 'absolutely secure' flops

into 'materially improved.' The psychological mischief of the egregiously wrong emphasis abides nonetheless. Mr. Nehru says on return to New Delhi that 'nothing could justify the events that had taken place.' And yet it seems that no action is contemplated against those guilty of such a mass-scale crime, diabolically conceived and then perpetrated with an infernal coolness.

It is, finally, no use mincing one major underlying fact. It is this, that there is no Bengali worth his salts, who is not cut to the quick over Assam. Bengalis in the new dispensation are repeatedly being made to feel that they are at a cross-road; and the powers that be are subject to an inscrutable complex as to talk of them, a bit too flippantly, as a troublesome lot. Will the Prime Minister of India still pause to reflect where the real trouble resides? 'How to deal with the Bengalis,' said Gopal Krishna Gokhale at Manchester on 6th October, 1905, 'has always been the problem with those who wanted to turn their back upon promises given in the past'. They have an allergy for cant.

J. B.

#### Assam and the Working Committee

New Delhi, July 29.—Following is the text of the Working Committee's resolution on the Assam situation :

"The Working Committee have noted with sorrow and distress the recent occurrences in Assam which led to a number of deaths, to large-scale arson and looting, and to the exodus of tens of thousands of persons from their homes. That such tragic developments could take place at any time for any reason is deplorable; it is even more reprehensible that this kind of widespread breach of the public peace should take place over a question of language, which normally should be settled by peaceful and co-operative processes. In some districts the administration could not deal with this situation when it arose with speed and efficiency and give immediate protection to those who were attacked.

"The Committee recognise that after the first few days of mob violence, the administration took more effective steps and checked any further depredations and apprehended many of

those who had been guilty of them. A situation involving so much violence must be dealt with firmness. If the normal apparatus of administration is not adequate for the purpose, special measures may have to be taken by the Government to prevent the possibility of any recurrence of this violence and to give full protection to all.

"The Committee is informed, and has reason to believe, that conditions have improved in Assam and that, on the whole, law and order prevail there now. This must be maintained. It is essential that not only should law and order prevail but that there should be a sense of security for all residents of Assam, and that the fundamental right of staying or moving about freely in every part of the Indian Union, without molestation and danger, should prevail. Action should be taken against such persons who took part in the disturbances. Wherever it is considered necessary, special guards should be organised or permitted to help in creating this sense of security.

"The Committee trust that no demonstration would take place which create tension or endanger this feeling of security, and the press in Assam and Bengal and outside would help to bring about an atmosphere of friendliness and good will.

"The first and urgent step now is to rehabilitate those who were driven away from their homes and to help in this process.

"This is the first responsibility of the Government of Assam, but in this work of rehabilitation, the Government of West Bengal as well as the Government of India should give every co-operation and assistance. Congressmen in Assam have a special responsibility in this task, and the Working Committee will gladly assist by sending its representatives to Assam or by any other methods that are feasible. This work of rehabilitation should be undertaken as a short-term measure, and special officers for that purpose should be appointed. Where huts or houses have been destroyed, steps should be taken immediately to provide temporary shelters so that the people dispossessed may return to their fields and look after their crops and other business. Further rehabilitation should follow this.

"It is most unfortunate that a question of language should be connected with such disturbances which can only do harm to the cause of

the language concerned. Language is the embodiment of the culture of a people, and culture cannot flourish in an atmosphere of violence or coercion, nor can language grow in such conditions. The Assamese language is one of the national languages of India laid down in the Constitution of India. This language, like other national languages, has to be encouraged in every way and progressively used by the people whose mother-tongue it is. In promoting its use in various public activities, it should be remembered that its use should not be enforced in areas where other languages prevail. Many areas of India are bilingual or multi-lingual, and each of the languages in use has to be protected and encouraged. Languages do not grow in conflict with each other. They flourish in co-operation, each helping the other. The question of language, therefore, in Assam is one that should be settled co-operatively by representatives of various parts of Assam State so that this sense of conflict should disappear and an atmosphere of co-operative endeavour for the good of the State should take its place."

"Assam occupies a vital position in India, being a border State. It is on the eve of considerable development in various ways. Neglected to some extent in the past, it is now likely to develop fast. But this can only happen in an atmosphere of peace and co-operation. The immediate necessity is to wipe out the consequences of these disturbances and to turn the people's mind to constructive and co-operative effort."

### The Sinister Shadow

We cannot be precise if it is more a sense of sorrow or humiliation which overwhelmed us, as we read in newspaper report—still now uncontradicted—that some Moslems in the last Mahorrum procession at Ecwrah brandished open swords and shouted '**Pakistan zindabad**'; and that the police stood by in perfect composure to allow it to pass. What did the demonstration particularly aim at? Was it an assurance to the devout that the Muslim League was coming back to vindicate itself? At Kerala, the Congress for a handful of votes allied itself with the Muslim League despite its re-affirmation of the old creed, which led to the division of India. Since

then as we have already noted, the League is reported to have made a considerable headway to re-establish itself in and around Calcutta.

We have noticed a certain nervousness on the part of the West Bengal Congress setting premium upon Moslem votes. The Chief Minister of West Bengal was very near losing the last election because he did not find much favour with Muslim voters. If this is what has worked up the powers that be to evolve a principle not to take notice of these things, we have to bemoan our lot in having to prepare for further failures of appeasement and the dire consequences, it brings in its trail. It is yet better for the Congress to be wise before the event than be at the event's mercy.

J. B.

### The Big Strike

The big strike of all Central Government workers who belonged to trade unions ended ingloriously and without achieving the objectives declared as demands by the strikers. That this will happen was very clear from the beginning. The various trade unions involved were not at all united at heart and some only pretended to be in sympathy with the real sponsors of the strike while they worked against it almost openly. Others did not even pretend to be in sympathy and openly advocated attending duty to their members. The idea of a general strike of Central Government workers was clearly Communist-sponsored and this was proved by the eagerness which the Chinese press displayed in giving publicity to the great paralysis that had overtaken the Nehru administration, due naturally to his collaboration with imperialists, reactionaries and capitalists. This glee in Chinese hearts was very short-lived for the strike commenced with an air of failure about it. Some said the Ordinance enabled Nehru to smash the strike. But they never said how Nehru could dare to pass such an Ordinance in a democratic country unless he knew that the public were not with the strikers and that there was Chinese Communist influence behind the strike.

The strike failed because it was staged, not for bringing relief to the poor workers, who were more the victims of the profiteers and blackmarketeers than of their employer's reluctance to pay just wages; but to show to the world (particularly the Communist world) how unfair the Indian Government were in the matter of treating their workers. If one compared the wages paid by the Chinese in cash and kind to their workers and the wages paid in India, one will readily see how the Communist heart bleeds for the sufferings of their own enslaved working classes. Russia after over forty years of exploitation of the masses have about just begun to pay what may be called fair wages by stretching a point. The Chinese are treating their workers and soldiers as pure slaves of Communism. They are sacrificing the present generations of the Chinese in order to populate the entire world, some day, with only Chinese men, women and children. This is a grand idea no doubt but people who sacrifice their workers for any ideal or reason whatsoever can never justly criticise others for non-payment of fair wages and not granting a higher standard of living to their workers. The Indian Communist leaders no doubt desire a Communist Raj in India, in order to become the rulers of the country; but we do not see how the Indians in general will be gainers thereby. Possibly the Communists will pay even lower wages than the Nehru regime pays. And, the Nehru regime promises great progress, abolition of poverty, disease, ignorance, etc., etc., in the same way as the Communists do. We cannot say that Mr. Dange is a superior person compared to Mr. Nehru or that Sri Jyoti Basu is better material than Dr. B. C. Roy. All leaders in India wish to be absolute monarchs whether they are Socialist, Communist or Democratic-Socialist-Republican. They all have a lot to learn about true freedom and liberty. Also about Human Welfare. The strikers have now failed and the Government people are trying to be tough and merciful simultaneously. They are wanting to dismiss a large number of employees who have been found guilty of certain offences and the judges in most cases will be their departmental bosses or

the courts which convicted them. In fact, court convictions cannot justify dismissals from service. For, a big strike has the nature of a civil commotion and people break the law during a strike being carried away by mass-psychological forces. And, if the offences are committed outside the precincts within which the workers are employed, the offenders can be convicted by a court of law, but they should not be dismissed from service, unless, of course, the nature of the punishment makes it impossible for the persons concerned to be employed. Capital punishment or a long sentence for imprisonment for example.

The Industrial Disputes Act has certain clearly laid down rules and regulations for enforcing the provisions of the Act. We see no reason why the procedure laid down in the Act for dealing with strikers should be changed in the case of the present strike. All men charged with certain offences for which they can be dismissed should have their cases adjudicated in the proper manner. And, to begin with all men charged with offences by their departments should be given proper charge-sheets and allowed to defend themselves in a proper manner. The Government of India, no doubt, passed an ordinance to stop the strike; but that was when the strike fever had attained uncontrollable strength. That ordinance failed to achieve its purpose. It should not, therefore, be used to deal with the offences alleged.

A.C.

#### Administrative Efficiency

There seems to be at last an awareness in New Delhi about "administrative lapses." The Statesman gives the following report:

New Delhi, July 27.—In addition to the attention that they normally receive from the Ministries concerned, cases of administrative irregularities and lapses unearthed by the various committees of Parliament will now be subjected to a special scrutiny by the Central Home Ministry.

Pandit Pant is believed to have directed the Ministry's Administrative Vigilance Division to take note of the criticism of the Government's

working by the Estimates and Public Accounts Committees and see that suitable and speedy action is taken to remedy the faults.

During almost every session of Parliament, the Parliamentary committees point out several cases of administrative negligence or misuse of large sums of money. The presentation of their reports is usually followed by demand by M.P.s for action against negligent or erring officials.

The Vigilance Division which has now been asked to "follow up" Parliament's criticism is a permanent wing of the Ministry, but so far it has been dealing mostly with allegations of corruption against individual Government employees. In this connexion, it has often functioned in collaboration with the Special Police Establishment.

#### A Tribute of Honour

As we mourn the death of Mr. Aneurin Bevan, we mourn the death of one who was the great architect of the National Health Service in U.K.; and the man, who provided well over four million people with new homes. It is a consummation to be devoutly wished for by other peoples for generations to come; and Bevan's motherland will be looked up to as a landmark in this respect.

Nothing fascinates mankind as to be told how one of them broke all the hurdles of chill penury and realised the solemnity of life that the pampered child of opportunities would do well to envy. At the age of thirteen, he went down to the pit of a coal mine as a workman in the lowest cadre. As he elbowed his way up in life, he owed very little to anybody. This may be one of the reasons of his sharp tongue and pen, neither of which mellowed with age. He was one of the sponsors of the Indian Independence Bill and, possibly, he is the one man of the ruling race to have said in a forthright manner that this is how the Labour Party saved the British trade in India. His is the life of inspiration to the weary strugglers at the breaking point. Humanity is all the poorer that he has been snatched away while yet in the full blaze of his activities.

We offer our heart-felt condolence to the bereaved family and particularly to

Miss Jennie Lee, M.P., his wife, better still, comrade-in-arms.

J. B.

#### Sailendra Krishna Law

We deeply regret to have to announce the demise after a prolonged illness of Shri Sailendra Krishna Law, the Assistant Editor of *The Modern Review*.

Born in January, 1892, of a Bengali family established in Calcutta, Sailendra Krishna passed through the University of Calcutta obtaining the M.A. and later the B.L. degrees in English and Law respectively. He practised law for a number of years in Bankshall Street Police Courts of Calcutta. But being by nature of a unassertive type and having a deeply imbued literary taste, he gave up the profession of law and turned to literature and journalism.

He was one of the associates of the late Pramatha Chaudhuri (Birbal) who brought in a new phase in the development of Bengali literature of the early days of this century. His poems were published in the *Sabuj Patra*, the Bengali literary monthly edited by the late Pramatha Chaudhuri.

A man of catholic tastes in literature, he had contributed poems and thoughtful literary articles in Bengali to the well-known magazines like the *Prabasi*, the *Bharatvarsha*, *Manasi-o-Marmabani*, and latterly to the literary sections of the Bengali dailies *Anandabazar Patrika* and *Jugantar*. He joined the staff of *The Modern Review* in 1936, and was closely associated with this journal up to his last illness. All along these long number of years his charming temperament and innate good manners endeared him not only to his colleagues but to all of those who were associated with *The Modern Review* and its sister journal the *Prabasi*. His death will leave a void not only in the editorial circle but also in the literary circles of Calcutta like the "Rabibasar", where all will join with the family of Sailendra Krishna Law in their deeply felt loss.

## THE ANATOMY OF GOOD ADMINISTRATION

By J. N. RAY, Ph.D., D.Sc., F.R.I.C., F.N.I.

There is a French saying that to govern well one in daily contact with the public. Telegrams should govern as little as possible. This was un- seldom reach their destination before the post undoubtedly true till the World War I but since copy, important letters are found floating in then Nations are aiming at economic self-suffi- canals and rivers causing general paralysis of ciency and as a consequence various restrictive business. The aggrieved persons feel a grudge measures have been introduced in all countries against the Government but they forget that Therefore good administration has now acquired whichever Government be in power these things a new meaning and is a positive quality. Mr. C. will happen unless there is more sense of duty in D. Deshmukh mentioned in a lecture in Bom- the employees concerned. I asked a senior officer bay that 20 per cent of Government servants are in whose office files have a knack of getting lost generally efficient, honest and industrious under unless certain formalities are gone through, why all circumstances, 20 per cent are generally in- does he not intervene. He frankly admitted that efficient, lazy and neglectful of duty under all he knew of what was happening but does not conditions. Sixty per cent are colourless people like to provoke a demonstration at the fag-end who follow the leaders. If the man in charge is of his service. This gentleman apparently be-hardworking they will also work hard but if an longs to Category II of Deshmukh's classifica- inefficient man is on top they will degenerate tion and there are many like him who would into an inefficient lot. Therefore the problem is have peace at all costs. The cost may be too much to find the heads with correct mental attitude. for the stability of administration!

When there are so many restrictions on the activities of citizens, it is absolutely necessary to find right men to lead. Since the withdrawal of the British, many top positions had to be filled by men from the second eschelon but it must be recorded that by and large they were eminently successful in the onerous duties they were suddenly called upon to perform. Many of these men are now on the retired list. The real problem of finding their successors has arisen. This problem is formidable enough but another factor has been introduced in recent years adding to the complexity of the problem. There is no doubt that owing to various reasons there has been a great deal of indiscipline in the country, particularly among the student community from which the Government servants are drawn. Those responsible for this state of affairs will have a lot to answer for. It is easy to encourage students in their various acts of defiance of authority as this is an easy way to gain popularity but the cumulative effect of this cannot but be disastrous.

One has only to go to a post office to buy a stamp, send a telegram, cash a cheque in a bank, pay a bill in an office, etc., to know how indiscipline has got hold of the offices who are

A friend of mine had visited a country in the Middle-East about fifteen years ago. On his return he had an amazing story to tell. He was horrified to see that the appointment letter of Government servants had this extraordinary clause : 'The Government servant is expected to be *reasonably* honest'. It is a terrible state of affairs. I had an occasion to discuss this matter with a diplomat of that country. What he said was most revealing. Corruption and black-marketeering was so rampant in that country that a pair of shoes sold at the Indian equivalent of Rs. 200/-; a motor tyre cost Rs. 1000/-. The Government was unable to put down these people and could not also raise the salary of Government servants, hence this compromise ! Therefore the crux of the matter is that people should be uncorrupt if they expect an uncorrupted administration. This reminds me of a saying that a country gets the Government it deserves.

If our moral tone goes down we cannot expect good administration. This was apparent to Lord Buddha. During his lifetime there was an invasion of foreigners and the borders of India were violated. His disciple Ananda once asked

the Lord about the outcome of this invasion, can improve matters. For instance, the Government is keen to promote exports. But any one who has tried to export a commodity would bear the following questions :

Do they respect their parents and elders? me out that the rules are so complicated that

Do they not discriminate between their sons and daughters? Are they honest and united in purpose? who has tried to export a commodity would bear

To all these questions Ananda's reply was affirmative. Buddha then said that they would be victorious as our people are without these virtues.

Therefore to secure good administration we must qualify for it by raising our own sense of duty. This cannot be done if there are people to start agitations to gain political leadership with-out thought for the consequences. We have known not lived in Bombay for two years we could not agitations like pulling down sign-boards written in English. We have been told to spit on teachers who teach in English in the Class-room. We have part of minor officials also been advised to boycott wearing of shoes, use of motor cars, soap, tooth-paste. There are can never be such stupid people. I suggest, let no dearth of leaders who will support damaging of property if the question paper is stiff: We have encouraged indirectly the burning of public vehicles for the slightest of reasons. There are cerned. There is a dictum in private administration some supporters for the mass demonstration of Government servants who are prohibited from staging such demonstrations by their service. What would happen if Police are told to do their duty unless their pay is revised or changed? One shudders at the various possibilities any of which can jeopardise the safety of the nation.

There is adult franchise now. The temptation to woo the masses is great. I am not in any way against legitimate trade union activities. But I cannot help remarking that I have not yet come across a single case where laziness, indiscipline, go slow tactics, defiance of authority and other acts have been condemned by any one. The time has come, if we want to halt the rot that has set, for all parties to have a common policy against indiscipline, laziness and corruption. Unless this was done there would be no improvement of administration and moral standard of the nation.

For all the back-sliding that has taken place, intervene.

no blame should be put on the ruling party or their supporters. They are powerless to mend matters unless the people themselves mend their ways. But in one or two respects the Government

I will be failing in my duty if I did not say something about the administration in the private sector. If any one reading this article has

gained the impression that all is well in the sphere of private administration, I hasten to say that the private sector also draws their personnel from the same source as the public administration and consequently the pattern is expected to be the same. The private sector in some cases suffer from the disadvantage that their recruitment is not so wide as the public sector and in that proprietary concerns some relatives and dependents have to be provided for. But as the balance sheet dictates all policy of a private concern, the natural safeguard is there. The inefficients can be soon wiped out if extraneous agencies do not

Therefore, whether it is in the public or private administration, no improvements can be made unless there is moral rearmament on the part of the people. All political parties have to

follow a common policy if any significant improvement can be made. The closing years of the 18th Century and the first half of the 19th Century were probably the darkest in India's history. Are we drifting back to that stage? What is inevitable at that time? We have forgotten about Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the men who pulled this country out from chaos. That they employ?

im- that he did not tell him to stop hissing now and then although he need not have bitten. Have we stopped hissing too? Our plight will be like that of the cobra. Some people have alleged that the administration, I should not be surprised if there is some truth in this also. There has been a lot of scrambling for power. There is no doubt about

These weapons can still be employed and that. This also is due to the fall in moral values. Therefore from whichever angle we may look

Where can these moral rearmaments take place? In schools and colleges. Can the teachers do it? Yes, if forces of reaction kept down and character and discipline in man.

are not allowed to interfere. The general lowering of moral tone has resulted in the fall of quality of scientific personnel. They are no comparison to their predecessors who were trained between 1920-40. This has resulted in the falling of standard of scientific work. There is now

enormous funds at the disposal of scientific workers. We had no such luck. The National Laboratories have spent enormous amounts but have the results been commensurate with the money spent? We have not developed any ballastic missiles and potential weapons which would have prevented others from deriding us.

We know that we are committed to peace and non-violence. Let me tell a story. A cobra once met Rishi Narada and asked him if he would ever

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*Note added on 7.6.60 :* Since the above

article was written, there has appeared a Press report about the finding of a Committee set up by

the University Grants Commission on student

indiscipline. This body has also come to the

same conclusion that unless the various parties

would follow a common policy regarding this ques-

We know that we are committed to peace and

indiscipline cannot be put down. The ques-

tion arises that if there is no agreement between

the parties, what is to be done. The country can-

not be allowed to drift back to anarchy and dis-

temper and not to bite people. He followed the order. There does not seem to be any possibility

of general agreement relating to these questions,

although the vast majority of people would feel

that indiscipline, stirring up of masses and other

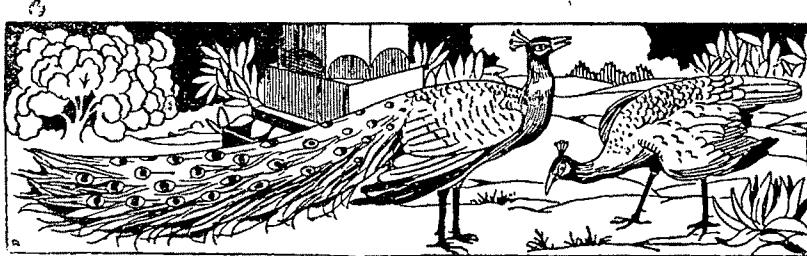
subversive actions should be put down. This will

have to be done sooner or later. Let us begin

taking some action before the situation gets out

of hand. When gangrene sets up, amputation

may be a drastic step but it is necessary.



## WAS LASKI AN INDIVIDUALIST OR A COMMUNIST?

By RANI MUKHOPADHYAYA,

*Lecturer in Economics and Political Science, Hooghly Women's College.*

ONE of the most perplexing problems that have faced the political thinkers of all ages is the question of relation between the individual and the State, i.e., the question of personal freedom vis-a-vis social control. According to one school of thought the State is the mightiest creation of the human mind; according to another school of thought the State is simply a means to secure the welfare of the individuals. The question yet remains to be solved whether the State is an end in itself and the individual exists solely for the State or whether the State exists solely for him.

To an individualist the existence of the State is a sign of man's imperfection. Hence Humboldt argues that the State should "abstain from all solicitude for the positive welfare of the citizens and ought not to proceed a step further than is necessary for their mutual security and protection against foreign enemies . . . . The grand point to be kept in view by the State is the development of the powers of all its single citizens in their perfect individuality."<sup>1</sup>

In his *Social Statics* and *The Man versus the State* Herbert Spencer has expressed more or less similar views. He also "called" government a necessary evil and considered its continuance as a "proof of still existing barbarism." "To administer justice—to mount guard over man's rights—to prevent aggression—is simply to render society possible, to enable men to live together—to keep them in contact with their new conditions."<sup>2</sup> And "the moment it does anything more than protect, it becomes an aggressor instead of a protector." Again, he holds "that the liberty which a citizen enjoys is to be measured, not by the nature of the governmental

machinery he lives under, whether representative or other, but by the relative paucity of the restraints."<sup>3</sup> "All socialism," he maintains, "involves slavery."<sup>4</sup>

According to these thinkers "perfect liberty is equivalent to total absence of government."<sup>5</sup> J. S. Mill's "idea of individuality is plainly biased by Benthamite tradition that law is an evil."<sup>6</sup> "The sole end," says Mill, "for which mankind are warranted individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self-protection. The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral is not sufficient warrant. . . . The only part of the conduct of anyone, for which he is amenable to society, is that, which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."<sup>7</sup> But though the core of his thinking is his sense of the supreme value of the individual as individual, yet later on Mill had to admit some limitations on individualism. He was conscious of the fact that "no longer enslaved or made dependent by force of law, the great majority are so by force of poverty; they are still chained to a place, to an occupation, and to conformity with the will of an employer, and debarred, by the accidents of birth, both from the enjoyments and the mental and moral advantages which others inherit without exertion and independently of desert. That this is an evil equal to almost any of those against

3. See Herbert Spencer, *The Man versus the State*, p. 19.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

5. See Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 67n.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

7. See J. S. Mill, *On Liberty*, pp. 72-73.

1. Humboldt—*Sphere and Duties of the State* (Joseph Coulthard, London, 1854).—See Garner—*Political Science and Government*—p. 454.

2. See Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*.

which mankind have hitherto struggled, the poor Bosanquet. "The State," according to these theorists, says Laski, is the "universal in which are not wrong in believing . . . .

. . . . The working classes are entitled to claim that the whole field of social institutions should be re-examined, and every question considered as if it now arose for the first time."<sup>8</sup> And ultimately Mill, wrote: "If the choice were suffused with the sense of compulsion."<sup>11</sup> From to be made between Communism with all its chancery, and the present state of society with all its sufferings and injustices; if the institution of private property necessarily carried with it as a consequence that the produce of labour should be apportioned as we now see it, almost in an inverse ratio to the labour—the largest portions upon its rejection. For what, at least ultimately, to those who have never worked at all, the next is involved in its acceptance is essentially the largest to those whose work is almost nominal, paralysis of will. If the citizen is not to find and so in a descending scale the remuneration the source of his judgments in the contact dwindle as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labour cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life; if this, or Communism, were the alter-Communism, would be as dust in the balance."<sup>12</sup> Thus we find that unlike other individualistic thinkers, Mill made an attempt to reconcile individualism and socialism. He was not prepared to sacrifice social good for individualism.

To Laski the idealistic view contradicts all the major facts of experience. "It seems to me,"

Let us now consider the views of Laski on the question of relation between the individual and the State. The will of the State, he thinks, "however important, has no special moral claims from his fellows, that is the ultimate fact of . . . . The will of the State is only my will in human experience. For as I encounter the State, so far as I freely lend my judgment to it, it is for me a body of men issuing orders. Most enforcement." "I make my own obligations from them, I can obey either with active will scrutiny of its demands, or they are not, in any real sense, obligations at all. My support must be freely given, for, obviously, if I am penalised in weighing right and wrong, I become, sooner or later, a merely vacant recipient of decisions and lose the qualities which make me distinctively a person."<sup>10</sup>

He refutes the idea which was developed by some Greek thinkers and was redefined in modern times by Rousseau, Hegel, Bradley and

To Laski the idealistic view contradicts all the major facts of experience. "It seems to me,"

"A true theory of liberty," he urges, "is built upon a denial of each of the assumptions of idealism. My true self is not a selected system of rational purposes identical with those

8. Mill—*Chapters on Socialism*—(printed in the *Fortnightly Review* for 1879). From Mary Agnes Hamilton—*John Stuart Mill*, p.66.

9. See J. S. Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*, Book II, Ch. I, Sec. 3.

10. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 29.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

12. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 56.

13. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, pp. 30-31.

14. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 57.

sought by every member of society. We cannot expression of my experience, is to make of me split up the wholeness of personality in this way, who might be free, a slave. I become an instrument of alien purposes, devoted to an end which My true self is all that I am and do."<sup>15</sup> He denies the existence of the common will in society, "There is," according to him, "no single and common will in society, unless we mean thereby the vague concept, entirely useless for political philosophy, that men desire the good." "Our connection with others is, at the best, partial and interstitial." And "we remain ourselves even when we join with others to attain some common object of desire. The ultimate isolation of the individual personality is the basis from which any adequate theory of politics must start." He rejects, therefore, "the idea of a real will, and still more, the idea that there is an *a priori* common will in society."<sup>16</sup>

Again, obedience to the State according to Laski, "ought always to be a function of the substance contained in the rules made by government; it is a permanent essay in the conditional mood."<sup>17</sup> "Man is a one," he adds, "among many obstinately refusing reduction to unity. His separateness, his isolation, are indefeasible . . . . He cannot abandon the consequences of his isolation which are, broadly speaking, that his experience is private and the will built out of that experience personal to himself. If he surrenders it to others, he surrenders his personality. If his will is set by the will of others, he ceases to be master of himself." Laski cannot believe "that a man no longer master of himself is in any meaning sense free."<sup>18</sup>

"No power," Laski observes, "can ever hope for successful permanence, no power, either, is entitled to it, which does not make its way, in vital matters, through the channels of consent."<sup>19</sup> To Laski man is not a part of some great symphony in which he realizes himself only as an incident in the motif of the whole. He is always conscious about the uniqueness and separateness of the individual. "To accept the forcible imposition of other principles upon me," he emphasizes, "which I do not recognize as the

"Men do not obey," he insists, the "authority for the sake of obedience. They obey it for the purposes they believe to be secured by its operations."<sup>21</sup> "For its citizens," he declares, "a state is what it does; it is not justified merely because it is a state."<sup>22</sup>

For the protection of individual liberty Laski supports resistance to the authority of the State. "Liberty", he holds, "means being faithful to oneself, and it is maintained by the courage to resist. This, and this only, gives life to be safeguards of liberty; and this only is the clue to the preservation of genuine integrity in the individual life". To Laski order is not the supreme good and "rebellion has not always been wrong." Because "Power is not conferred upon men for the sake of power, but to enable them to achieve ends which win happiness for each of us."<sup>23</sup> "There are . . . . circumstances", he states elsewhere, "in which resistance to the State becomes an obligation if claims to right are to be given validity."<sup>24</sup> The prescriptions of the State are never final prescriptions. And "a State must give to men their due as men before it can demand, at least with justice to their loyalty."<sup>25</sup>

Laski stands against the suppression of thought. "Most men", he argues, "who are prohibited from thinking as their experience teaches them soon cease to think at all. Men who cease to think cease also in any genuine sense to be citizens. They become mere inert recipients of orders which they obey without scrutiny of any

20. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

21. See Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice*, p. 17.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

23. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 92.

24. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 96.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 99.

15. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 58.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

kind."<sup>26</sup> "There is no liberty," he further observes, "without freedom of speech. There is no liberty if special privilege restricts the franchise to a portion of the community. There is no liberty if a dominant opinion can control the social habits of the rest without persuading the latter that there are reasonable grounds for the control . . . . Unfreedom means to him a denial of his experience, a refusal on the part of organized society to satisfy what he cannot help taking to be the lesson of his life."<sup>27</sup>

It may be mentioned in this connection that though Laski is known as an admirer of the Soviet Union which "stands today in the forefront of civilization", he severely criticises the method of suppression of thought which is the dominant feature of the Soviet system. "It remains after thirty years," he pointed out in 1948, "definitely a dictatorship; and this has, naturally enough, caused grief and disappointment to those who care for freedom all over the world . . . .

In the classic sense the four freedoms do not exist in the Soviet Union. There is no liberty to criticize the fundamentals of the regime. There is no liberty to found parties to oust the Communist leaders. A man cannot found a journal of opinion or publish a book, or hold a meeting to advocate views which, in the judgment of dictatorship, would threaten the stability of the system. A citizen who sought to overthrow the philosophy of Marx, or to urge that Trotsky, and not Stalin, wore the true mantle of Lenin's tradition, would soon find himself on the way to exile or imprisonment. There are bureaucratic stupidities like the denial of passports to the Russian-born wives of British airmen . . . .

Art, the drama, music, the cinema, through all of these the dictatorship has sought to pour a stream of tendency, often with ludicrous, and sometimes with tragic, results."<sup>28</sup>

Thus we find from what has been stated above that as an individualist Laski is keen about the protection of individual freedom against any undue encroachment on the part of the State. But it is interesting to note that while advocating the rights of the individual, Laski as a realistic thinker does not deny the right of the

State over the individual—which has been denied *in toto* by some other staunch individualists like Humboldt, Herbert Spencer, etc.

"The situation", Laski admits, is "reciprocal. The State has rights against me. It has right to exact from me that conduct which secures to others the enjoyment of the right it secures to myself. For the community, the interest of each citizen is of equal importance. . . . The mutual claims of the State and of its citizens must be claims clearly justifiable by reference to a common good which includes the good of all."<sup>29</sup> About the actual position of the individual in society he declares, "that no man shall be so placed in society that he can over-reach his neighbour to the extent which constitutes a denial of the latter's citizenship."<sup>30</sup>

Laski feels the "necessity of a coercive authority in society to define the permissible rules of social behaviour." "Granted the nature of men", he argues, "the alternative appears to be a chaos of individual decisions fatal to the emergence of settled ways of life. With the state there comes security; and security is the condition upon which the satisfactions men seek to secure are capable of peaceful attainment."<sup>31</sup>

Laski is not only a critic of political idealism, but also of an exaggerated individualism, and tries to make a compromise in between the two. "Any system of rights," he says, "has three essential aspects from which it must be regarded. There is the interest of the individual, always, at least ultimately, finally isolated from his fellow men. There is the interest of the various groups in and through which his personality finds channels of expression. There is the interest of the community which is the total result of the whole pressure of social forces. We cannot leave the groups within the community to define their rights by conflict, any more than we can permit individuals so to determine their rights. We must live by common rules. We must build an organ which enforces and interprets those common rules. We must so build it that both group and individual are safeguarded in their freedom and their equality so far as institutions

26. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, p. 108.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

29. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 96.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 153.

31. See Laski, *The State in Theory and Practice*, pp. 16-17.

can provide a safeguard. For it is well to realise at once that no system will ever fail to be weighted in some special interest. There will always be either powerful individuals or powerful groups who make their way against other less apt to assertiveness. Our effort must be a search to the compromise which allows to the largest possible number a life that is worthy of our resources.<sup>32</sup>

This attitude of compromise was also adopted by another staunch individualist, namely, Prof. L. T. Hobhouse. "In discussing society", he says, "we are liable to two fallacies. On the one hand we may be tempted to deny the reality of the social group, refusing to conceive it as a distinct entity, insisting on resolving it into its component individuals as though these individuals were unaffected by the fact of association. On the other side, in reaction of this exaggerated individualism, we are apt to regard society as an entity distinct from the individuals, not merely in the sense that it is an aggregate of individuals viewed in some special relation, but in the sense that it is a whole which in some way stands outside them, or in which they are merged to the prejudice of their individual identity."<sup>33</sup>

As an heir to the utilitarian tradition of J. S. Mill, Laski is also conscious about the evils of modern capitalist state in which "the distributive process has no inherent connection with the end of justice" and in which political power is "the handmaid of economic power."

Ultimately Laski goes far as to support communism—an antithesis of individualism—as "the challenge issued to the classic theories of the state in recent years." "In its general outline" Laski says, this theory "was first formulated by Marx and Engels, and it received its classic re-statement by Lenin in his *State and Revolution*. I am not aware of any adequate answer to it from opponents of the challenge. The idealist theory of the state (as, for example)

<sup>32</sup> See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 141.

<sup>33</sup> See Hobhouse, *The Metaphysical Theory of the State*, p. 29.

in its famous formulation by Bosanquet remains a formulation of a conceptual state *in posse* rather than the states we know. The liberal and anti-idealist view, as expressed by L. T. Hobhouse, assumes, but does not prove, that, given time, reason will always be victorious in matters of social conflict. Neither Bosanquet's view, nor that of Hobhouse, fulfils the scientific canon of prediction. Broadly speaking, the Marxian theory of the state has so defined its nature and functioning as to enable us to predict with assurance the course its operations will follow. As an index to the problems of our age it decisively, in my judgment, holds the field."<sup>34</sup>

Thus we find that as an individualist Laski refutes the classical idea of the State, as was developed by the Great Philosophers and also by Rousseau, Hegel, Bradley and Bosanquet, but that ultimately he recognises the wisdom of the communistic theory. Being profoundly influenced by J. S. Mill,—the utilitarian individualist—he tries to reconcile two irreconcilable ideas, *viz.*, individualism and communism for the sake of common good and to a large extent contradicts himself. We, therefore, agree with Prof. H. A. Deane when he observes<sup>35</sup>:

"He (*i.e.*, Laski) did not find it difficult to hold contradictory positions at any given moment. He superimposed a layer of Marxism on top of his earlier neo-Benthamite liberalism and never seemed to realize that the two strata could not be fused into a consistent philosophy. Depending on the circumstances and on his audience, he was capable of moving rapidly from a collectivistic to an individualistic position. He may well have been unconscious of the major inconsistencies in his position; he was so fluent in speech and in writing that he could move down any of several paths with equal ease, and there was never the time nor, perhaps, the will to discover the extent to which they diverged."

34. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, (*Introductory Chapter*), p. v.

35. See Herbert A. Deane, *The Political Ideas of Harold J. Laski*, pp. 244-245.



## A NEW SOLUTION OF THE FOOD PROBLEM IN INDIA

BY K. P. SINHA

"Our folly in continuing a system of diet that we know does not give vitality, rather slowly leads to physical emaciation, deserves condemnation."

Rabindra Nath Tagore

THE Food Problem is one of the most serious problems facing the country after the attainment of independence. The Government declared in 1949, that India would be self-sufficient in the matter of Food and Import of Food would be stopped by 1951, and laid great emphasis on the "Grow More Food Campaign" which unfortunately could not achieve success to meet the requirement of the country. The First Five-Year Plan in spite of its agricultural bias could not attain this object. The Second Five-Year Plan is going to be complete within a year but the food situation is still not at all bright.

In the recent debate on the food situation in the Rajya Sabha (December 1959), several members including some Congress members regretted that the food situation was still in the same state of chaos as it was two or three years ago. "Mr. Khandubhai Desai (Congress) said this half-hearted zonal system and quarter-hearted State Trading and the slogan for increasing the food production are not going to give food nor bring down prices." Dr. Hriday Nath Kunzru said that the high-level of foodgrain output 73.5 million tons in 1958-59 was due more to good weather than to any special effort by the Agricultural Department of the Government of India or the States. He did not agree that the prices of foodgrains were coming down, and he said : "As in previous years the prices may come down for the present but they would go up again after a few months."

"It was the considered opinion of the House that if the consumer is to be assured of adequate supply of foodgrains at reasonable prices the powers that be should reorient the food policy on rational lines free from ideological considerations.

Four notable suggestions were then given by the members in course of the debate.

- (1) The Government must give up State Trading in Foodgrains. Even if it has full control over State Trading it will not be able to supply quickly the needs of the millions of the people as private traders are able to do at present.
- (2) If the Centre and States can pool their efforts so as to take care of the food required by a deficit State, then it will not be necessary to form the zones.
- (3) There must be one uniform policy applicable to the whole country and price stabilisation should apply to all commodities, foodgrain and other non-foodgrain crops and not to foodgrains only.
- (4) Greater emphasis must be laid on the need for ensuring adequate irrigation facilities, supply of good seeds, chemical and non-chemical manures.

There is of course nothing new in these suggestions inasmuch as they have been repeatedly stressed ere now. But by drawing attention to them again the Rajya Sabha members have indicated that the measures are being implemented by the authorities in a haphazard way."

—Commerce, December 1959.

Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Food Minister, assured that a buffer stock of 5 million tons mostly of wheat and rice would be built in the country very soon.

The permanent solution of this problem lies in maintaining a rate of output which is commensurate with the growth of population.

Mr. Patil said, "I am very optimistic about prospects in the field of production. I do not agree this year's output 73.5 million tons was in the nature of record production or bumper crop. Our poor yield which is 1.5 ton per acre compares badly with 2 to 6 tons in other countries."

To meet the chronic deficit of food India has to import food from abroad mainly from America, and also sometimes from Canada, Australia and Russia to the extent of nearly 150 crores of rupees per year, which is a great drain on her resources. If this import can be stopped then this amount can be utilised for the much-needed economic development of the country.

Before the separation of Burma from India in 1935, India used to import rice from Burma which was approximately 2 per cent of India's production. At the same time India used to export some rice which was of fine quality and of higher price.

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said, "It requires credulous men to believe that we should have starved without a mere two per cent and therefore imported it. Burma rice was imported because it was cheaper in price."

"It was however due to the bold policy of Rafi Ahmed Kidwai that the import of food was drastically reduced, price was lowered and the country was happy. The peak year for imports was 1951, (Rs. 216 crores) the year of the first General Election after which the late Mr. Kidwai was appointed Food and Agriculture Minister in the Cabinet. His unorthodox technique rather than official policy was largely responsible for the abolition of controls which was followed by a rapid decline in foodgrains imports. Soon after his death the position changed."

—*Capital*, October, 1957.

From 1951 to 1957 the value of Imported Food was as follows :—

Year	Crores of Rupees.
1951	216
1952	209
1953	85
1954	47
1955	33
1956	56
1957	200

Dr. P. C. Bansil said, "In 1949 Government took a pledge that no import should be made after 1951, but it could not be strictly fulfilled. The magic man popularly known as Rafi was snatched from us and imports again made their ugly appearance."

It has been observed that the efforts to increase the Food Production has not met with success commensurate with the demand for food taking into account the annual increase of population at the rate of nearly 1.25 per cent.

Below is given a table showing India's food production during the recent years :

Year	Food Production (Million Tons)	Million Tons.
1950-51		50
1951-52		51.2
1952-53		58.3
1953-54		68.7
1954-55		66.6
1955-56		64.8
1956-57		68.2
1957-58		62.0
1958-59		73.5

Although production of food has increased yet this is not considered sufficient to cope with the growing demand due to the growth of population and to cover occasional natural calamities like flood and drought. There is however a widespread misconception about the increase of population and it is generally believed that the failure to make the country self-sufficient in food is due mainly to the high rate of population increase which however is not quite true. According to Prof. Kingsly Davis average increase of population was 12 per cent per decade from 1920 to 1950, and total increase in India from 1871 to 1951 was 52 per cent. This increase of population in U.K., was 57 per cent, in Japan 120 per cent and in the U.S.A. 230 per cent during the same period. "Average growth of population in India is not so alarming as it is generally supposed. The popular notion that it has been faster than most modern countries, a notion derived from the massiveness, density and poverty of the population is obviously unwarranted."—Mr. K. K. Saksena (*Commerce, Annual Number, 1958*).

To meet the challenge of food deficit in the country efforts are being made to augment the production by better irrigation, better seeds and better fertilisers. Introduction of service co-operatives can serve this purpose undoubtedly in a much better way considering the small holding of Indian farmers which is .7 acres per capita compared with 1.5 acres in Europe.

Along with improved method of cultivation, the part of the house-wives to prepare rice with equitable distribution of food is necessary. The comparatively small quantity of water in ordinary cooking pots so that the gruel may be absorbed by the cooked rice but the grains will remain soft and separate. India's rice production is approximately 25 million tons per annum. If 25 per cent of it is wasted due to discarding the gruel then 6 1/4 million tons are wasted in this way. If we discount 50 per cent of this, still about 3 million tons are wasted.

These are however rather long term measures but the solution of the Food Problem brooks no delay. To depend permanently on the generosity of other countries in the matter of such a vital necessity as food is certainly a great national calamity. The amount of foreign exchange that is required to purchase food is neither easy to procure at present nor to pay up in the near future. Besides the difficulty of shipping space and transport cost there is great uncertainty to bring food from foreign countries in times of international political troubles which are not quite rare.

For immediate solution of the Food Problem some efforts should be made to avoid wastage of food which will considerably help to make up the country's deficit. It has been estimated that Rs. 600 crores worth of food is wasted due to pests and pestilences and bad storage for which insecticides should be used adequately and storage facilities should be improved.

Last but not least there is another kind of common wastage in food preparation so far as rice is concerned which is not really difficult to prevent. The suggestions given below as a result of my experiments, if implemented can go a long way not only in making up the food deficit but also in improving our diet from the nutritional point of view. In the current method of cooking of rice we cast away about 70 per cent calcium, 50 per cent iron, 20 per cent phosphorus and 3 per cent protein and good deal of carbohydrate along with the gruel. In preparing rice by boiling with profuse quantity of water the gruel is discarded which contains very high food value. If rice gruel is preserved with rice then it has been seen that about 25 per cent of rice consumption can be cut down. A person who takes 8 ounces (4 chhattaks) of rice per day can do easily with less than 6 ounces (3 chhattaks) of rice if gruel is not discarded. It will require a little additional care on

If however rice is prepared in a simplified steam cooker with proportionate quantity of water then the rice will absorb the gruel more easily. It will consist of a galvanised steel sheet casing having a tightly fitting lid, inside which one or more pots can be kept. In these pots rice can be boiled with water having requisite quantity of water in the cooker also. Dal, vegetables, fish, meat, etc., also can be cooked in this cooker. By this method another advantage is that the time taken will be reduced and less personal attention will be necessary, and drudgery of cooking will be removed. Food will be more hygienic and fuel cost will be diminished.

To preserve the gruel we can prepare Khichuri (*hotch-potch*) with rice and pulses and vegetables in the ordinary way. Another novel way of preparation of Khichuri is by taking some powdered rice and powdered pulses with vegetables and usual spices and boiling them with requisite quantity of water. Within 15 minutes we can get highly palatable Khichuri which is nutritious and easily digestible.

In preparing Khichuri the gruel is not wasted. If we take Khichuri one or two days in a week it will add to the variety of our diet.

If we take Chira (flattened rice) at one meal time the food value will be preserved. As a substitute for rice Chira can be boiled with requisite water for about 10 minutes when it will become quite soft and the water will be absorbed in it. Then it may be taken with Dal (pulses), vegetables, fish, etc., and will taste like cooked rice and will be easily digested.

About the food wastage by discarding the gruel no less a person than Rabindra Nath Tagore said in his inaugural speech of the "Food and Nutrition Exhibition" held under the auspices of the Calcutta Corporation, "With the water of boiled rice our nourishment is flowing out through the kitchen". "Our folly in \*conti-

ning a system of diet that we know does not give vitality rather slowly leads to physical emaciation, deserves condemnation."\*\*

Many eminent scientists like Sir P. C. Roy, Sir J. C. Bose, Sir C. V. Raman, Dr. Meghnad Saha and eminent physicians like Sir Nil Ratan Sarkar, Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Dr. Kumud Sankar Roy expressed their opinion that preparation of food by steam cooking is more hygienic than by the ordinary method.

Mahatma Gandhi in an issue of the *Harijan* in 1942 said, "Too much food wasted by the people." In many restaurants and boarding houses as well as in dinner parties in private houses appreciable quantity of food is wasted due to excess preparation. Unhygienic method of food preparation is no less responsible for destroying much food value besides bringing about diseases and suffering in the long run which can be easily remedied.

Huxley said, "Diet is the basic human need, something like half the human race including a great number of people who imagined they are perfectly well fed are really to a greater or lesser extent malnourished. Malnutrition is the greatest single source of disease, lower vitality and shortened life."

Rice is the staple food of some other coun-

\*When Rabindranath visited Bankura in 1940, Ramananda Chatterjee the veteran journalist and great philanthropist introduced me to him as a social worker recalling my humble services as Assistant Secretary and organiser of the Bankura Sammilani Famine Relief Committee during the famine of 1936 in the District. I then referred to his speech in the Calcutta Corporation about food wastage and told him that I had devised a simplified steam cooker at cheap cost by which rice and vegetables could be cooked in a hygienic way. This will help retain their food value that is spoiled by the ordinary method of cooking and will reduce the rice consumption at the same time. Both of them highly appreciated my efforts.

In a letter dated 17.9.40 Mr. Chatterjee wrote to me "I am very glad to know that your cooker has been made."

tries like China and Japan but the people of those countries do not waste the gruel like us. In our country a section of people belonging to the agricultural labour class take the gruel with rice and enjoy good health because they get extra nourishment from it. In East Pakistan most of the people take their morning breakfast in the shape of cooked rice mixed with gruel.

In the Rice Mills while husking rice much food value is wasted due to excessive polishing but in husking by Dhenki the food value remains intact. But due to lack of support from the people and the Government, Dhenki rice has almost disappeared from the market, which can be reintroduced with a little encouragement.

Now what is immediately necessary is to change the food habits of the people, to get increased nutrition with less expenses which can be done by a vigorous publicity campaign and by practical demonstration throughout the country.

From the individual's point of view a reduction of food expenses by 25 per cent in addition to attainment of higher nutritional value is not an insignificant thing, and it will not be difficult to convince them to change their food habits from the socio-economic approach.

So far as West Bengal is concerned food problem is more acute than that of other States and the price of rice is abnormally high which is more than 6 times the pre-war price. Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister, West Bengal, in a recent statement to the Press Representatives has said, "This year's production of foodstuff in West Bengal is 40 lakh tons and another 10 to 15 lakh tons are necessary to meet the deficit, but there is no possibility of the price of rice to come down in view of this shortage."

But if we can reclaim 25 per cent of our food or say half of this by hygienic method of preparation there is no reason why price will not appreciably come down.

In conclusion I earnestly appeal to the people in general and to the Government in particular to consider my suggestions and give them a fair trial which is sure to help considerably in solving the problem of food shortage and mal-nutrition.



## ADVISORY POWERS OF THE INDIAN SUPREME COURT

BY PROF. MANI SHANKAR, M.A.

ORDINARILY, the function of a Court of law remains confined to answer questions of law when properly raised before it in a dispute between two or more than two parties. In the U.S.A., when President Washington submitted a series of questions to the Supreme Court for consideration, the latter politely but resolutely refused to respond to them on the ground of its policy of neutrality to political controversies and intrigues. But under the present Constitution of India the Supreme Court has been given a particular jurisdiction, commonly known as the consultative or advisory jurisdiction. On the basis of this particular jurisdiction the Supreme Court can deliver its opinion on questions unconnected with a pending case. A similar power was conferred upon the Federal Court of India under the Government of India Act, 1935.

The President of India has been made competent to refer any matter of public importance involving some legal complications to the Supreme Court for its opinion. Article 143 specifically provides that if at any time it appears to the President of India that a question of law or fact has arisen or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court upon it, he may refer the question to the Supreme Court for consideration. The Supreme Court after having heard and scrutinized the pros and cons of the question thus referred to is entitled to report to the President its opinion. The normal procedure of delivering the opinion seeks the concurrence of the majority of judges present and hearing the issue. In substance, the procedure resembles the ordinary procedure adopted in original and appellate jurisdictions. As the very title indicates, this particular jurisdiction is not obligatory in nature. It is not binding upon the President to accept the opinion of the Supreme Court.

It is significant to observe that the advisory or consultative jurisdiction of the Indian Supreme Court is not a new or original creation. This provision is analogous to that possessed by the Privy Council of the U.K., which declares that His Majesty may refer to the Judicial Committee for hearing or consideration, any matter whatsoever as His Majesty may think fit and that the Committee shall thereupon hear and consider the same, and shall advise His Majesty

thereon. But this provision under Section 4 of the Judicial Committee Act, 1883, differs from the provision of the Indian Constitution stating advisory jurisdiction of the Supreme Court into two respects.

(a) In India while expressing opinion, the Judges who do not concur are at liberty to deliver a dissenting opinion while in the U.K., the dissenting opinions are not delivered in the Privy Council.

(b) In India the Supreme Court is not always bound to hear and consider the reference but in the U.K., it has been made obligatory for the Judicial Committee to hear and consider the matter and advise His Majesty thereon.

A similar provision can be traced into the Constitution of Canada (Sec. 60, Canadian Supreme Court Act, 1906), under which the Governor-General in Council is empowered to refer certain important questions of law to the Supreme Court for hearing and consideration. The Supreme Court of Canada is bound to entertain and answer the reference, but an interesting point to note is that the opinion of the Canadian Supreme Court is subject to appeal to His Majesty in Council. The permanent Court of International Justice, under Art. 14 of the Covenant of League of Nations, was vested with the authority to deliver advisory opinion.

After having made a deliberate, mobile and synthetic analysis of Art. 143 of the Indian Constitution we may briefly record that this article lays down that the Supreme Court may be required to express its opinion in two classes of matters in an advisory capacity as distinguished from its judicial capacity.

(a) In the first class, any question of law or fact may be referred to the Supreme Court for its opinion if in the opinion of the President the question is of such a nature and of such public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of the Supreme Court.

(b) The second class of cases belong to the disputes arising out of pre-constitution treaties and agreements which are excluded by Art. 131.

This particular jurisdiction differs from a regular adjudication before the Supreme Court in the sense that there is no litigation between two parties in such a case and that the opinion given on such a reference is not binding upon

the Government nor it can be executed as a Judgment of the Supreme Court. The accepted theory of the precedent goes to say that the Judges do not make law by formulating and declaring, but make law by applying it. Judicial declaration unaccompanied by Judicial application is of no authority. The panoramic dissection of this provision of the Constitution suggests that the whole procedure merely constitutes consultation between the President and the Supreme Court.

From the surface of this provision it appears that the Supreme Court will always entertain and consider the reference made thereto, but when a little penetration is made into the words and gospel of the article it becomes apparent that in the strict sense of the term, the Supreme Court is not bound to answer a reference. Regarding Kerala Education Bill, 1957, C. R. Das, C. J. observed, "This Court has under Clause (1) a discretion in matter and may in a proper case and for good reasons decline to express any opinion on the questions submitted to it".

There has been considerable difference of opinion amongst jurists and political thinkers as to the expediency of placing on the courts an obligation to advise the executive questions involving legal complications. Quite a good number of jurists and political thinkers have been opposed to such type of business allocated to the judiciary. Prof. Philip Frankfurter of the United States says that "the whole milieu of advisory opinions are bound to move in unreal atmosphere. The impact of actuality and the intensities of immediacy are wanting. In the altitude of the court and the counsel, in the vigour of adequate representation of the facts behind legislation there is thus a wide gulf of difference, partly rooted in psychological factors, between opinions in advance of legislation and the decisions in litigation after such proposals are embodied into law. Advisory opinions are rendered upon sterilised and mutilated issues." In the words of Halsbury, in the case of Attorney-General Ontario Vs Hamilton Street Railway : "They would be worthless as being speculative opinions of hypothetical questions. It would be contrary to principle, inconvenient and inexpedient that opinions should be given on such questions at all. When they arise, they must arise in concrete cases, involving private rights ; and

it would be extremely unwise for any judicial tribunal to attempt beforehand to exhaust all possible cases and facts which might occur to qualify, cut down and override the operation of the particular words when the concrete is not before it". An another gentlemen Lord Halden has also criticised this jurisdiction of the Judiciary. He says that "under this procedure questions may be put of a kind which it is impossible to answer satisfactorily. Not only may the question of future litigants be prejudiced by the Court laying down principles in abstract form without any reference or relation to actual facts, but it may turn out to be practically impossible to define a principle adequately and safely without previous ascertainment of the exact facts to which it is to be applied". In a single line, the opinion given in such a manner is only a piece of advice in a contingency not yet foreseen in all its aspects.

In spite of weighty arguments to the contrary, the framers of the Indian Constitution thought it expedient to confer advisory jurisdiction upon the Supreme Court. And in fact, the above views contesting this jurisdiction of the Supreme Court do not seem to be absolutely sound. It cannot be denied that in the present set-up of legal complications arising in day-to-day administration this type of opinion has a peculiar importance. The chief utility of such an advisory judicial opinion is to enable the Government to secure an authoritative opinion either as to the validity of a legislative measure before it is enacted or as to some other matter which may not go to the courts in the ordinary course and yet the Government is anxious to have authoritative legal opinion before taking any action. In England the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council and the Canadian Supereme Court did in fact make some magnificent contribution to legal as well as political jurisprudence of their respective countries. In India too the Supreme Court has rendered valuable services by delivering its opinion in some questions of outstanding eminence. So far, three cases of reference have been made to the Supreme Court : The Delhi Laws Act, 1912, the Kerala Education Bill, 1957 and the question regarding the transfer of some Indian territory to Pakistan, and in all these three cases the opinion of the Supreme Court has been favourably honoured.

## AGRICULTURE IN INDIA

BY PROF. S. N. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

AGRICULTURE in India awaits tremendous development as a means for meeting the food requirements of the country and preventing social calamities like droughts, floods and soil erosion. The nutritional level of an average Indian is very low ; as a matter of fact he consumes food materials equivalent to 1590 calories only per day whereas the corresponding figure for an American is 3200 calories, for a Burmese 1990 calories, and for a Latin American about 2300 calories. Studies in history and human nutrition show that decline in the quality and quantity of food below a certain minimum requirement per capita does have a serious effect on the vigour and activity of the people. The production of food crops and other edible products has therefore to be doubled in India as early as possible, as the first step towards a better standard of living for our large and growing population. Scope for such a development through systematic and scientific agriculture is presented in the following table which shows the position of India and China (another comparable underdeveloped country) in crop yields and fertilizer consumption per acre among 70 countries excluding U.S.S.R.

The above table shows that China enjoys a far better position in crop yields and fertilizer consumption per acre than India. This is noteworthy in the light of the fact that all the lands of China are of very poor productivity (group III) whereas those of India are of moderate natural fertility (group II), according to the land classification of the F.A.O. It may be further added in this connection that Denmark with her poor and sandy soils enjoys the first place in crop yields per acre because of systematic and scientific farming.

### *Soil and Water Conservation*

Agriculture, worth its name, is intimately connected with soil and water conservation. Soils in India have been left in neglect for centuries. Most people here depend on land for their living, participate in endless disputes and litigations over their titles, etc., but nobody cares for the improvement of the soil. Worse still is the fact that the natural processes of formation and conservation of soils have been repeatedly disturbed by the landlords who destroyed most of

Table

*Position of India and China in crop Yields and fertilizer (NKP) consumption per acre.*

(Crop yields per acre)

	Wheat	Barley	Maize	Rice	Potatoes	NKP fertilizer consumption per acre
Position of India	60	47	45	34	35	47
Percentage of world average (India)	54	56	46	70	80	13
Percentage of maximum yield (India)	16	19	13	22	27	0.22
Position of China	32	32	23	20	42	26

the forests and ploughed all the grasslands for more and more money. The results of all these have been disastrous to agriculture and climate in many parts of India. There have been terrible and devastating cases of flood and soil erosion throughout the country. Without adequate measures for water conservation through protection of land with forests and grasses, the soil structure has been destroyed due to loss of organic matter, clogging of the natural pores of earth, and eventual interference to seepage and percolation. This increased the run off water and hastened soil erosion. Sheet erosion led to the formation of deep gullies and the silt and sand carried down through these raised the levels of most of the river beds above the levels of surrounding fields. Thus the river Kosi in Nepal and Bihar has the greatest silt run off (11.4 tons) per acre of drainage area in Asia, and the flood havocs of Kosi, Damodar and many other rivers are well-known. Ganges also has joined this list with her branches and tributaries, and the sad condition of the river systems of U.P., Bihar and West Bengal has to be seen to be believed. The average man of education observes the floods and the decay of the river systems ; what escapes his notice is the soil erosion and soil degeneration accompanying these floods. Remarks of European and American experts carry weight: "A person wades across the Ganges in some places before monsoon ; in flood time it may be a raging torrent 3 miles wide, breaking off great chunks of earth from its bank and uprooting trees." "Over much of India the people have accepted a slowly deteriorating environment as a part of the scheme of things, the vast majority is probably unaware that soil erosion is occurring." These remarks together with the lamentable condition of the Ganges near Nabadwip, Chinsurah and other places point to the advanced stage of the calamity.

Long time development programmes have to be undertaken involving afforestation, water conservation and grassland husbandry ; legislations have to be enacted against burning of dung, forest litter, crop residues, use of paddy fields for factories, buildings or brickfields; and particular care should be taken to return all sorts of organic waste products of society and industry to the soil.

### *Irrigation and Drainage*

Water, according to the Americans, is poor man's fertilizer ; plenty of water is needed for growing plants and crops on soils and in this respect water is much more important than manures and fertilizers. Rain water is the best source of this supply and in order to ensure this supply throughout the year, all old tanks have to be reclaimed, and rivers and canals made deeper through dredging, etc. This will help most of the rain water settle in the tanks for the all year consumption of crops and men, or find their way out safely to the sea without affecting the soils through erosion or society through flood havocs.

In a country where 85—90 per cent of the annual rainfall takes place in course of 3 to 4 months, irrigation is essential to agriculture; but irrigation without adequate drainage measures is terribly disastrous for tropical soils. The rather dry soils of U.P., the Punjab, and many other parts of India point out clearly how careless irrigation leads to the accumulation of subsoil salts on the surface soil and eventually makes the soil totally unfit for agriculture. To keep soils always fit and fertile for crops, the water supplied to them through irrigation should be salt-free and flowing slowly from the upper to the lower layers ; this will avoid the accumulation to soluble salts on the surface soils.

Soils already rendered unfit for agriculture through such careless irrigation in the past have to be reclaimed through the application of gypsum, fresh water, etc., and investigations undertaken in the lines introduced by the Americans and followed with necessary modifications by the Hunting Technical Services (London) in Iraq and Pakistan. In addition to the saline and alkali (Reh) soils of Northern India, a great part of the total acreage under cultivation is frequently rendered saline by sea water in the States of West Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Kerala, etc. The free salts and the exchangeable sodium ions of these soils have to be removed by washing with water and gypsum treatment respectively. The scope of excess  $\text{CaCO}_3$  followed by ammonium sulphate treatment in removing exchangeable sodium from saline soils still under cultivation is worth some trial.

*Mechanisation of Agriculture*

In spite of the traditional unemployment in the country and under-employment among farm workers, there is ample scope for mechanising agriculture in India. Work in the farms and fields in tropical climates involves inhuman hardship to men and animals, especially when they lack proper food and nutrition ; little efficiency or output can be expected from such systems. Mechanical power on the other hand multiplies the output of work per head and it has been demonstrated in the semi-arid Great Plains of the U.S.A., that lands which are ordinarily left uncultivated in the underdeveloped countries like India and China in spite of over-population and food shortage, can be profitably brought under cultivation through the use of tractors and other farm machineries. Marked increase in the overall food production of the country can be achieved by bringing the vast acreages of barren or less fertile lands of West Bengal, U.P., and many other parts of India, and this can easily amount to a 25—30% increase in food production.

Britain has shown in course of the last few decades how mechanical power can be introduced in every phase of farm work as a cheaper and better substitute for human labour. This experiment can be wisely repeated in India in order to initiate our backward farm labourers to systematic and scientific work, and to eliminate the more costly animal labour as far as possible. Such experiments will establish in no time that tractors, fuels and electricity are far better substitutes for cows and buffaloes, so that the number of farm animals should be brought down as early as possible in the face of human starvation.

*Use of Manures and Fertilizers*

The practice of sending all waste products of society to the soil is very old in China, and the agriculturally advanced countries of Europe and America are all fully conscious of the saying, "Corruption is the mother of vegetation". The Netherlands composts 20% of its municipal refuse ; it has been estimated that the sewage produced in the U.S.A., amounts to 5.62 million tons of nitrogen, 1.81 million tons of phosphoric

acid and 1.61 million tons of potash per annum, and various steps are being taken to send these nutrients to soils. The ploughing under of green cover crops is now done in many countries as it makes plant foods more available to food crops and also adds to soils extra stock of nutrients by making fuller use of solar energy through photosynthesis.

In India however the story is quite different. The waste products of our city life are accumulating in heaps on the streets of Calcutta and other cities, and these together with the contents of the drains, latrines and urinals are contributing towards the spreading of germs of fatal diseases. 40% of cattle manure is burnt in India and another 20% is lost through poor handling ; all the cow-dung is used as fuel, forest litter, straw, crop residues, etc., are indiscriminately burnt in the forests and fields just for the sake of getting rid of them ; nobody cares to know about their value as sources of plant nutrients. It has been estimated that the dung carted out annually in England and Wales provides about 75% of nitrogen and potash in all the chemical fertilizers used and 25% of the fertilizers phosphate. Although 25 million tons of human wastes are available in India only 1.2 million tons are used in agriculture.

Soils properly supplied with composts and farm yard manure do not need much NKP fertilizers or trace elements for good crop yield ; most of the plant nutrients are supplied by these organic bodies through their gradual decomposition. Moreover composts and manures improve soil texture, increase their capacity for supplying water, reduce soil erosion and render soils fit for the application of lime and fertilizers. Farm yard manure is by far the most important of all types of organic manures, and has formed the basis of arable farming in all ages.

To raise the nutrient status and fertility of our soils adequate measures have to be taken and legislation enacted for preventing the burning of cow-dung and other cattle manures, forest litter, and for encouraging the composting of city wastes. Methods have to be devised for making the best use of urine, sewage and other waste products of towns and cities, and use of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers has to be popularised in the country. The results of the countries of Western Europe, U.S.A., Japan,

South Africa and China in food production when our poverty and starvation are well-known point out clearly that crop yields per acre can easily be equated to the consumption of chemical fertilizers. Scope for such widespread application of fertilizers to Indian soils is on the other hand presented by the examples of Australia, Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, South Africa, South Korea and many South American countries. A 20-fold increase in our fertilizer consumption can be easily reached without any risk to the soils, provided their moisture, humus and lime statuses are properly maintained, and this will raise India to the status of China and South Africa. It will not be too much to expect self-sufficiency in food at that stage.

*Better Crop Species, More Acreage, Insecticides, etc.*

Successful farming involves proper care of both soil and plant and there is much scope for work of our soil scientists and botanists in this line. In addition to bringing more and more acreages under wheat, paddy, maize, potatoes, etc., the quality and treatment of the seeds of all these crops have to be improved with the ultimate object of higher yields per acre of better crops. The potentialities of hybrid plants and crops remain yet to be properly tapped in India. The F.A.O. sponsored a 5-year testing programme for hybrid corn in European countries and the result has been a 60% increase in yield from the North American hybrids over the local open-pollinated varieties. Introduction of improved varieties of sweet potatoes in China by the F.A.O. gave a 37% increase in output.

Sowing more and more leguminous crops in the muddy fields after harvesting of paddy needs no extra labour for preparing the soil and this practice gives good results in East Bengal. The Aman fields of Eastern India can thus be made to produce much larger quantities of lentils, pulses, etc. The author had the pleasant experience of observing maize grown on the sides of some of the streets of Brussels, the rich capital of Belgium and a very beautiful city of Europe. Similar measures in India can grow thousands of tons of maize or other food crops in the compounds of Courts, Offices and Bungalows of provincial towns of India. Even our Dalhousie Square would not perhaps look any worse with some maize plants or banana trees,

Grassland farming is an important feature of agriculture in all the advanced countries. Britain has half and Ireland one-third of their total acreages under grass. Grass fields there enjoy all the attention and care given to the arable plots. Irrigation, proper use of seeds and fertilizers, rotation with arable crops, etc., are necessary for the successful cultivation of grass. Properly maintained grasslands are essential to India for protecting soils from erosion, increasing soil fertility through rotation with arable crops and for raising the standards of our dairy and poultry industries. Allotment of a major fraction of the total acreage to temporary and permanent grasslands and systematic experiments in grassland farming are overdue in India.

India had 155 million cattle in 1950-51 when the U.S.A. had 84.2 million, but the production of cows' milk here was one-sixth of that in the U.S.A., during that period. Australia, New Zealand and the European countries have still better pictures to present about cattle health and the quality and quantity of their dairy products. The answer to all these differences from India lies mostly in the care taken to grow grass and other cattle food in those countries. In addition to improved grassland farming India needs large quantities of cheap cereals and other cattle food for her emaciated cows, buffaloes, goats, etc.

It has been estimated that in India rats, mice, beetles and other insects, moulds and fungus diseases destroy about 3 weeks' ration of the country each year. This shows how much can be undertaken and achieved in the fields of pest control, and insecticides in India.

*Youth, Education and Agriculture*

A weak point about Indian agriculture is the poor contribution of our Universities and men of education in this field. While all the branches of agriculture and farm life are systematically studied in the Universities of the West, our educational systems have practically avoided it so far. The twelve departments and many sections of the Rothamsted Experimental Station of England, together with those of the large number of Agricultural Experimental Stations started by the Universities and States of

the U.S.A., on Rothamsted model point out clearly young people. They can be overcome by hard how many branches of physical and biological work and enthusiasm. . . .” sciences receive their inspiration from agriculture and soils. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Bristol, Reading, London, etc., have all been showing their consciousness about this matter through their field and laboratory activities. The poor role of our scientists and technologists on the other hand can be appreciated from the fact that practically no study has been made on soil and water conservation in Bengal in spite of the floods, soil erosion and ultimate decay of the river systems of East Bengal in this century, and the present position of the Ganges in West Bengal. Only one paper has been read so far on the (“River Problems of Bengal”, 1938) before Calcutta University. Sir E. J. Russell, the famous British authority on agriculture, wrote to the present author in a personal letter, “. . . India is by far the most important country in Asia, more advanced than any except perhaps Japan, but also confronted with greater difficulties because of its large and increasing population, and its lack of adequate water supply over much of the land. These difficulties present a challenge to the trained and educated section of India’s

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## UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

*A Design for World Peace and Prosperity*

By T. SURYANARAYANA RAO

Fifteen years ago, in June 1945, fifty nations of the world signed the Charter of the United Nations at San Francisco. They were “determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our life-time has brought untold sorrow to mankind.” They wanted not only to prevent war, not only to preserve peace on political plane, but also to ensure freedom and prosperity for all nations. And, pooling their experiences and aspirations they drew up the Charter to reflect the collective will of the war-torn and peace-loving peoples.

The document begins in a characteristic style : “We the people of the United Nations, determined . . .” To save the world from war,

certainly of no less significance from the long range point of view. Perhaps this alone will do to call the UN the most broad-based of all

international institutions known to history, not barring The League of Nations. Two other sections what merit attention are those concerning non-self-governing territories and the International Court of Justice.

The Second World War handed to us a world full of chaos. The victors feared one another and the vanquished had their fists tight though hid in their pockets for the moment. Leaders of nations who could look into the horizons felt that some independent third force should be built to clear the world of the mental debris of war. More positively they wanted to create the new world on foundations of freedom and with the bricks of peace and leave it safe for their children. The first concrete manifestation of this desire was there in the famous Atlantic Charter of 1941. Getting wiser through the war, however, they kept on conferring and debating till they could successfully give us the Charter in 1945. Peace would first be secured which in its turn could facilitate progress in all directions. But freedom should be the corner-stone. Considerations of ideology, race and region should be politely humbled before the set aim. The first chapter of the Charter voices it. Articles one and two speak of the Purposes and Principles. The Purposes are fourfold : international peace and security, respect for freedom and dignity both of nations and of individuals, co-operation in social and economic fields, and harmonizing international activity in the service of these ends. Rights and duties of nations are given in the second article. The UN is a voluntary organisation of sovereign states. The member-states shall fulfil their obligations in good faith, settle their claims peacefully, refrain from using force, and help the UNO in its functions. Non-members too shall lend their hand to the Organisation in furtherance of its objectives. And lastly, the UN shall not offend the common law of domestic jurisdiction. To this world of problems of Gaza Strips, Berlins, Apartheid, and Ladakhs importance of these aims and principles cannot be over-emphasized.

The first and foremost aim of the United Nations in the context of world politics today is international peace and security. Free and frank discussions on problems should be the primary measure. Outstanding disputes should be settled peacefully, and that is the second step. If however intervention, military or otherwise, would

prove inevitable, suitable provision for the same is the last step. These are the stages envisaged by the Charter. Cardinally, the UN shall be used, in the words of Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld "as an instrument for negotiation of settlements as distinct from the mere debate of issues." Further, "the Charter reconciles the obligation of peaceful settlement with the objective of justice and equity. . . . ."

The two organs that are entrusted with this responsibility of peace are the Security Council and the General Assembly. Five chapters deal with these matters—General Assembly (IV), Security Council (V), Pacific Settlement of Disputes (VI), Action in respect of Threats to Peace etc., (VII), and Regional Arrangements (VIII). Let us briefly acquaint ourselves with the main features of these sections.

The General Assembly is the supreme organ of the UN. Its functions and powers as enunciated by Articles 10 to 17 fall under two heads: discussion and recommendation. But it shall not generally make any recommendation in regard to a dispute currently under the Council's scrutiny. The other inherent limitation in the Assembly, or for that matter in the whole of the UN, is that it cannot enforce its decision upon the members automatically. The UN is not a Government of any kind but is a simple association of sovereign nations.

While the Assembly is more a deliberative organ, the Security Council is the enforcement agency. Article 24 clearly states that "in order to ensure prompt and effective action by UN its members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for maintenance of international peace and security. . . . .". The Council's work on any important item is subject to the veto of the five permanent members—Russia, America, Britain, France and Chiang's China. In spite of this veto-ailment the Security Council in co-operation with Assembly has done commendable work in Korea, Indonesia, Israel and Suez Canal. Now thanks to the Korean War, the Assembly can take matters into its hands when the Security Council is blocked by veto. Authorisation for this comes from the Uniting for Peace Resolution of 1950.

The Council has specific military agencies, for instance, its emergency force. It has a Military Staff Committee to assist it. It expects unstinted co-operation from member states in its

action against offenders. There is a further health and related matters. The specialised agencies, various commissions and a host of other subsidiary agencies help the council. The Unesco is the most popular of them. Agencies like the World Bank and The Fund cater predominantly to economic and financial needs. The Unicef is the example of charitable work. Economic Commissions for the different regions—Europe, Asia and the Far-East, Latin America, and Africa—devise means of international co-operation and development. Thus the Ecosoc, to begin with, is the co-ordinator of socio-economic and allied branches. It also makes a rational and non-propagandist recording of achievements of all nations whether they are socialist or capitalist, advanced or poor, free or fettered. Finally, and this is very important, it immensely helps grow a universal socio-economic ideology. The Unesco says that wars begin in the minds of men and that adequate defenses must be build up there, in the minds of men. It is this noble task among other things, that the third organ of the UN, the Economic and Social Council has undertaken.

In the chapter on action with respect to threats to peace, Article 51 provides for "the individual or collective self defense if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations." But such defensive action continues until the Council intervenes. The recent action of the United States in the Lebanon illustrates the point.

There is another place where the Organisation has shown a big sense of accommodation. "Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies . . . ." thus runs the fifty-second article. Under its scope thrive the Atlantic Community, the Warsaw Comradery and the like.

One thing may be asked of the Charter at this stage : Does it give any idea of the political ideology of this world organisation ? Yes, but we can have only broad contours. Reading the Charter together with such declarations as the human rights we see that freedom, friendship and fairplay form the bedrock of UN's political thinking. Your freedom casts a duty upon you to help others to become, remain and grow free. Friendship demands that peaceful approach to problems should be made. 'Either You or I' is not the basis of talk, but 'Both you and I, with justice' should be the understanding as well as approach. Fairplay cancels intrigue and surprise attack of all our civilised conduct. Any aggressive act should be collectively resisted.

What then about the socio-economic thought of the UN ? The Charter concerns itself with individuals as also with nations. Rights of and duties towards individuals in general are treated in the Charter at various places. Apart from this, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 quite exhaustively describes the normative provisions about all aspects of the humans in society. Besides, there are specific declarations regarding women, children, labour and refugees. Uniform international conduct is prescribed in them. So, to get at the whole picture of the UN's socio-economic thinking, we have to consult a number of documents. However, so far as the Charter goes, there is the chapter ten entitled "The Economic and Social Council". This council embraces a very large range of subjects—economic, social, cultural, educational,

On the national plane, non-self-governing territories are accorded a special place. These territories comprise two categories—those handed down by the mandatory system of the League and those placed under the trust of the UNO later on. They are spread over in Africa, South-East Asia and elsewhere. Under the trusteeship system of the UN ten areas have been drawn. Their advancement towards self-Government is the chosen aim of the Organisation through the relevant agencies. Already Togoland, Libya, Ghana, the Cameroons have become free, thanks to the UNO. British Somalia, Belgian Congo, Western Samoa and other such nations shall soon be named differently and take their worthy place in the General Assembly. Chapter XI makes the basic declaration regarding dependent territories. A trusteeship system improving upon the old mandatory arrangement has been devised. According to Article 73 the administering members shall "accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost . . . . the well-being of the inhabitants of these (trust) territories. . . . ." The twelfth and thirteenth chapters describe in detail the work and procedure of the trusteeship system and the agency meant to operate it, namely the Trusteeship Council. The two basic ideas that pervade the chapters are human rights and eventual freedom of these nationalities.

The last and perhaps the most significant of the tasks of the UN is to help evolve true international law. The International Court of Justice is the hub of all activity in this field. Together with the statutes of other organs and declarations such as those on Human Rights and Rights of Children, the Court has to lay a strong basis of common law of nations. In the words of the ninety-second article the statute of the World Court forms an integral part of the Charter. The Court has advisory, arbitral and other necessary powers. But nations should first accept compulsory jurisdiction of the Court. As matters stand, many nations have not accepted the jurisdiction. (India has recently accepted such jurisdiction with the usual provisos.) With Cold War receding better climate may be created for the work of the Hague Court to give its fruits to the world.

Regarding the UN structure a few points may be noted. Six organs comprise the Organisation—The General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice and Secretariat. Sovereignty and formal equality of member states are assured. Only in the Security Council there is the veto system giving extra-ordinary weight to the Big Five (this includes ironically

the Small China). Top posts like the Secretary-Generalship and General Assembly Presidentship are usually given to small or neutral nations. Through frank and exhaustive discussions the UN affords ample scope for persuasion as an effective method of international diplomacy. Scores of Sub-Committees and Commissions embrace the entire gamut of world life. For the first time in history a permanent international civil service has been created on a colossal scale. Within the four walls of the UNO thus, a world forum, a world law and indeed a world citizenship are growing steadily.

In conclusion, we may project our thoughts on the UN Charter *vis-a-vis* future world order. So much conceptual and practical effort is being made to bring all the states under the canopy of a world Government. When such a universal State comes into existence it will have to lean very heavily on the Charter, its work and its services, and benefit by its failings too. True, the UNO as constituted now does not have to establish a world Government. The Charter is but an international treaty for global peace and freedom and co-operation. Yet from the soil made by the UNO, the tree of tomorrow's world Government will grow.

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### PAKHTUNISTAN *vis-a-vis* PAKISTAN

By SATYABRATA GOSWAMI, M.A.

The Afghan irredentist claims on the trans-border tribal zone of Pakistan have once again strained the relations between the two Islamic States. The recognized international boundary between Pakistan and Afghanistan is the Durand Line which follows in part the crest of the Hindu Kush and in part other frontier hills and valleys and runs for a distance of some 1,200 miles between the high Pamirs and the border of Persia. The line was established in 1893 between the then British India and Afghan kingdom in order to achieve a "full and satisfactory settlement of all the principal differences of opinion which have arisen between them in regard to the frontier."<sup>1</sup> Previously the frontier had been very much unstable and

the Amir of Afghanistan as the spiritual head of Islam and Commander of the Faithful (Amir-ul-Muminin) had exercised unmistakable influence on the Pathan tribes in the Indo-Afghan border lands west of the river Indus.

The Pathan country in the north-west frontier of Pakistan includes several tribes who are "masterless, lawless, and fanatical; held together by a certain code of tribal customs and the loose control of the tribal jirga or council, but in the main freemen, impatient of any rigid social contract and violently opposed to any infringement of their liberty of thought or action; divided and split by the devastating scourge of the blood feud, and united only in a fierce determination to defend themselves and their country from all forms of external

1. Aitchison's Treaties, Vol. XIII, No. XII (Afghanistan), Article 6.

pressure.”<sup>2</sup> The Pathans have experienced successively the Afghan, the Sikh, the British and now the Pakistani rule of their country but to no outside authority they have ever owned complete allegiance. The tribes have virtually been independent in spite of the *de jure* possession of their land by one or the other of the foreign powers. The Sikhs during their rule of the Pathan country in the first half of the nineteenth century had ever been in a state of war with the border tribes and had exercised only loose control with the sole purpose of realizing the revenue. Even that control had not extended much beyond the limits of their military garrisons. The British “succeeded to an inheritance of anarchy” in the Pathan country in 1849 after the defeat of the Sikhs. In their forward drives, the British annexed the tribal lands, including certain parts of Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad the then Afghan ruler failed to recover the “lost lands of his forerunners, at any rate as far as the Indus.” Instead, he was obliged to sign a treaty in 1855 with the British Government for the preservation of peace in the Indo-Afghan border lands by recognizing the territory of British India. But the tribes in the trans-border zone were in no mood to esteem the advancing frontier of British India beyond the Indus Valley. Sir Griffin, then officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, reported in 1876 that expedition after expedition had been necessary to show each tribe, in turn, the strength of the British Government and the folly of resisting it by force of arms. The Viceroy, Lord Lytton, also observed in 1877 :

“I believe that our North-West Frontier presents at this moment a spectacle unique in the world; at least I know of no other spot where, after 25 years of peaceful occupation, a great civilized power has obtained so little influence over its semi-savage neighbours, and acquired so little knowledge of them, that the country . . . is an

absolute *terra incognita*, and that there is absolutely no security for British life a mile or two beyond our border.”

The agreement of 1893, negotiated and signed by Sir Mortimer Durand representing the British Government of India and the Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan laid down a definite boundary between the two countries. The article 2 of the agreement stipulated that the Government of India would in no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of Afghanistan and the Afghan Amirs also would in no time exercise interference in the territories lying beyond this line on the side of India. The Durand Line has, however, been criticised as being artificial and defective. It ignores a number of important geographic, ethnic and strategic considerations, leading to the present Pak-Afghan tension in the border lands. It cuts across one of the main valleys of the Indus system and divides the Pathan tribes who straddle the frontier. Speaking of the defects of the Durand Line, Sir William Barton observes:

“Britain so far has found it impossible to absorb the Pathans into the Indian Empire; on their side the Afghan Government are faced with almost equal difficulties in civilizing their own border tribes, left more or less in the air by the Durand Line . . . ”<sup>3</sup>

The trans-border tribesmen who were not parties to the agreement never treated the line with much esteem. Again the Amir Abdur Rahman and his successors interpreted the non-interference clause in the agreement as amounting to refraining from armed interference only. “They did not consider themselves debarred in any way from sending emissaries across the line to maintain Afghan influence throughout the tribal areas, or from inviting *Jirgas* (deputations) of tribesmen from the Indian side of the line to come to Kabul, where they were treated as state guests and dismissed with handsome gratuities. It was an essential part of the Amir’s policy to main-

2. W. K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan* (2nd Ed.), London 1958, p. 183.

3. W. Barton, *India’s North-West Frontier*, London, 1939, p. 6.

tain Afghan influence among the independent tribes throughout the border, partly to defend himself from armed rebellion against the state, and partly as a prickly hedge of defence against possible British aggression."<sup>4</sup> Again although the Durand Line has been demarcated for the most part, there are areas in which exact delimitation is uncertain. The above background gives a clue to the present unstable conditions in the Pak-Afghan frontier resulting from the existence of a complicated issue of the tribal "Pakhtunistan."

Although Afghanistan follows a policy of avowed neutralism, the Soviet influence there has been steadily growing in recent years. The Soviet economic aid to Afghanistan since 1954 totalled approximately 200 million dollars. The Soviet economic and technical aid is chiefly being used for building up motorable highways, airports and river valley projects in the country. Russia has also given substantial military aid to Afghanistan. Sardar Daud, Afghan Prime Minister, however, claims that Soviet aid is without any strings and it does not affect Afghanistan's neutral policy.<sup>5</sup> But Pakistan seems to be greatly disturbed by these developments in that country. President Ayub Khan thinks that the Chinese occupation of Tibet and the Soviet road building in Afghanistan pose "a serious threat from the north."<sup>6</sup> The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have, on their part, charged Pakistan with the allegation of building up of a chain of foreign military bases in its territory, with particular reference to rocket-launching sites in Quetta, Gilgit and Peshawar. The United States' strategic bases and rocket-launching sites in the territory of Pakistan have obviously disturbed the balance in the remote corners of the Himalayas, and the increasing Sino-Soviet interest beyond their borders is hardly a move to restore that balance.

Viewed in the above perspective, the issue of Pakhtunistan, that is to say of an

independent or quasi-independent Pathan State under Kabul's hegemony and within the present borders of Pakistan has further shaken the balance of power in the north-western wing of the Himalayas: Fraser-Tytler regretfully notes: "Afghanistan and Pakistan, which should be closely united to form a great bastion resting on the Pamirs, against the enemies of liberty and progress, are divided and weakened by enmity and distrust. And beyond the mountains the Communists bide their time."<sup>7</sup> Afghanistan has long been seeking the right of self-determination for some four million Pushtu-speaking tribesmen in the North-Western marches of Pakistan. Reviewing the relation between the two countries, the Afghan Foreign Minister, Prince Naim Khan, charged Pakistan with "subversive" action among Pushtu-speaking tribes living in Pakistani territory.<sup>8</sup> In August, 1959, the Afghan Prime Minister, Sardar Daud Khan declared that his Government would continue to extend every possible help to the people of Pakhtunistan in their struggle for independence.<sup>9</sup> The Afghan point of view on Pakhtunistan question receives support from the Soviet bloc. Mr. Khruschev is reported to have backed Kabul's stand on the issue by pointing out that the Pathans "should be allowed to decide their future by plebiscite."<sup>10</sup> The Russian Ambassador to Pakistan, Dr. Kapitsa, said at Rawalpindi on March 12, 1960 that the Pushtu-speaking people should be given the right to decide through a plebiscite whether they wanted to remain in Pakistan or in Afghanistan or to form an independent state. Pakistan has taken strong exception to the Soviet-Afghan stand as it interferes with its internal affairs. But, unfortunately for the former, the admission of Afghan interest in the tribes East and South of the Durand Line in a letter attached to the 1921 Treaty between the Afghan and the British Government, "gave

4. W. K. Fraser-Tytler, Op. cit., p. 189.

5. The Times of India (Bombay),

March 8, 1960.

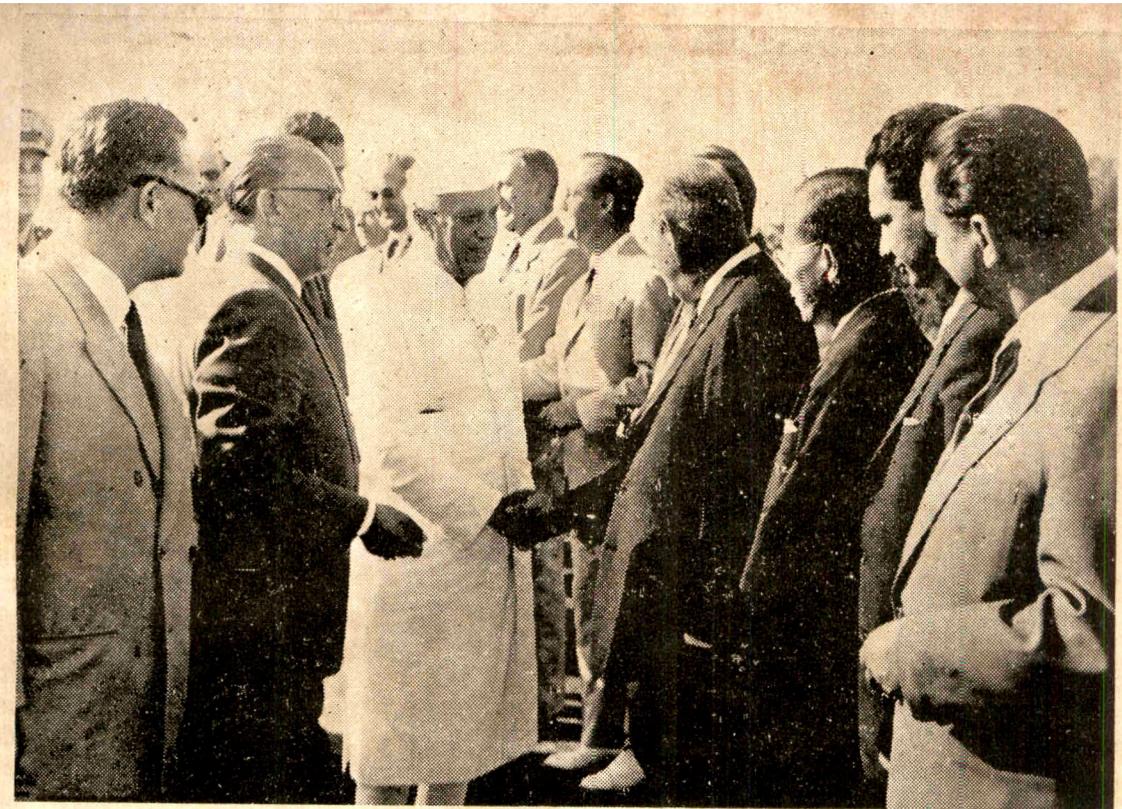
6. Amrita Bazar Patrika Nov. 10, 1959.

7. Fraser-Tytler, op. cit., p. 314.

8. The Times of India (Bombay), Feb. 29, 1960.

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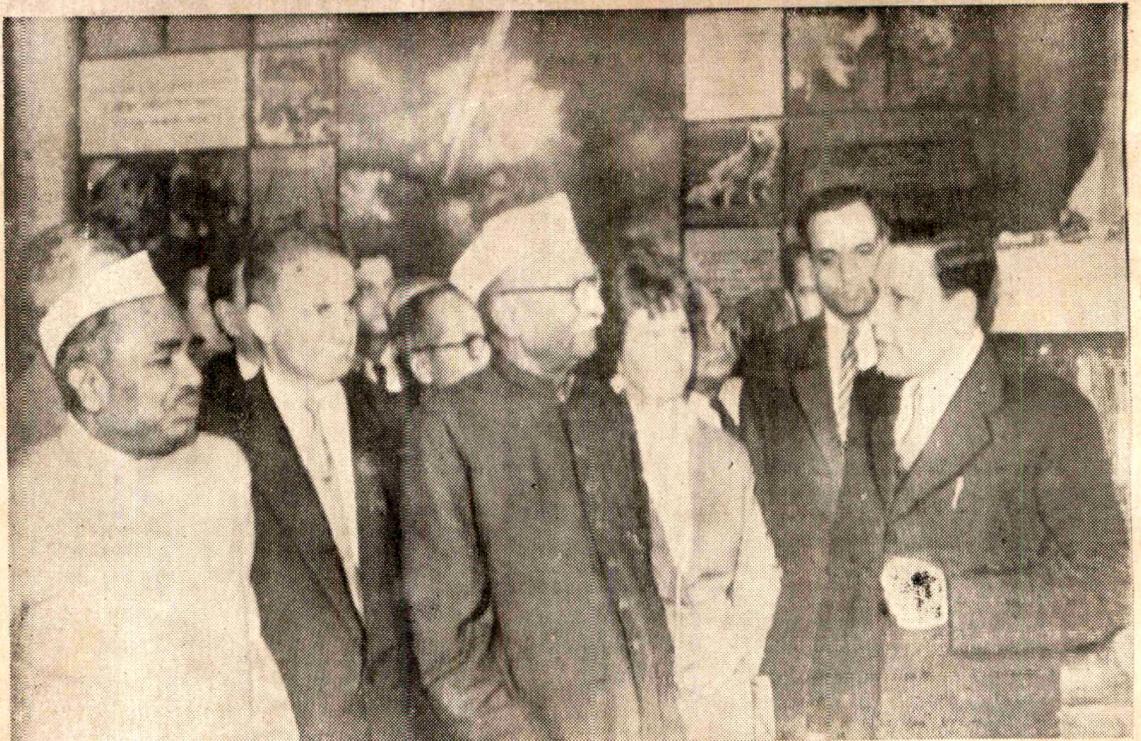
10. Ibid. March 8, 1960.



Prime Minister Nehru being greeted at the Lebanese-Syrian Region (of the United Arab Republic) border by R. Borden Reams, U.S. Consul-General for the Syrian Region



Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with Mr. J. B. Priestly and his wife at the residence of Shrimati Vijay Lakshmi Pandit in London



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad at the Academy of Sciences in the U.S.S.R.



Distinguished English novelist Mr. E. M. Forster at the exhibition of Mukul Dey's work in London

as it were certain legal basis to Afghan interference across the line."<sup>11</sup>

As a matter of fact, Pakistan has inherited from the British a very difficult and fluid situation in its frontier country. The Pakhtu- and Pashtu-speaking tribes in the trans-border zone "never fell under the effective sway of any recorded imperial authority."<sup>12</sup> Pakistan's major problem has been to control the turbulent Pathan tribes and gradually to bring complete integration of the border lands with the State's political framework. To counteract the move for Pathan separatism, and augment steady assimilation, Pakistan brought about the merger of all the old provinces in the Indus basin, including the North-West Frontier Province, in October 1955. This "one-unit" of West Pakistan is, however, not looked upon with favour by the rather individualistic Pathan tribes. The question of Pakhtunistan has been revived and debated from time to time. With the withdrawal of the British from India, the Afghan Government considered the previous treaties and agreements on the Durand Line as null and void and laid formal claims to the whole Pathan country between that line and the river Indus. The claim could not be entertained by the successor State of Pakistan. Subsequently, Afghanistan comes to lend full support for the formation of a separate Pathan State within the borders of Pakistan. Although Afghanistan promises no political amalgamation of this assumed State, it takes a lop-sided view of the whole question. For, as Sir Olaf Caroe points out, "The Afghan Government affirms that the Durand Line has lapsed with the demission of British power and, this being so, it is impossible to fix a western boundary for . . . Pakhtunistan. Lastly, the real considerations behind the claim are revealed by complete silence on the part of Kabul as to inclusion in this Pakhtunistan of any of the Pakhtu- or Pashtu-speaking areas in Afghanistan."<sup>13</sup> On a different footing stands the issue, as put forward by Abdul

Ghaffar Khan. On the eve of a referendum in the North-West Frontier Province in 1947, he urged that the Pathans should have the choice to vote for an independent Pakhtunistan. The referendum presented only two choices before the tribes whether they wanted to join India or Pakistan, and the third choice to vote for the nationalistic demand of a Pathan State was not conceded. As a result more than 50 per cent of the Pathan population boycotted the referendum. At best, Abdul Ghaffar Khan conceived of a Pathan State independent of either of the neighbours and at least, completely autonomous in the internal affairs of the tribes. By 1950, the agitation for an independent Pathan State was much widespread. In 1951 a semi-official Afghan journal published a map of the proposed Pathan State which included Chitral, the North-West Frontier Province, and the Pathan area of Baluchistan, and extended from the Indus to the Durand Line. Sir Olaf Caroe has, however, doubted whether such a state in the trans-border region will be economically viable, for "the Frontier has always required support, financial and otherwise, from the larger unit to which it has formed the shield."<sup>14</sup>

From the view point of international law, the idea of Pakhtunistan is held as "a quite untenable proposition." Fraser-Tytler says: "However much one may sympathise with the sentiment which has inspired this policy, the fact remains, clear and uncompromising, that the Afghan proposals, amounting as they do to deny the existence of the Durand Line and to encroach on the sovereignty of a neighbour, infringe one of the most explicit canons of international law."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, every ruler of Afghanistan has accepted and recognized the Durand Line, based on the 1893 agreement, as forming the Indo-Afghan border. It is only since the partition of India that fresh controversy has been started as to the validity of the Durand Line following the transfer of sovereignty from Britain to Pakistan. Pakistan's attitude to the international bearing of this line is that

11. Fraser-Tytler, op. cit. p. 262.

12. Olaf Caroe, *The Pathans*, London, 1958, p. XV.

13. Ibid., p. 436.

14. Ibid. p. 436.

15. Fraser-Tytler, op. cit., p. 308.

of a successor State, inheriting the rights and duties from the British Government at the time of the transfer of power. The United Kingdom is in full agreement with Pakistan's stand and the British Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Noel Baker, expressed the view of his Government in 1950 in the following terms : "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have seen with regret the disagreements which there have been between the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan about the status of the territories on the North-West

Frontier. It is His Majesty's Government's view that Pakistan is in international law the inheritor of the rights and duties of the old Government of India, and of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, in these territories, and that the Durand Line is the international frontier."<sup>16</sup>

16. Extracts from a speech in the House of Commons by Mr. Noel-Baker, as quoted in Olaf Caroe's **The Pathans**, London, 1958, p. 465.

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## SHIPS OF ANCIENT WORLD

By AMAL SARKAR

In the dim and distant past of the upper Palaeolithic age man had no means of transportation other than the use of his own limbs. He used to carry his food on his back and head. With the gradual passage of time he began to pole his way along forest streams in a dug-out canoe. The story of the 'Great Deluge' is current among all nations of the world and a 'mysterious' ship appears everywhere as the saviour of mankind. The mode and materials employed to build up boats and canoes were simple but interesting. Several hundred reeds were gathered from the river sides and then tied with grass or ropes made of bark in cigar-shaped bundles. This type of boats was common among the Egyptians on the Nile in about 3000 B.C., among the Indians of Bolivia and Peru on Lake Titacaca and also among the dwellers of Lake Tana in Abyssinia. Although this type of canoes was commonly used by almost all the countries of the world yet the land of its origin cannot definitely be ascertained.

Dug-out canoes and skin-boats propelled by forty or more rowers or paddlers were in extensive use in pre-historic Egypt in 3000 B.C. The Assyrians used the 'kaleks' like rafts made of sheep skin some 3000 years ago. Another ancient type of boat was the wooden 'Guja' used by the men of Iraq on the Tigris and Euphrates.

The earliest representation of a sea-going vessel is, however, found in a carving on the wall of the temple of King Sahure

of Egypt (2800 B.C.). This vessel has a close resemblance with a modern yacht. In a relief in the temple of Dair-el-Baheri (1480 B.C.) there is a representation of ships, about 75 feet long and 15 feet wide and very similar to Phoenician Ships sent by queen Hat-shepsut to a country near the southern extremity of the Red Sea (1500 B.C.). A document found at Gebeb-el-Arak (1200 B.C.) depicts a regular "naval battle." Nine ships are shown in this representation of which four are Egyptian and made of Nilotic papyrus. In around the eighth century B.C., the 'bireme' (ships of war equipped with two rows of oars on different levels) was invented either by the Phoenicians or the Egyptians and during this period the 'biremes' were in common use by different nations of the Mediterranean. Gradually between 500—300 B.C., the Greeks made improvements on this type of war-ships and made the 'trireme.' A Greek 'trireme,' it is said, having a length of about 150 feet and keeping a speed of seven to nine miles an hour could carry a crew of 200. In the Solomon islands (group of islands in the Western Pacific discovered by the Spanish navigator Medana in 1567) large war canoes were used. The three-masted Alexandria, which is said to have been built by the order of king Heiro II of Syracuse and "presented by him to the king of Egypt in 230 B.C.

weighed 4,200 tons, its length was 408 feet and it carried 80,000 bushels of corn and 10,000 earthenware vessels filled with

salted fish. It had 60 rooms and saloons, the 3rd dynasty of Egypt sent a fleet of 40 ships in 2400 B.C. to a Syrian port to secure cedar lumber. There is every possibility that these ancient voyages circum-navigated Africa in about 600 B.C. and regular voyages were made to England to procure tin perhaps as early as 2600 B.C. In this connection it may be mentioned that within past few years several small boats 18 to 25 feet in length have made the perilous Atlantic crossing both eastward and westward between America and Europe. In December, 1953, a man made the crossing from Europe to Florida in a 16 feet rubber life raft.

Codrington in his work 'The Melanesians' states that "the canoes (in Melanesia) were as much as 45 feet in length and capable of holding 90 men; these were usually carved with decorative designs of sharks and frigate birds which were the objects of both elegance and utility." Attached to the prow just above the water line, was a little carved figure with 'prognathous heads' and 'starring eyes' of a pearl-shell; it was believed that this figure kept watch on hidden rocks and other dangers. Thus we find that the eyes painted on the sides of the Chinese 'junks' and even figure heads in the ships of the modern times may have had their origin in similar little protective figures; in fact, the sailor was ever a superstitious man. The Polynesians in big canoes reached New Zealand from the Society Islands. These canoes had individual names and all Polynesian tribes are connected with the canoe names of their ancestors. The Maoris were also adept in the art of building canoes. These canoes, however, did imply an economy and the ships and tools employed in their producing symbolized a whole economic and social system. The Indians of Alaska and Canada made use of bark canoes. The Eskimos made traffic through ice-berg region in admirable skin-boat known as 'Kayak' which was also used as a piece of hunting equipment. In Mesopotamia, the excavators found at Eridu the clay model of a ship, it might be that in such a sailing ship Sindbad the Sailor might have undertaken his long voyage. The Picts and Scots had also skin-boats called 'curraghs.' The war-boats of the Saxon pirates were quite unlike the light, skin-coloured 'curraghs' of the Picts. One such war-boat has been discovered at Nydam in Slesvig which is 77 feet long with a beam of less than 11 feet and pulled by 28 oarsmen.

It is recorded on many of the ancient "Sumerian" tablets that their kings had voyaged overseas. Naram-Sen, a son of king Menes had set forth an exploratory expedition sometime before 2000 B.C. From other sources we come to learn that king Snefru of



A Boat with towers, musicians and a female umbrella-bearer : Konarak, Orissa.

Among the Trobriands of Eastern New Guinea there is the double spiral of life and rebirth, a cross centred in a 'labyrinthine design' which is related to the mother goddess idea, and a group of concepts with 'the ship of the dead' and 'ship burial.' Burials of the Iron Age unearthed in central Sweden show that real boats were used as graves instead of the earlier symbolic figures of stones set in boat form. At Gokstad a strongly built sea-faring Viking-ship was discovered with the skeleton of a man inside. At Oseber another ship was found which was supposed to be the grave of a queen, most probably Aasa, who ruled the Norwegian Viking in the 9th century. According to Dr. Ekholm there is every possibility of attributing Hindu-Buddhist inference in Mexico and among the Mayas. There is every plausibility of existence of some kind of two-way traffic between

South-east Asia and America in ancient times. It is said that Fa-hien embarked on a ship mound in 400 A.D. which carried more than 200 sailors.

In 1001 A.D., Leif Erikson made a voyage to an unidentified section of sea coast which he called Vinland, located somewhere between New Jersey and Labrador. In 1487, Bartolomeo Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope; in 1497 Vasco da Gama reached Malindi, a port in Menya; in 1511, the Portuguese reached Malacca and by 1700 A.D. most of the western Europeans were dependent on the sailing ship for transport by sea.

Herodotus informs us that the passenger ship of antiquity travelled at a speed of 5½ to 9 ½ miles per hour. Cervantes (1547-1616), the author of the famous Don Quixote, was 12 days at sea when travelling from Naples to Barcelona. It is said that the first war-ship was built in Greece in about the year 1350 B.C., her name was Argo which was propelled by 50 rowers and built of oak-wood. The legendary ship in which Ulysses wandered round the Mediterranean is shown, transformed into a cliff, on the island of Corfu. The Greek historian Procopius personally witnessed the other vessel of Ulysses which took Aeneas through the Greek lines to Italy—this vessel was preserved by the Romans in the docks on the Tiber in the same way as the British had preserved Nelson's flagship, the Victory, in Portsmouth. The oldest surviving ship in Europe is the "Hjortspring" boat found in the island of Alasen in 1921, it dates from the time of the birth of Christ. In 1926, a dug-out, made of pitch-pine, was discovered in the lake of Biemne which dates from 2nd century B.C. Theholm, a single-masted Danish Vessel built in 1776 was in service a few years ago of the west coast of the Danish island of Laaland.

The boat represented on a Mohenjodero seal resembles both modern river craft and the vessels depicted on Uruk seals and tablets. Extensive trade was organised in the Indus Valley to secure supplies not only of food-stuff from the coasts but also of different objects like metals from Baluchistan, 'conch' shells from Southern India, jade from China and Burma. The different hymns of the Rigveda conclusively prove

that the Rigvedic people had not only the knowledge of the sea (Samudra), high tide and oars (aritra) but were mariners and had trade relations with the outside world. The Rigvedic boats were simple in their construction; they had only the paddle or oar needed for propelling them. 'There is no mention of masts or sails, of rudder or anchor'. The reference that Bhujju was rescued with a ship of hundred oars (Sataritra) clearly bears testimony to the fact that sea-voyage was known in the Rigvedic age. From the Jatakas, the Brihat Katha and the Katha Kosha, Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) and the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (1st century A.D.) we come to learn that princes and merchants sailed in ships from Bhrigukachcha (modern Broach) and Tamralipti (modern Tamluk) to distant countries both Eastern and Western. A naval expedition was sent by Augustus in 25 B.C. to secure the command of the sea route to India. Hippalus noted that with the help of the monsoon winds a ship 'starting from Okelis, the port at the mouth of the Red Sea, would reach Muziris (modern Cranganore) on the Malabar coast in 40 days or even less.' A Greek drama of the 2nd century A.D. tells the story of a Greek lady named Chrition, ship-wrecked on the Canarese coast.

In China, the Yellow Emperor Huang-ti invented vessels of wood and clay. In the Kuo Yu (record of States) of the 5th century B.C. a naval expedition from Yueh was launched to the Shantung coast. The Han-Shu (history of the Han dynasty by Pan-Ku completed in about 80 A.D.) states that 'the merchant ships of the Barbarians are used to transfer them (the Chinese) to their destination.' In the middle of the T'ang period the ships of Ceylon were said to be the largest of the foreign ships. Hsuan Yin, a Buddhist priest, says that the 'large ships were 200 feet long and could hold 6 to 7 hundred men.' Besides these large ships, there were small boats known as 'ting' used mainly for landing purposes. When sailing a long hook on a long rope was often used to bring up the mud of the sea. The quality of the mud would help the captain to estimate the position of the ship. Till the early part of the 12th century there was no record of the use of compass).

## ASIAN METALWORK DISPLAYED AT METROPOLITAN

MEN of Asia and the Middle-East were the first to develop metalwork, and scholars believe that the smith was the earliest professional craftsman in history. The great skill and the remarkable techniques of these early artisans in welding small pieces of iron and steel is on view at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. The Museum last year opened two new galleries devoted to "Oriental Arms and Armor."

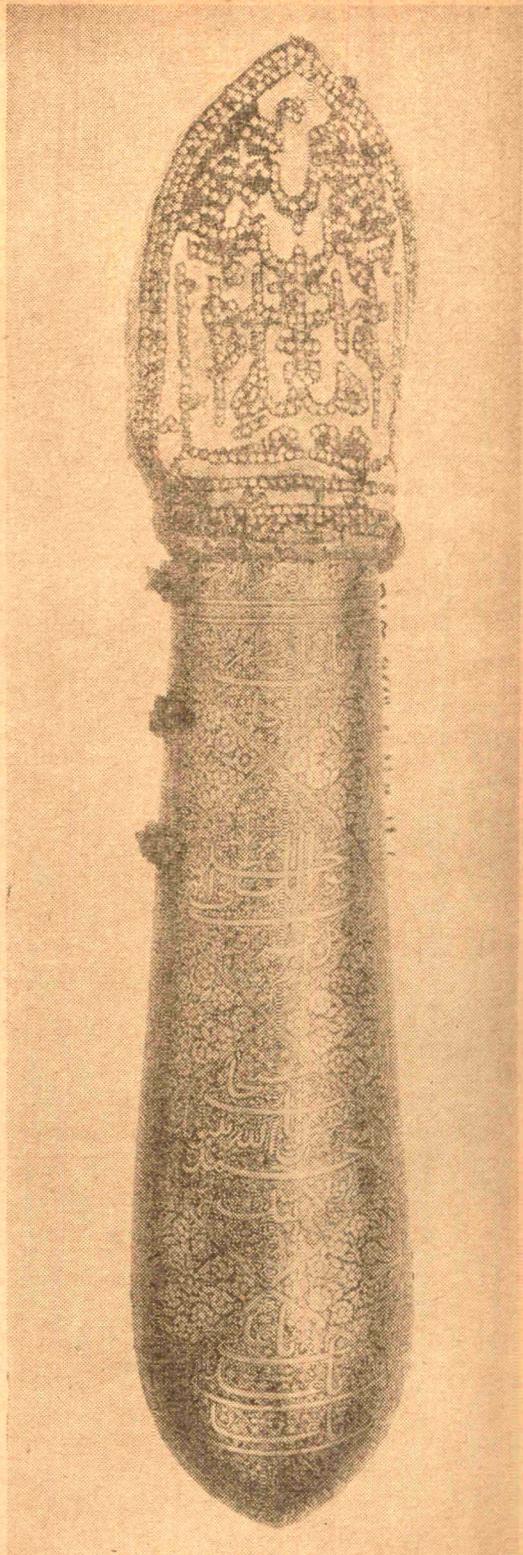


A Cuirass from North India (about 1700)  
with intricate detail

The Metropolitan Museum of Art has one of the most important concentrations of metalwork in the world. The new installations make possible a comparative study of artistic metalwork of all times and all places.

The eastern arms and armor exhibition represents countries in Asia, the Near East, and the Middle East. It is permanently installed in Wing Z, adjacent to the Morgan Wing of the Museum, where the European arms and armor collections are exhibited.

The eastern armorer was a true artist as well as a craftsman familiar with every process used in shaping and ornamenting metal—hammering, welding, embossing, chasing, damascening, etching, gilding, wire-drawing, and the application of enamel, gems and other ornamentation.



The arm guard of steel, velvet and gold at  
the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Most of the Metropolitan's eastern objects are enriched by some of these intricate techniques. They are not ordinary pieces of military equipment, but rather parade arms, personal symbols of a soldier's importance and nobility in past centuries.

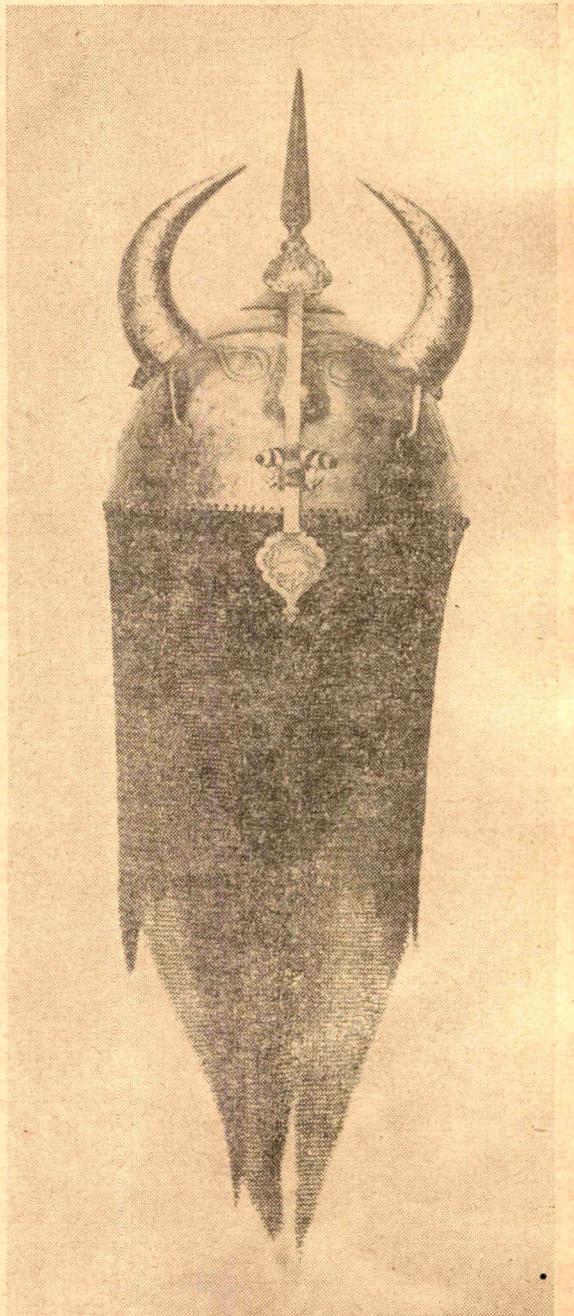
The eastern metalwork is exhibited in two galleries. One is devoted exclusively to armor

and weapons of Japan, and the other to the work of other eastern countries.

The armor of Turkey, India and Persia is represented by exceptional pieces arranged in three cases in the center of the large gallery. There are the mail coats with interlinked iron plates, of the type worn throughout the Muslim



The handsome hilt of a Katar from India (17th Century) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art



A helmet and shield from North India (1700)

world. Richly embossed Turkish helmets, engraved, and damascened in colors, show geometrical ornaments and inscriptions from the *Koran*. Their shape suggests the dome of a mosque, and are similar to those in Istanbul museums.

The Persian armor, which had a marked influence on Indian armorers during the period of the Mughal Empire, advantageously shows eastern skill in the art of damascening and in making watered steel. The Museum has an extraordinary series of damascened pieces. Magnificent jeweled court weapons, many with carved jade hilts, are well-represented. Several fine fist daggers and a gauntlet sword, ornamented with dragons, serpents and peacocks, represent South Indian art.

The arts of jewel-setting, damascening and jade-carving in the sword and dagger hilts always attract attention, but it is the watered-steel blades that are most highly prized by museum experts. One example of excellent watered-steel technique in the collection is the Malayan kris, a symbol of rank and authority as well as a weapon. The examples of this in the Metropolitan's exhibits show that the blade was highly developed both metallurgically and artistically. The skill of the artist is evident in the layers of different metals which produce contrasts of color in the watering of the blade.

Other important watered-steel blades are shown from India and Persia, including work by the famous Asadullah of Ispahan, the bladesmith of Shah Abbas the Great.

The Japanese gallery features some of the finest pieces from the Museum's extensive collection dating from the Fourth Century to 1876,

when imperial decree forbade the open wearing of swords except by military officers and court officials. Primitive swords and accessories, ornaments, and a remarkable helmet are shown in two wall cases. The early items are burial finds, but later the sword was considered too precious to be surrendered to the tomb.

Fine examples of later Japanese periods are represented in the Museum collection. They have the wavy line of color near the edge (yakiba), typical of Japanese blades. Characteristically, they have a beautiful graining in the metal, a hardband of pearly luster along the edge with relative softness in the body of the blade.

Important Japanese armor, including a rare, primitive helmet, the traditionally grotesque masks, and prized examples from the Museum's comprehensive collection of sword furniture or ornaments are shown.

The Metropolitan's oriental arms and armor collection has grown in size and importance through the years since Henry Walters and Brayton Ives donated a handsome collection of Japanese swords in 1891. The new galleries make it possible to exhibit many items from the Museum's holdings.

The collections are important for study or instruction from several points of view—the quality of the workmanship, the subject represented, or the artist who signed it. They are of interest as a history of metalwork technology and of the technique of ornamenting iron and steel in many parts of the world by peoples of widely diverse cultures.—USIS



## A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF KHEDLA VILLAGE IN RAJASTHAN

By JAGDISH MEHRA, M.A.,  
Head of Economics Department, G.M.N. College, Ambala

### General Background

A sample survey of Khedla village was undertaken by the author recently covering 41 families out of a total number of 102. The village occupies an area of 2,993 bighas of land with a population of 690.<sup>1</sup> The entire village was divided according to castes for the purpose of conducting this survey. This caste-wise division of population was considered proper because the people of different castes were living separately. It was also done with a view to compare the living standards of different castes. The main castes residing in the village are Chamar, Kumhar, Mali, Rajput, Khati, Jat, Brahmin and Muslim.

Khedla is situated near Pilani in the North-Western part of the Jhunjhunu district in the Jaipur division of Rajasthan. The climate of the village is invigorating and dry. The rainfall is below 15 inches and is mainly confined to the months of July, August and September. The agriculturists depend wholly upon rain for cultivation of land with the result that the village is

subject to famine. The stresses and strains of famine are not so pronounced here since the majority of villagers are employed under the Birla Education Trust<sup>2</sup> and Central Electronics and Engineering Research Institute.<sup>3</sup> The soil is sandy and, therefore, not suitable for growing wet crops, e.g., paddy, sugarcane, etc. Bajra is the most important crop grown here. It is also the most important food crop in Rajasthan State occupying an area of about 34 per cent of the total cropped area.<sup>4</sup> Other important crops of this village are Gram, Moth and Gowar. A population study of Khedla based upon the statistics collected on marital status, civil condition and sex-ratio, etc., under the present survey both according to age-groups and castes yields several interesting conclusions.

2. All the educational and other institutions at Pilani are under the direct management and supervision of B.E.T.

3. The C.E.E.R.I. was established at Pilani under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research under Second Plan—*Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 525.

4. *Agricultural Statistics 1950-51 Rajasthan State*, p. 27.

### 2. Population Trends

Statement showing sex-ratio and Marital status in Khedla.

No. Age-group	Male	Female	Sex-ratio	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Widower
1. Below 1	9	9	1,000	—	18	—	—
2. 1-12	52	40	769	25	67	—	—
3. 12-20	26	38	1,462	47	12	5	—
4. 20-30	26	21	808	43	2	1	1
5. 30-40	17	11	647	27	—	1	—
6. 40-50	8	14	1,750	20	—	1	1
7. 50-60	9	1	111	8	—	—	2
8. Above 60	3	7	2,333	3	—	5	2

It is evident from the above table that of each individual earner in the family the highest sex-ratio is in the age-group 40-50 while the lowest is in the age-group 50-60. The sex-ratio of the people below

12 years which constitutes 38% of the total population under survey is 813 revealing that population is not likely to register any appreciable rise in the immediate future.

It is, however, bound to multiply fast enough as the younger generations mature in due course, say in another decade or two becoming the potential parents of tomorrow. The practice of child marriage is frequent as 25% of the total population in the age-group 1-12 were found to be married. The widows are more than twice the number of widowers which is quite in conformity with the existing practice of not marrying widows in the country.

### 3. Income Pattern:

During the enquiry, data on the income

- (a) Cultivation of land.
- (b) Agricultural labour.
- (c) Non-agricultural labour.
- (d) Occupations other than farming.
- (e) Others.

The item 'Occupations other than farming' includes income derived from the sale of milk, ghee, butter and cattle, etc., while the last item 'Others' includes income mainly from the sale of fodder. Fodder is taken here to mean as bushes and remains of crops left on the field when reaping operations are over. The following statement shows the annual income in Khedla from various sources :

Caste	Average size of per family (in bighas)	Annual income per family (in Rs.)				Total		
		Land family	Cultiva- tion of land	Agricul- tural labour	Non-agri- cultural labour	Occupations other than farming	Others	Per family
Chamar	4 (8.5)	56.6 (9)	145.5 (22.5)	309.2 (48)	122.3 (19)	9.8 (1.5)	643.4	139.8
Kumhar	9.3 13.7	204.0 (11.2)	333.0 (18.6)	837.5 (46.4)	389.2 (21.8)	35.7 (2)	1799.7	192.8
Mali	7.6 13	202 (17)	108.8 (9)	311.3 (25.7)	566.3 (46.7)	20.6 (1.6)	1209.5	161.3
Rajput	8 17	600 (30.3)	166 (8.8)	679 (34.9)	380 (19.8)	116 (6.2)	1942.4	242.9
Khati	8 26.6	816.7 (45.2)	100 (5.8)	440 (24.8)	303.3 (17.7)	113 (6.5)	1773.3	193.2
Jat	7 50.8	683.3 (67)	33.3 (1.3)	86.7 (3.5)	465 (18.6)	241.7 (9.6)	2510	358.5
Brahmin	15 35	1000 (30)	—	1440 (43.1)	750 (22.4)	150 (4.5)	3340	222.6
Muslim	11 13	600 (21.2)	—	1500 (53)	630 (22.2)	100 (3.6)	2830	257.1
Total		5163.1	887.6	5603.7	3606.1	783.8	1604.8	1768.2

Note : Figures in brackets indicate sources of income for each

percentage of total income from different caste.

It is clear from the above table that the income accruing from the cultivation of land for the whole village works out at 32.1% of the total income. Jats obtain 67%

of their total income from this source; it is also significant in the case of Khatis, Rajputs and Brahmins. It is interesting to note that Chamars get the lowest income from

this source—roughly 9% of their total income. An important fact that emerges from this income analysis is that the percentage of income from this source up to the total is almost directly correlated with the amount of land possessed by different castes. The income from the agricultural labour for the village comes to 5.6% only. Evidently, the people do not rely much on this source. It is also important to note that Brahmins and Muslims do not get any income from this source. Roughly speaking, 34.9% of the total income flows from non-agricultural labour. Muslims obtain more than half, e.g., 53% while Chamars, Kumhars and Brahmins get, on an average, 47% of their total income from this item revealing the dependence of these castes mainly on business, trade and service. The item 'Occupations other than farming' yields 22.5% of the total income. Malis get 46.7%—the highest income from this source. Income from 'Others' is significant only for Jats, Khatis and Rajputs.

Statement showing expenditure pattern in Khedla annual expenditure per family (in Rs.)

S. No.	Caste	Food	Clothing & footwear	Fuel & rent	Ceremonies & services	Misc.	Total
1.	Chamar	535.8 (67.5)	81.0 (10.2)	21.0 (2.6)	117.0 (14.7)	41.0 (5.1)	795.8
2.	Kumhar	1414.0 (62.5)	274.0 (12.1)	116.0 (5.1)	362.0 (16.0)	98.0 (4.3)	2664.0
3.	Mali	1073.0 (76.4)	138.5 (9.8)	52.0 (3.7)	91.0 (6.4)	52.0 (3.7)	1406.5
4.	Rajput	1483.0 (68.4)	285.0 (13.1)	221.0 (10.2)	99.0 (4.6)	81.0 (3.7)	2169.0
5.	Khati	1050.7 (69.3)	173.0 (11.4)	43.0 (2.9)	66.0 (4.4)	182.0 (12.0)	1514.7
6.	Jat	1349.2 (55.5)	231.0 (9.6)	333.0 (13.7)	392.0 (16.1)	123.0 (5.1)	2428.2
7.	Brahmin	2038.0 (42.0)	510.0 (10.5)	520.0 (10.7)	1605.0 (33.1)	180.0 (3.7)	4853.0
8.	Muslim	2142.5 (51.3)	440.0 (10.5)	172.0 (4.2)	1175.0 (28.1)	247.0 (5.9)	4176.5
<b>Total</b>		<b>11086.2</b>	<b>2132.5</b>	<b>1478.0</b>	<b>3907.0</b>	<b>1004.0</b>	<b>19607.7</b>

Note: Figures in brackets denote percentages of total expenditure of each caste.

5. This was because 'the debt may relate to items incurred for the maintenance of the level of living in some previous year. They do not, therefore, properly belong to consumption expenditure, which measures the current level of living.' (*I.L.O.—Methods of Family Living Studies*, 1949—p. 21).

The per capita income per month for the whole village comes to Rs. 18.3. The average per capita per month income for Jats is the maximum, i.e., Rs. 29.8 and the minimum is Rs. 11.6 for Chamars. The incomes of other castes fall between these two broad limits.

#### 4. Expenditure Pattern

The data in respect of each sample family for several items of consumption was collected. These items are food, clothing and footwear, fuel and lighting, house rent and repairs, services, ceremonies and functions and miscellaneous items. Miscellaneous items include education, litigation, medicine and travelling, etc. The value of articles obtained as wages in kind was not taken into consideration in recording expenditure since these were almost insignificant. Interest paid on loans was excluded from consumption expenditure.<sup>5</sup>

in Khedla annual expenditure per

The average annual expenditure for the whole village comes to about Rs. 2,451 as against the corresponding figure of Rs. 2,006 for income. There is, thus, on an average, a deficit of Rs. 445.

On an average, 69% of the total expenditure is incurred on food by Chamars, Malis, Rajputs and Khatis. If the expenditure on clothing is added to it, this average percentage works out to 77. As against this, the average expenditure incurred on food and clothing by Jats, Brahmins and Muslims is lower, i.e., 63% showing that the expenditure by them on other items like fuel and rent, marriages, education, medicine, etc., is comparatively higher.

The figures regarding the various items of food expenditure are given in the appendix. Analysis of the pattern of food expenditure reveals that the per capita expenditure by Chamars is the lowest on food whereas Jats incur the highest. Chamars spend 74% of their total food expenditure on cereals as compared to an average of 54% for the whole village. The proportion of food expenditure on pulses does not show wide variations from caste to caste. Muslims spend the least on this item. It is interesting to note that the percentage expenditure on spices is the highest by Chamars in the village. Vegetables form an integral part of the consumption expenditure, especially of Jats, Khatis, Kumhars and Brahmins. The highest percentage—8.4% is incurred on meat by Muslims. The expenditure on this item is also significant of Jats, Khatis and Rajputs while Chamars and Malis cook it on auspicious occasions. The expenditure on tea is Rs. 13 per annum, i.e., 1.2% of the total food expenditure. The expenditure on clothing shows that women incur more expenses than men partly because their needs for clothing are varied and partly because they use costlier type of clothes. The expenditure for clothing for children is 22% of the total expenditure in that respect.

The average per family expenditure on kerosene oil and match-boxes is fairly stable, i.e., Rs. 12/- and Rs. 3/- per annum respectively. People use cowdung cakes, dry leaves, twigs and straw as fuel which they

collect from nearby fields. During the course of the enquiry, only Kumhars and Rajputs gave figures for expenditure on fuel. Broadly speaking, the houses are self-owned and, therefore, no rent is paid. A typical house of the village is a small kachha one with mud walls and thatched roofs. There are, however, a few pucca houses owned by Malis, Jats, Brahmins, Rajputs and Muslims who spend on this item 89% of the expenditure on repairing incurred by all the castes. This shows that expenditure on repairing is less significant for kachha houses as it requires only periodical plastering with cowdung. The average per family expenditure on education and medicine is Rs. 21 which accounts for 0.85% of the total expenditure. People spend lavishly on marriage ceremonies and 'nuktas'. The expenditure on this item works out at 17.5% of the total expenditure. Tobacco is used in general and it forms 1% of the total expenditure by all the castes.

Analysis of expenditure pattern indicates the working of well-known Law of Consumption of Eugles. The proportion of expenditure incurred on food varies from 50% to 76% except that of Brahmins. This leaves a smaller percentage of expenditure to be spent on housing, education, medicine, clothing and footwear, etc. Even the expenditure on food is not well-balanced from the nutrition point of view. The proportion of protective and supplementary food such as fruits, vegetables, eggs and meat, etc., is extremely small and falls short of the optimum standard to maintain vigorous health and efficiency.

##### 5. Predominantly a Consumption Village

The income and expenditure analysis conclusively shows that Khedla is essentially a consumption village. The volume of saving is nil. The per capita income for the entire population in Khedla works out at Rs. 18<sup>3</sup>/- per month whereas the per capita expenditure comes to Rs. 23/- showing very small saving. Analysing the income and expenditure of different castes, it is found that all the castes inhabiting Khedla except Khatis and Jats, incur an excess of

expenditure over their income. Only Khatis and Jats manage to save. The following table is a better index of the living standard of the people :

Total number of families in each Income-group (Income-group in Rs.)	Number of families in each income-group
Under 50	6
50-100	15
100-150	7
150-200	6
200-250	2
250-300	3
Over 300	2

Though the total number of houses in the village is 102, yet income returns were recorded for 41 houses for intensive study. From the above table, nearly 50% of the families fall in the first two income-groups while roughly 68.7% in the first three falls below Rs. 150. There are only 7 families whose income is above Rs. 200. It shows that there are few richer families in the higher income-groups and the vast majority of them are poor.

Further, a family budget consumption schedule provides a clear picture of the average standard of living of a family in each income-group. The average income and expenditure are obtained by dividing the totals of these income-groups by the number of families in each income-group. The following table shows the income (average income and expenditure) of each income-group per month.

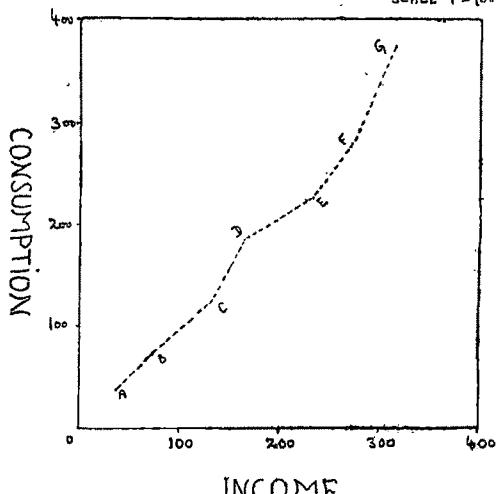
#### Family Budget Consumption Schedule

Income-group in Rs.	Average income of group in Rs.	Average consumption of group in Rs.	Savings
0-50	36.2	36.0	+ .2
50-100	77.2	77.0	+ .2
100-150	131.2	124.0	+ 7.2
150-200	165.5	183.0	-17.5
200-250	231.0	224.0	+ 7.0
250-300	274.3	277.6	- 3.3
Over 300	317.0	372.3	-55.3

A graphical representation of the consumption schedule is given below :

FAMILY BUDGET CONSUMPTION CURVE

SCALE 1=100 RUPEES



#### INCOME

The above graph shows the line of equal distribution and the amount of saving as well as the amount which is not saved. The dotted line is drawn to show the general trend of consumption curve after smoothing out the irregular fluctuations. The line of equal distribution is the one where no saving would be possible; for all income received would be consumed by the families concerned.

The analysis of the family budget consumption curve for Khedla reveals interesting results with regard to the saving pattern of the people. In the lower income-groups, the income and expenditure is well-balanced. Thus, AB indicates that there is a tendency for the expenditure to hover round the level of income. Between points B and C in the curve, there is a volume of saving which arises mainly because of the desire of guarding against 'rainy days.' Again, the curve which starts rising from C and reaches at its peak at point D shows what is not saved. This brings home the fact that with the rise in income, the expenditure registers more than proportionate increase. There is, again, some saving at point E but the curve shows a steep rise from point F. Hence there is considerable dissaving in the upper income brackets. Thus, in the lower income-groups the expenditure is limited by the size of the income while the people in

the higher income-groups show a tendency of living of the people are distinctly lower to spend money lavishly. Too much emphasis may not, however, be placed on this conclusion since individual whims and fancies of villagers are likely to vitiate the general saving pattern. Taking the general picture of the trend, the shape of the saving curve resembles that of a creeping snake or cobra moving fastly.

#### 6. Some General Observations

It is proper here to briefly examine the influence of changes over the past several years on the living standard of the people in Khedla. Khedla has been a self-sufficient village. A decade ago most of the transactions carried on in the village were in terms of goods and services. But the huge network of construction work started at Pilani by the Birla Education Trust and the migration of some of the villagers to work at Bhakara Nangal Project (because the wages offered there were higher and attractive) provided ample employment opportunities to them, especially to the poorer sections of the village. Due to this development the economy of the village has been brought within the framework of our developmental plans which influence the consumption and income patterns of the villagers through the instrument of price changes. Any change in prices, especially in the prices of Bajra, Gram, Moth, Jowar and other crops sold by the people of this village and the commodities like tea, turmeric, rice and coarse cloth, etc., which they buy correspondingly change their income and expenditure patterns, thus affecting their standard of living. Further, the outlook of the villagers has widened due to their growing contact with the educated classes at Pilani. A Primary School was established in the village in 1955. The Birla Sarvajanik Hospital established in 1952 provides free medical aid to the people although the majority of the villagers still purchase deshi stuff from the Vaidas who exploit them unduly.

#### 7. Suggestions

As the facts stand, the dominant conclusion of this survey is that the standard

of living of the people are distinctly lower and the volume of savings is almost nil. For raising the economic condition of the villagers, the following suggestions may be outlined :

(a) **Economic Needs:** The village consists mainly of agriculturists where the importance of water needs hardly be stressed. The rainfall is not only low but it is also not well-timed and certain. There are only three wells in this village which are hardly sufficient for drinking and bathing purposes. There is no canal or other means of irrigation in the whole district nor is there any plan for building one. The attention of those in authority is pointedly drawn to this basic need of the people of this area. Since it is said that the sub-soil water here reveals ample supply of underground water, this should be tapped by all possible means. Further, the introduction of poultry-keeping, carpentry, pottery, hand-weaving and other cottage industries has a bright future. For example, the people of Pilani depend mainly on the Delhi or Jaipur market for the supply of eggs. Thus, evidently, the poultry-keeping can be profitably started by the villagers. However, the provision of adequate credit and marketing facilities could only provide a positive encouragement to the villagers for setting up such industries. A well-organised multi-purpose society, if started, would obviate this difficulty to a great extent.

(b) **Social Needs:** Since education in the village is imparted upto the primary stage, the provision upto higher or middle school stage should be made. This is because the villagers cannot afford to send their children outside for education beyond the primary stage on account of extreme poverty. Furthermore, despite the provision of free medical aid by the Sarvajanik Hospital at Pilani, these facilities are provided with higher cost in many cases. It is important to make these services both efficient and economic to them. The occasional trips arranged by the students of various colleges for providing free medical aid would prove

## APPENDIX

Statement showing items of Food Expenditure per family (in Rs.) in Khedla

Castes	Cereals	Pulses	Ghee, Milk	Vegetables, spices & & Oil	Meat	Sugar or gur	Tea	Misc.	Total
Chamar	400.2 (74.9)	8.3 (1.5)	70.1 (13.0)	25.4 (4.7)	3.9 (0.7)	12.7 (2.4)	4.2 (0.8)	11.0 (2.0)	535.8
Kumhar	852.0 (60.2)	29.3 (2.0)	314.0 (22.3)	56.2 (4.1)	19.3 (1.4)	39.0 (2.7)	14.2 (1.0)	90.0 (6.3)	1414.0
Mali	642.5 (59.7)	25.5 (2.4)	215.5 (20.1)	34.4 (3.4)	3.0 (0.3)	43.2 (4.0)	18.2 (1.7)	90.7 (8.4)	1073.0
Rajput	606.6 (40.9)	29.0 (2.1)	553.3 (37.1)	61.7 (4.2)	26.0 (1.7)	73.0 (5.0)	46.7 (3.1)	86.7 (5.9)	1483.0
Khati	451.3 (42.6)	18.3 (1.7)	370.3 (35.7)	57.9 (5.5)	40.0 (3.8)	28.0 (2.7)	13.3 (1.2)	71.6 (6.8)	1050.7
Jat	665.0 (49.3)	26.3 (1.9)	413.6 (30.9)	40.0 (2.9)	28.3 (2.1)	42.3 (3.1)	8.7 (0.6)	125.0 (9.2)	1349.2
Brahmin	1100.0 (54.1)	35.0 (1.8)	630.0 (30.8)	82.0 (4.0)	—	36.0 (1.8)	5.0 (0.2)	150.0 (7.3)	2038.0
Muslim	1000.0 (46.6)	30.0 (1.4)	605.0 (28.4)	77.5 (3.6)	180.0 (8.4)	35.0 (1.6)	15.0 (0.7)	200.0 (9.3)	2142.5
Total	5717.6	201.7	3171.8	435.1	300.5	309.2	125.3	825.0	11086.2

N. B.—Figures in brackets indicate percentages of total food expenditure of each caste.

beneficial. Besides, this village is a melting-pot of different castes and religions which suffer from inelasticity of dietaries due to caste prejudices, social customs and inertia. The average diet of the villager is unbalanced and faulty, for the religious and economic considerations largely determine whether fish, flesh, milk, ghee and eggs, etc., will enter into the dietary or not. This, coupled with the inappropriate preparation of food make people susceptible to various diseases. As it is not possible to provide nutrition at optimum level for every villager due to limited income and religious injunctions, the nutrition should at least be given to expectant and nursing mothers, infants, toddlers and school-going children.

The lines of reform as indicated above can only be feasible if a healthy atmosphere is created among the villagers. Khedla, inhabited by many castes, is divided into two groups, namely, Jats, Khatis on the one hand and Rajputs, Malis and Chamars, etc., on the other hand. Whenever an occasion arises for taking some important decision for the village as a whole, co-operation is not extended by all with the result that much energy is frittered away by both the groups in winning their own respective cases. A fair election of the village panchayet and spread of education could only help dispel caste prejudices and develop co-operative spirit among the people.

(c) **Role of Government:** The National Extension Block was established at Chirawa on October 1955. The village under survey comes under the operation of this block. The progress report obtained from the office of the block reveals that the extension activity in Khedla has so far been confined to the distribution of fertilisers, seeds of bajra and vegetables, digging of compost pits, organising community meetings, repairing of a well and its disinfection.

tion, provision of medical aid and the construction of a kuchha road by securing voluntary labour. The response of the villagers, on the whole, has not been favourable. During the course of the enquiry, the author collected the information that this is partly due to the caste-prejudiced nature

of the village level worker. In the ultimate analysis, however, the successful prosecution of the activities undertaken by the extension block would depend, in a large measure, on the introduction of the lines of reform as outlined above.

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## ROLE OF TAXATION IN THE GROWTH OF AN UNDEVELOPED ECONOMY

By ANIL KUMAR MUKHERJEE, M.A.

In this article, I propose to discuss upon the role of taxation in the growth of an undeveloped economy.

economy, with special reference to the variety of problems hidden in the womb of taxation in such an economy.

The main problem of an undeveloped economy is the problem of reconstruction. The question of economic reconstruction in such an economy postulates the necessity of diverting population from primary sector to secondary sector, and then from secondary sector to tertiary sector. This chain of the changing occupation of the peoples shows a growing economy in which the industries stand as pivot. But this entire programme of economic reconstruction calls for a supply of huge finance which it is difficult for the Government of an undeveloped economy to raise. With the growth of the economy, the public sector expands and demand for revenues increases. The problem of revenues takes an acute form as the economy passes through phases of economic reconstruction. From the above, it is reflected that as an undeveloped economy moves through one phase of growth to another, the problem of revenues

does apply to both direct and indirect taxes. This is one of the reasons why people with relatively low incomes are exempted from taxation to their incomes. For example, in most countries, it is not thought to be worthwhile to collect income-tax from people earning less than Rs. 2,000 (Two thousand) only a year. (But the number of people earning Rs. 2,000 or more is also amenable to income taxation is very low in undeveloped economy.) Correspondingly, the yield of income taxes in undeveloped economy is very low. In fact, Government of a poor economy has to resort to indirect taxes for raising revenues—revenues necessary for the growth. The Government of an undeveloped economy has

to rely upon indirect taxation is that the portion of the national income over the practical exemption limit is so much smaller.

that its Government faces a magnifying shape. The reason of this phenomenon can be traced to the fact that Government in a less developed economy cannot raise high revenues so as to be able to cater to the progressively rising demands for finance of the economy. We can appreciate the reason why Government in a less developed economy cannot raise high revenue if we study "taxation" with all the variety of problems connected with it. Taxation, being the main source of Government revenues, plays an important role in the growth of an undeveloped economy and that the problems of technique of taxation in undeveloped economy will account for

the practice of indirect taxation is that the points where a large part of the national income is passing through a small number of hands. A small number of wholesellers usually deal with import duties can be collected very cheaply. In industrially developed economies the total national output is produced by a few large scale producers; consequently excise taxes and purchase taxes become cheap to collect. The undeveloped economies are not so favourably placed in this regard. In India exports are less than 10 per cent

of national income ; so the yield of taxes on the profits are taxed heavily the private capital foreign trade is correspondingly low. Domestic trade appears as the main source of taxation in India and taxing domestic trade in India is very costly. It is costly because of the fact that the total national output of India is not concentrated in a few firms but they are produced by a large number of firms and sold through millions of outlets. (This accounts for considerable tax evasion and the rising cost of tax collection in India.)

A further difficulty in less developed economy is that a large part of the output produced by a person is not traded at all. The farmer produces his own consumption and disposes of only a little surplus. If the money income of the farmer is taxed he will largely evade taxation. But it is different where farmers are producing commercial crops for export, because they are easily then reached by export taxes. Self-sufficient farmers have to be taxed directly. African tribes have used the poll tax for this purpose, whereas Indian princes relied mainly on a land tax.

This brings us to consider the distribution of the burden of taxation in less developed economies. How far down in the income scale taxation has to be taken depends partly upon how uneven the distribution of income is but it also depends partly upon the effects of taxation upon incentives and savings. This latter question is more important in the less than in the more developed economies. It is easiest to tax the landlord class because in this case neither incentives nor savings are involved. Apart from this, the landlords are everywhere, in political disfavour. Peasants usually carry with them heavy burden of taxation. But in countries where the peasants have lately become politically conscious and have come to enjoy political rights, it has been difficult on the part of the Government not to relax the burden of taxation upon peasants. It is also difficult to tax the middle-class partly because they wield the political power in the Nationalist Governments and partly because incentives are required for the expansion of this class. It is also difficult to subject the category of "Profits" to taxation. From political standpoint, it may be considered easy to tax profits precisely when capital belongs to foreigners ; but such taxation is inimical to the growth of incentives and enterprise in the economy. When

the profits are taxed heavily the private capital loses its incentive to make investments and this does not conduce the growth of the economy at a faster speed. (This is the reason why some countries which are very much anxious to encourage development are offering taxation exemption from income tax to capitalists who start new industries.)

What is to be done with the rich people is, indeed, a serious problem for the Government whose support comes mainly from the poor, but who at the same time is very much anxious to promote development. The rich non-cultivating landlords represent no problem. They can be bought out and finding themselves with money and no duties may convert themselves into capitalists and supply the much needed entrepreneurship. But the case is different with commercial and industrial capitalists. In the initial stage of economic growth the share of profit in the national income rises, and this has meant in the past creation of large private fortunes in the hands of a few. That is why the Democratic Governments try to prevent the capitalists from making substantial profits. But if the profits are kept low or taxed heavily, the private saving will be low and the much-needed incentive and enterprise may not be available.

What we have seen from the above is, the less developed economies need undergo an economic transformation, and in undergoing such transformation they need capital. Capital being scarce in the less developed economies, they have to encourage capital formation. (Taxation is the chief instrumentality through which capital formation may be accelerated.) But in less developed economies, taxation, presents manifold problems. In choosing the form of taxation, the Government of a less developed economy has to act with prudence and in consistence with the canons of taxation. It has not only to raise revenues for forming capital but it has also to watch that the means of raising revenues do not frustrate the plan of economic growth. The two opposing forces of taxing the people and not inhibiting the incentives of the people have to be so reconciled that not only economic growth is accelerated but also unrest in the economy is avoided. This only, then, shall offer a happy panacea for the problem with which an undeveloped economy is confronted.

## WALT WHITMAN—AN ESTIMATE

By DEBAPRASAD SINHA, M.A.

Perhaps the main defect in American verse, upto Whitman lies in its excess of culture. The majority of the poets are men of scholarly attainments, steeped in literature rather than in life. Although some of them found inspiration in the social and political development of their time, they were lacking on the whole virile grasp of life, a first-hand elemental vigour that comes to those who have lived widely and deeply and whose songs are the direct product of their intimate experiences. Emerson counselled a return to Nature ; but it was Nature in terms of philosophic abstraction. Poe is an intellectual hedonist, Bryant and Whittier cultured moralists ; Holmes and Lowell were scholarly men of the world, Longfellow a scholarly sentimentalist. One and all were more or less derivative poets inasmuch as they were steeped in the ancient traditions of English literature and followed well-beaten paths.

Now came Whitman in aim a literary revolutionary. Whitman is essentially a loafer, a loafer along the crowded streets, a loafer along the country-side, a loafer both in the spiritual and physical sense; and his writings are frankly the direct expression of his loafings. Unconventionality he carries out to its logical conclusion. A strange, uncouth, surprising figure, it is impossible to ignore him however much he may shock our susceptibilities. His songs are not those of mere rustic solitudes, they are songs of the crowded streets as well as of the country roads ; of men and women of every type—no less than of the fields and the streams. In fact, he seeks the elemental everywhere. His business is to bring it to the surface, to make men and women rejoice in—not to shrink from the great primal forces of life. But he is not for moralising.

"I give nothing as duties,  
What others give as duties, I give as loving  
impulses.  
(Shall I give the heart's action as a duty ?)"

He has no quarrel with civilisation as such. The teeming life of the town is as wonderful to him as the big solitude of the Earth. He is not an exclusive child of Nature.

"I tramp a perpetual journey.  
My songs are a rainproof coat, good shoes  
and a staff  
Out from the woods.  
I have no chair, no church, no philosophy."

People talk of Whitman as if he relied entirely on the "Staff cut from the Woods," they forget his "rainproof coat and good shoes." Assuredly he has no mind to cut himself adrift from the advantages of civilisation.

First of all, we propose to discuss Whitman's attitude towards Art. It has been urged by some of Whitman's admirers that his power as a writer does not depend upon his artistic methods or non-artistic methods, and he himself protested against his 'Leaves' being judged merely as literature. And so there has been a tendency to glorify his very inadequacies, to hold him up as a poet who has defied successfully the unwritten laws of Art.

This is to do him an ill service. If Whitman's work be devoid of Art, then it possesses no durability. In other words, Whitman must be judged ultimately as an artist. And on the whole he can certainly bear the test. His Art was not the conventional Art of his day, but Art it assuredly was.

Who could deny the title of an artist to the man who wrote those noble verses, 'On the Beach at Night':

"Up through the darkness,  
While ravening clouds, the burial clouds in  
black masses spreading,  
Lower sullen and fast athwart and down  
the sky,  
Amid a transparent clear belt of ether yet  
left in the east,

Ascends large and calm the lord-star  
jupiter,  
And night at hand, only a very little above,  
Swim the delicate sisters the pleiades."

Or the song of Death in that splendid dirge  
in commemoration of President Lincoln.

"Come, lovely and soothing death,  
Undulate round the world, severely arriving,  
In the day, in the night, to all, to each,  
Sooner or later delicate death,  
Praised be the fathomless universe,  
For life and joy, and for objects and know-  
ledge curious  
And for love, sweet love—but praise, praise  
praise.  
For the sure—enwinding arms of cool-en-  
folding death."

This is not only art, but great art. So fresh in their power, so striking in their beauty, are Whitman's utterances on death, that they take their place in our memories beside the large utterances of—Shakespeare, Milton and Shelley.

It is a mistake to think that where Whitman fails in expression it is through carelessness; that he was a great poet by flashes, and that had he taken more pains he would have been greater still. We have been assured by those who knew him intimately that he took the greatest care over his work, and would wait for days until he could get what he felt to be the right word.

To the student who comes fresh to the study of Whitman, it is conceivable that the rude, strong, nonchalant utterances may seem like the word of an inspired but careless and impatient artist. It is not so. It is done deliberately.

"I furnish no specimens," he says, "I shower them by exhaustless laws, fresh and modern continually, as Nature does."

He is content to be suggestive, to stir your imagination, to awaken your sympathies. And when he fails, he fails as Wordsworth did, because he lacked the power of self-criticism, lacked the faculty of humour. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his treatment of sex. Frankness, outspokenness on the primal facts of life are to be welcome in literature. All the great masters—Shakespeare, Dante, Dostoevsky, Tolstoy—have dealt openly and fearlessly with

the elemental passions. And all of them realised the truth of that fine saying: "For him to whom sex is impure, there are no flowers in Nature."

Whitman's aim is right; it is to his method that one may take objection, not on the score of morality. Whitman's treatment of passion is not immoral; it is simply like nature itself, non-moral, *i.e.*, indifferent to morals. What shall we say then about his poem, 'Children of Adam'? Whitman, in his anxiety to speak out freely, simply, naturally to vindicate the sanity of coarseness, the poetry of animalism, seems to us to have bungled rather badly. There are many fine passages in his song of the 'Body Electric' and 'Spontaneous Me,' but much of it impresses us as bad art, and is consequently ineffectual in its aim. The subject demands a treatment at once strong and subtle—and subtlety is a quality not vouchsafed to Whitman. We have another objection against "The children of Adam." The loud self-assertive, genial boastful style of Whitman suit very well in many of his democratic utterances, his sweeping cosmic emotions. But here it gives one the impression of a kind of showman who with a flourishing stick is shouting out to a gaping crowd the excellences of manhood and womanhood. Deliberately, he has refrained from the mood of imaginative fervour which alone could give a high seriousness to his treatment—a high seriousness which is really indispensable. Occasionally, of course, he is carried away by the sheer imaginative beauty of the subject; then note how different the effect is.

"If anything is sacred, the human body is  
sacred,  
And the glory and sweet of a man is the  
token of manhood untainted,  
And in man or woman a clean, strong firm  
fibred  
Body is  
More beautiful than the most beautiful face."

If only all had been of this quality! But interspersed with lines of great force and beauty are cumbrous irrelevances, wholly superfluous details.

It is true that Whitman does not aim in his sex poems at imaginative beauty, that he aims at sanity and wholesomeness; that what he speaks—however rank—makes for healthy living. May be; we are not concerned to deny it. What

we do deny is the implication that the wholesomeness of a fact is sufficient justification for its treatment in literature. There are a good many disagreeable things that are wholesome enough, there are many functions of the body that are entirely healthy. But one does not want them enshrined in Art.

Whitman's treatment of sex illustrates his strength and weakness as a literary artist. In some of his poems—those dealing with Democracy, for instance—we have Whitman at his best. In others, certainly to a small proportion, we get sheer unillumined doggerel. In his sex poems, there are great and fine ideas, moments of inspiration, flashes of beauty, combined with much that is trivial and tiresome.

Whitman's attitude towards Humanity best reveals his strength and courage. For it is here that his qualities find their fittest artistic expression. Nothing in Whitman's view is common or unclean. All things in the Universe, rightly considered are sweet and good. Carrying this view into social politics, Whitman declares for absolute social equality. And this is done in no doctrinaire spirit, but because of Whitman's absolute faith and trust in man and woman—not the man and woman overridden by the artifices of convention, but the "Powerful uneducated person." Whitman finds his ideal not in high society but in artisans and mechanics. He took to his heart the mean, the vulgar, the coarse, not idealising their weaknessess, but imbuing them with his own strength and vigour.

Such are his comrades. And well he knows them. For many years of his life he was roving through country and city, coming into daily contact with the men and women about whom he has sung. Walt Whitman was a farm boy, school teacher, printer, editor, traveller, mechanic, nurse in the army hospital and Government clerk. No writer of our age has better claims to be considered as the poet of Democracy.

Mr. William Clarke in his stimulating study of the poet observes:

"Whitman sings of the Modern man as workman, friend, citizen, brother, comrade, as pioneer of a new social order, as both material and spiritual, final and most subtle, compound of spirit and Nature, firmly planted on this rolling earth, and yet 'moving about in world not realised.' As a representative democratic bard Whitman exhibits complete freedom from conventionality, a very deep human love for all, faith in the rationality of the World, courage, energy and the instincts of solidarity."

But he is not concerned with converting us to his way of thinking. He throws out a hint, a suggestion, the rest we must do for ourselves:

"I am a man who, sauntering along without fully stopping, turns a casual look upon you and then averts his face. Leaving you to prove and define it. Expecting the main things from you."

Nowhere are Whitman's qualities more admirably shown than in his attitude towards the average human being. As a rule, the ordinary man is not a person whom the poets delight to honour. The poets are generally concerned with the exceptional, the extra-ordinary type. Whitman's attitude, then, is of special interest.

"I will leave all and come and make the  
hymns of you  
None has understood you, but I understand  
you;  
None has done justice to you—you have  
not done

Justice to yourself.  
None but has found you imperfect; I only  
find no  
Imperfection in you.  
None but would subordinate you; I only am he  
Who will never consent to subordinate  
”

And so on, in a vein of courageous cheer, spoken with the big obtrusive, genial egotism that we always come across in Whitman's writings, Whitman's egotism proves very exasperating to some readers, but we do not think it should trouble us much. After all, it is the egotism of a simple, and sincere nature; there is no arrogance here. He is conscious of his power, and he is quite frank in letting us know this.

Perhaps his boisterous delight in his own enervation, to a poor, imitative, self-conscious art, to an artificial, morbid life.

How much better it is than the affected humility of some writers. And the more we study his writings, the less does this egotism affect even the most susceptible amongst us. Our ears get attuned to the pitch of the voice, we realise that the big drum is beaten with a purpose. Whitman is vain certainly, but mainly because he glories in the common heritage, because he feels he is one of the common people. He is proud assuredly, but it is pride that exults in traits that he shares in common with the artist, the soldier, and the sailor. He is not one of those writers who play down to masses, who will prophesy fair things—like the mere demagogue in order to win their favour.

No one is too base, too degraded for Whitman's affection—a fitting attitude for a poet of Democracy, one likely to bring him into direct contact with that broad, variegated stream of human life. Many stories are told of his tenderness and charity towards the "dregs of humanity." That a man is a human being is enough for Whitman. However, he may have fallen, there is something in him to appeal to. He would have agreed with Browning that :

"Beneath the veriest ash, there hides a  
spark of soul,  
Which, quickened by Love's breath, may  
yet pervade the whole  
O' the grey, and free again be fire, of  
worth the same  
However produced, for great or little flame  
is flame."

Like Browning also, Whitman fears lassitude and indifference more than the turmoil of passion. He glories in the elemental. At present he thinks, we are too fearful of coarseness, too much concerned with refinement. And so he delights in "Unrefinement," glories in the woods, air sweetness, sun-tan, brawn.

"I announce a life that shall be copious,  
vehement spiritual bold,  
And I announce an old age that shall lightly  
and joyfully meet its translation."

Cultured conventions, of which we make so much, distress him. They tend, he argues, to

Nature as Whitman saw, was full of vital loveliness by reason of her very power. The average literary artist is always seeking for the loveliness, aiming after beauty of form, without a thought whether what he is saying has the note of sincerity and truth, whether it is in touch with the realities of Nature. And in his super refinements he misses the beauty that flashes forth from the rough, rugged songs of Whitman.

Whitman does not decry culture. But he gives the first place to the educative influence of Nature. "The best culture," he says, "will always be that of the manly and courageous instincts and loving perception and of self-respect."

The academic traditions of American literature were rudely shaken by Whitman. If, with the majority, we suffer from a plethora of culture, Whitman certainly redresses the balance. The wisdom that we find in his pages is not the wisdom of a well-stored mind, not the wisdom of a profoundly reflective nature, not the wisdom of an Art-sensitive nature. It is the wisdom of a hearty and Primal Nature immensely receptive to the primal forces about him in life, whether in nature or in human society. All this, of course, he might have had and not been a force in letters save by some happy accident. Irresponsive as he was to the subtler beauties of life, he had an instinctive sense of beauty, which in a curious, unregulated and often coarse-grained way, vouchsafed to him from time to time the fine intuition of the great poet.

Standing on the verge of a new era of democratic ascendancy we need a broader basis, a more intimate vitality for our Art. The pre-Raphaelite movement in letters memorable as it was for its passionate insistence on the ideal of beauty, exhibited in its methods one grave defect.

In its endeavour to break away from the scientific and social tendencies of the day that had overpowered poetry and jeopardised its grace and charm, it has with its artistic exclusiveness lost its human significance. With all his faults as an artist Browning worked on surer and saner lines, in keeping poetry in intimate touch with life. You do not strengthen any art by closing the gates on new forces, new influences; you must take them in with all their roughness

and disturbing elements and try to transform ampler knowledge, for larger opportunities and their latent idealism.

Browning, to a great extent, did this, though he retained many of the old poetic forms. Whitman, with greater daring but with less intellectual power, invented fresh forms to express the fresh forces. He was not capable enough to do this with complete success; but to a great extent he triumphed. His failure lay less in his methods than in his personal shortcomings.

There had been many democratic poets in the nineteenth century. But Whitman is the first real poet of democracy. Out of the throes of the Industrial Revolution had been born a lusty, clamorous infant that demanded recognition—the new Demos. And it claimed not only recognition in politics, but recognition in literature. Wordsworth and Shelley essayed to speak for it with success; but Wordsworth was too exclusive, and Shelley—the most sympathetic of all our poets till the coming of Browning—was too ethereal in his manner.

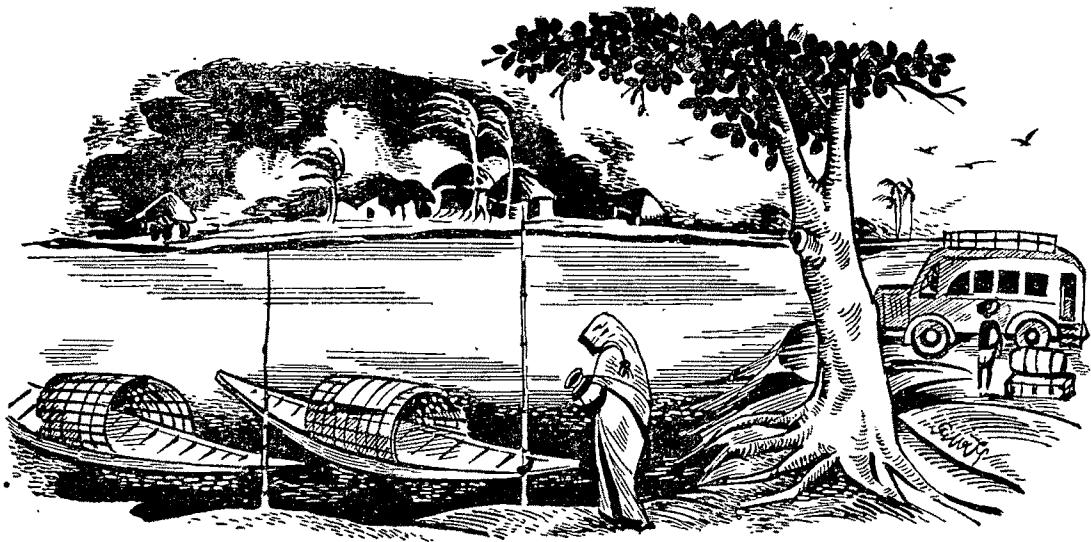
Perhaps the most inspiring thing about Whitman's attitude towards humanity is his thorough understanding of the working classes, and his quick discernment of the healthy naturalism that animates them. He neither patronises them nor idealises them. He sees their faults, which are obvious enough; but he also sees, what is not so obvious, their fine independence of spirit, their eager thirst for improvement, for

He was not a philosopher as Browning was; indeed, there is less of the philosopher about Whitman than about any poet of our age. His method is quite opposed to that of the philosophic. It is instinctive, suggestive and as full of contradictions as Nature herself. You can no more extract a philosophy from his sweeping utterances than you can from a tramp over the hills.

But like a tramp over the hills, Whitman fits every reader who accompanies him for a stronger and more courageous outlook. It is not easy to say about Whitman as is the case with many writers, "This line quickened my imagination; that passage unravelled my perplexities". It is the general effect of his writings that exercises such a remarkable tonic influence. Perhaps he has never indicated his cumulative power more happily than in the lines that conclude his 'Song of Myself'.

"You will hardly know who I am or what I mean  
But I shall be 'good health' to you never-the-less,  
And filter and fibre your blood.  
Failing to fetch me at first keep encouraged,  
Missing me one place, search another,  
I stop somewhere waiting for you."

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## PRAGMATISM AND EDUCATION

By SHAMSUDDIN, M.A., B.T., M.Ed.

Pragmatism is the most modern and peculiarly American philosophy of the twentieth century. It is a systematic and critical estimate of American culture that has no ancient basis. It is associated with John Dewey who tried to apply this philosophy to educational theory. Pragmatism also started as a revolt against idealism. Gradually it developed into an extensive one and it is now called experimentalism.

Pragmatism locates values in experience and nature. Where do we get knowledge from? We get it from experience. So experience is the only thing which is significant. Pragmatism accepts the experimental method of Sciences. It assumes that there is continuity in all forms of nature. All Reality belongs to the field of nature. It is also a dualistic philosophy. It considers the part as well as the whole relationship of organism. This organism as a whole is composed not only of parts but of the parts with their inter-relationship.

All thoughts and behaviours spring from problematic situations. The problematic situation-form makes individual react and these problematic situations arise through the interaction of organism with its environments. There is always need for achievement of equilibrium in this reaction. Though all individuals possess same parts, they do not react in the same manner under the same situations.

Pragmatism is a general theory of practice, and so it concerns itself with activity. To make action more appropriate and more intelligent is the essence of pragmatism. Nothing is accepted to be true unless it is proved to be true by experimentation. Pragmatism is a philosophy based on physical sciences. Mere knowledge is not enough for human beings. The main thing is that man should put to work the knowledge which he possesses. Wisdom is knowledge put to use. It is action

that leads us to knowledge. We can learn through our activities. "By doing we come to know." The real knowledge of a thing is obtained when we actually do something. Mere abstract or passive knowledge is not enough.

Pragmatism considers the workability of ideas. Ideas that cannot be put into practice have no significance from the point of view of practical value, i.e., we do not get always workable ideas. "An idea leads us to work." "That idea is good which works good," is another dictum of Pragmatism. Pragmatism has, therefore, accepted the method of science. Some say that there is a contrast in method of science and art. The method of science is experimental, while the method of art is institutional. Pragmatists try to prove that art is also experimental, because they want to include this also in their philosophy. An artist does not become artist immediately. He practises and becomes an artist. He puts his imaginations and ideas into experiments. Similarly, a novelist does not become so at once. He practises for a long time and then he becomes a successful novelist. Thus he is also an experimentalist and so he is also a Pragmatist. So are the poets and the short story-writers. And we should not, therefore, draw any sharp contrast between science and art.

### Pragmatism as Applied to Education

Pragmatism cannot give any formulation of aims of education in advance. Nothing is taken for granted unless it is proved. Creation of new values is the most general aim of education. That "values are everlasting," which is accepted by idealism, is not accepted by Pragmatism. This is the difference between these two. Pragmatism shows us that values change. A

thing which we regard valuable today may not after some years be regarded so. Thus values change. As such, the teacher also should not impose his own ideas of values on children. Children should be taught to form their own ideas regarding values. No pre-conceived ideas should be given in advance. Let the child form his own ideas, values and tastes. 'Knowledge for the sake of Knowledge' is not accepted by Pragmatism, for it wants such education as is of some material use. Pragmatists disregard the dictum that education is a dynamic side of philosophy. They say that it is philosophy which emerges from education and not education from philosophy. Dewey says, "Philosophy is a formulation of ideas underlying a successful practice." "Activities like intellectual, moral and aesthetic should be pursued only with reference to human needs and for their own sake."

Who creates values? Pragmatists regard a child as a creator of potential values for himself in growing environments. All children do not live in the same environment. Thus each child creates values for himself. We are thus concerned with the child and the physical and social environments in education. So these environments are regarded as data for education. To create new values we must get personal experience. This personal experience is a reaction to the environments. Inter-action between the child and environments constitutes the experience and thus values become possible. We must provide the right type of environment if we want to modify the nature of the child in the right direction. Pragmatists emphasise social experience more than the physical one. What do we mean by providing the right type of environment? The teacher must not attempt to enforce specific purposes, ideas or goals of education in the minds of children. Natural propensities of children should be observed first and then the right type of environment should be provided to develop them. Child is the creator of values for values for himself.

Pragmatism is optimistic and optimism is developed only if we have tremendous

faith in the individual and democracy. Pragmatism says that we must believe that human beings are progressing generation after generation and they are becoming more and more perfect as time advances. This philosophy of progress is brought about by developing an optimistic view of life. No established procedure is accepted by Pragmatism.

Pragmatism is based on the principle of 'Learning by doing'. So problem and project methods are needed. Learning should be creative. Purposeful self-activity should be developed. Traditional methods are not useful. The child should be allowed to learn by himself. So, creative attitude towards life, initiative, etc., are developed. The teacher should guide and not restrict. Learning and teaching should be significant at every stage. In engaging pupils in purposeful activity the aim is certainly not to see that it should be useful to them in future because education is life itself, and not the preparation for life as Spencer says. If we follow the same methods as in the past, the present will be in the bondage of the past or if we think that it is a preparation for the future life, then also it will be restricted. So the present should not be restricted. It has already been said that education is life itself and must be lived fully. Then automatically it will have its basis in the past and be a preparation for the future. The child shows different attitudes and propensities at different stages of development. So the child should be engaged in such activities as would bring about the desired development at that particular stage.

Pragmatism does not like the traditional division of curriculum into different subjects of instruction. There cannot be water-tight compartments in different subjects. A study of a few subjects means that we are studying human activities through different subjects. All knowledge should be regarded as one province of study. The learning process should be integrated. In modern days there has been more of specialization without proper correlation. In the same way school studies should not be regarded as different from the life outside the school. Here also, integration is

essential. So current events must be included in school studies. The idea of 'Core' subjects has come as a result of the principle of integration or co-ordination. A Core subject is that subject around which studies of other subjects can conveniently be grouped. Thus specialization is avoided with some safeguards; several subjects should be taught to pupils of one class by one and the same teacher. School studies must be useful in life. At every stage they must be properly connected with real life, with situations outside the school. Thus there should be 'horizontal and vertical' correlation in the school studies.

### Moral Training

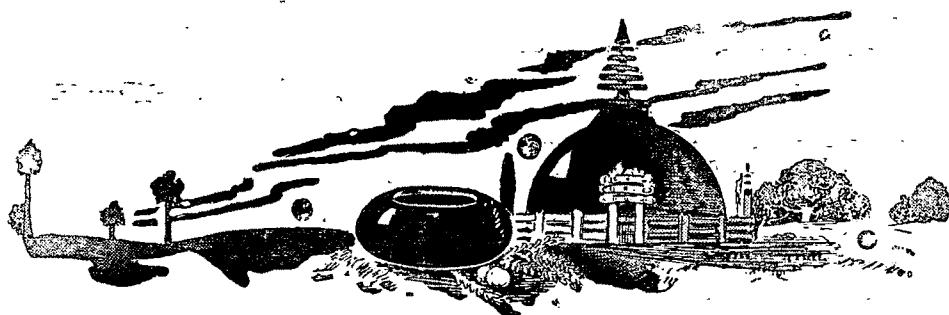
As Pragmatism is one of the most modern philosophies, it holds the view that there is no necessity of moral training. Religion and morality are quite different. "Pursuit of the chosen activity itself promotes self-discipline." By proper performance of action children are trained in duties and responsibilities of citizens which is moral training. Training in citizenship and character-building comes through school activities. In every generation the idea of morality changes. Let the child from his own moral standard. The idealistic view of morality, i.e., one of permanent value or eternal value, is not accepted by Pragmatism. There is one advantage in this. The child thinks that he is free. He is not restricted by pre-conceived notions. There is freedom in activity. The school work should, therefore, be as real and as purposeful as tasks beyond the four walls of the school.

Socialised activities are the most important part of school activities.

Dewey says: (i) "Education is life itself". (ii) "Education is constant remarking or reconstruction of experiences." (iii) "Education is directed growth." (iv) "It is a means of social continuity."

Present activities are emphasised by the first definition. If we give our experience to children, they will get second-hand knowledge. This is emphasised by the second definition. Every individual must develop through education and this growth should lead the individual to a better stage of life. The teacher should hence see that proper growth takes place through freedom. Pragmatism emphasises practice of education and the role of theory is to enlighten and guide practice, and not to confuse it. Materials of education should be related to the problematic situations. Theory should clarify and improve practice.

It is, however, very difficult for our schools to follow the principles of Pragmatism in its entirety. It is true that we have now accepted, more or less, the theory of 'learning by doing' and the old ideas of formal teaching are fast disappearing. The present is a period of transition and we cannot switch over to the 'new' overnight. Secondly, we should not forget that every age has its own philosophy. India has accepted democracy and secularism and her schools too now have the responsibility of initiating the young into democratic living and developing co-operation and self-reliance. One should never forget that 'slow and sure wins the race.'



## THE REFINANCE CORPORATION IN OPERATION

By MAYA DUTT SHARMA, M.Com., F.R.Econ. S. (London),

*Head of the Deptt. of Business Administration, B.J.S. Ramgarhia College, Bikaner. (Raj.)*

### *Need of such an Institution*

INDIA is engaged in the stupendous task of rebuilding the economic edifice on a broad-based industrial foundation and as such Indian banking has been called upon to play a vital part in the implementation of the National Economic Plans.

Provision of working capital for the short-term needs of the industry has of course remained for long one of the admitted functions of commercial banks, which they try to perform to the tune of requirement. Specialised institutions such as I.F.C. of India, the various State Finance Corporations, the N.I.D.C., the I.C.I.C.I.; have been set up to supply long-term credit for industries. Medium-term finance for medium-sized industries is still difficult to obtain and commercial banks are being urged and encouraged to fill up this lacuna. But one of the deterrents which has stood in the way of commercial banks contributing a larger share to the medium or long-term financial needs of industries was the absence of a mechanism which could come to their aid in regaining the requisite degree of liquidity in items of need. It was to remove this drawback that an institution was required to be set up to provide re-lending facilities to banks against term loans granted by them to medium-sized industrial units.

### *Establishment and Object*

The Refinance Corporation for Industry Private Ltd., was registered on June 5, 1958 as a private limited company under the Companies Act, 1956. This was the outcome of one of the terms of Agricultural Commodities Agreement under PL 480, which required that rupee equivalent to \$55 million (about Rs. 26 crores) of the counterpart funds should be set apart for re-lending to private enterprises in India, through established banking channels.

As such the immediate object of setting up

the Corporation is the disbursement of counter-part funds, and to bridge the gap that exists in the institutional arrangements available at present for financing medium-sized industrial units in regard to their medium-term requirements as its ultimate goal.

### *Financial Resources*

The total resources available to the corporation at present amounts to Rs. 38.50 crores. The issued capital is Rs. 12.50 crores, contributed jointly by the Reserve Bank of India, the Life Insurance Corporation, and fifteen of the larger scheduled banks, of which 10 per cent has been paid on application and a further 10 per cent on allotment, thus making an initial paid up capital of Rs. 2.50 crores.<sup>1</sup>

The Government of India would make available to the Corporation the amount (upto a maximum of Rs. 26 crores)<sup>2</sup> required by it, from time to time, in the interest-bearing loans and arrange to obtain reimbursement in due course from the counter-part funds.<sup>3</sup> So far it has drawn rupees 5 crores from the Government loan.

### *Management*

The Corporation is managed by a Board of Directors consisting of seven members, the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India as the Chairman, the other Directors being a Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, the Chairman of the State Bank of India, the Chairman of the L.I.C. and three representatives of the other banks participating in the scheme. The Chief Officer of the Industrial Finance Deptt. of the Reserve Bank of India is the General Manager of the Corporation.

1. The authorised capital of the Corp. i. Rs. 25 crores.
2. As an interest-bearing loan for 40 years.
3. *Reserve Bank of India Bulletin*, pp. 437.

### *Progress of the Corporation*

It was upto the end of 1958 that six applications for an amount aggregating to Rs. 1.78 crores were sanctioned against Rs. 1.83 crores asked for,<sup>4</sup> but no disbursements could be made against them till then.

The situation was the result of the fall in investment activity in the private sector during 1958. On the other hand, banks got over their liquidity problem, partly from restrictions on imports which curtailed the demand for credit but largely from the phenomenal influx of deposits. They were rather groaning under the weight of large deposits without an adequate demand for their utilization. Thus, however, 'the Corporation came into being at a time when the banks themselves were burdened with a plethora of surplus funds and so it could not make itself felt.'<sup>5</sup> The time lag between the date on which the Corporation sanctions a loan and the time taken thereafter by the member bank to finalise the granting of the loans to its constituent, is an additional factor responsible for it.

The second year of its existence (1959) is actually the first year of its working, the performance of the Corporation during which is not at all encouraging. The Corporation has sanctioned only Rs. 2.25 crores in the form of refinance during the year. Thus since its inception, during the 19 months of its working, it has sanctioned 19 loan applications for Rs. 4 Crores, out of which applications for Rs. 38 lakhs have been subsequently withdrawn, and it is not more than Rs. 85 lakhs which is being availed of and that too by only two banks. Surplus funds of the Corporation amounting to Rs. 6.8 crores are lying with member banks as short-term deposits.

As a matter of fact, the total of loans sanctioned falls short of the Corporation's own initial borrowings from the Government of India amounting to Rs. 5 Crores, of which the

4. Of the six applications sanctioned—two units in the ferrow manganese industry have been sanctioned Rs. 70 lakhs, two cotton mills Rs. 47 lakhs and one cement and a pharmaceutical and a chemical unit Rs. 50 lakhs and Rs. 11 lakhs respectively. (R.B.B., April 1959).

5. C. H. Bhaba—*New Trends and Developments in Indian Banking*.

amount availed of by the member banks constitute 11.3 per cent. Under the circumstances it is not clear why the Corporation should have taken resort to borrowing.

### *Paradoxical Situation*

It can be admitted that the Corporation could not disburse any finance in 1958 as three months of its existence were spent up in attending to the preliminaries and in the next four months no member banks availed itself of the facilities provided by the Corporation. But what about the year 1959 when industrial production increased by 8.4 per cent (both in public and private sectors) and despite the continuing foreign exchange difficulties, the private sector has made a big leap forward enabling one to expect that "this resurgence in industrial activity would be reflected in substantial calls on the resources of the Refinance Corporation."<sup>6</sup> But the actual experience is otherwise, creating a paradoxical situation, as to why the activities of the Corporation had been stagnant during a period when the industrial growth was vigorous and capital was said to be scarce with sustained demand for it at a high level.

It is in this reference as to what prevents the Corporation from making a contribution to the sustained industrial growth that Mr. Iengar, Governor of The Reserve Bank of India, speaking in the capacity of the Chairman of the Corporation said that "the Corporation caters to a narrower segment of industry's capital requirements than other such financial institutions. The term of finance it provides extends from 3 to 7 years, which suits only a small proportion of entrepreneurs." (Only those who find that they can repay their loan within a period of seven years or make other arrangements for raising finance).

Another cause of the Corporation's discouraging achievement is the encouraging participation of banks in industrial advances due to spectacular increase in bank deposits. As a matter of fact it is not true that our banks have extended their scope of financing to medium or long-term loans, but they provide short-term advances "which have been rolled over from time to time, ultimately serving the purpose of medium-term

6. *Commerce*—28th May, 1950. p. 942.

loans in the former name.<sup>7</sup> This practice has been popular due to the advantage of flexibility and convenience both to the banks and to industrial borrowers. It is rather a more cautious form of term-lending.

The arrangement of keeping its surplus funds with the member banks may also be one of the reasons for their not having recourse to refinance facilities.<sup>8</sup>

The Corporation is managed by the Board of Directors consisting of two Chairmen (State Bank, L.I.C.), one Deputy Governor and three representatives of the banks participating in the Corporation, with the Governor of the Reserve Bank as the Assistant Chairman and the Chief Officer of the Industrial Finance Deptt. of the Bank as the General Manager. While everyone of them is already busy and more interested in his primary duties, who will come forward to row the boat of the Corporation in the troubled waters? Why should the Corporation not have a separate General Manager? And in the Board there must be such other persons as are in a position to pull on the burden and responsibilities of the posts they accept with greater interests, initiative and enterprise.

The ceiling of Rs. 50 lakhs to an individual borrower, it is said, is also responsible for non-utilisation of the facilities provided by the Corporation, and the definition of a medium-sized industry in terms of maximum assets of Rs.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores, has narrowed the scope of its activities.

#### *Suggestions for Improvement*

It is suggested that refinance facilities should be made available to a much larger number of banks. This can be done by extending this facility to non-shareholder banks also. Although it is true that the Corporation shall be able to enlarge its business by providing the non-member banks with refinancing facilities, it is yet to be seen whether a large number of banks will be able to make an effective contribution. Secondly, this system will also involve the abolition of the system of allotting quotas of the member banks,

7. Speech of Mr. Iengar, Chairman of the Corporation at its Annual General Meeting.

8. This system should be changed and the Corporation should invest substantial portion of its surplus funds in short-term Government securities.

which can result in unlimited refinancing by small banks creating an undesirable situation in the future.

The other suggestion is that the Corporation should extend its facilities to all industries, which, in its opinion, are in conformity with the purposes of the development plans. But shall it not be responsible for overlapping of the Corporation's activities with those of other financial institutions? So far as the opinion of the Corporation regarding extension of its facilities is concerned, it is nothing new and is already left entirely to the initiative and judgment of member banks to decide to which units loans may be extended. There are already sufficient financing facilities open for large as well as small-scale industries for long and short-term finance and the lacuna of medium-term finance for medium-scale industries, which have rather been covered by the establishment of this Corporation will remain ignored, if the scope of its activities is extended to all the industries. Thus the solution is not in the extension of facilities from medium-scale industries to all the industries, but in the rapid development of medium-scale industries with the help of financial institutions and encouragement from the Government under the development plan.

The criticism of the high rate of interest charged, although not reasonable in the opinion of Mr. Iengar, can be meted out by the amendment on condition that the banks should have a spread of a minimum of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent between the rate at which they borrow from the Corporation and the rate at which they lend. The banks should have their own discretion to fix the lending rate subject to the approval of the Corporation.

The main obstacles to greater utilisation of these facilities have to be removed, which according to Mr. G. D. Birla are, firstly, the ceiling of Rs. 50 lakhs to individual borrowers and, secondly, the definition of a medium-sized industry in terms of maximum assets of Rs.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  crores of the Company. As he observes :—

"It often happens that a Company with large assets starts some new industrial unit, which, though of medium size is not eligible for finance, because, when these assets of the new unit are added to the other existing industrial assets of the company, the ceiling is exceeded and the industrial unit becomes ineligible for re-finance at the hands of the lending bank."

The policy of the Corporation should be more flexible in respect of granting minimum and maximum loans to industries.

#### *Joint Financing of Foreign Exchange and Rupee Requirements*

The Corporation had negotiations with the Commonwealth Development Finance Co., London, the International Finance Corporation, Washington and the I.C.I.C.I., Bombay, for provision of foreign exchange for schemes for which rupee finance would be provided, wholly or in part by the Refinance Corporation, and has arrived at a working arrangement for dealing with applications involving foreign exchange requirements and rupee finance. The I.C.I.C.I., and member banks would jointly lend for the project, if all the parties agree.

There has, however, been no proposal received so far for joint financing of foreign exchange and rupee requirements. The arrangement must prove beneficial for the industrial development of the country.

#### *To Conclude*

It can be said that although the profits of the Corporation are higher this year (Rs. 20.02 lakhs as compared to Rs. 11.27 lakhs in 1958), the main source of income being the interest earned on the short-term deposits with the member banks, yet the performance of the Corporation is disappointing. "It has not been able to make any significant progress in its operations". In some quarters it has been observed that "the performance of the Corporation raises a doubt whether the country really needed an institution of this type". But undoubtedly, the

remark apparently presents the inability of the observer to assess the industrial needs of the country, the financing agencies—their field of operation and the future requirements. With the advent of economic planning, "our banking system has been called upon to play a vital part, with a changed outlook, adopting itself quickly to the transformation from the stagnant economy of the past to the present economy of planned development". The orthodox theory of commercial banking of keeping itself aloof from industrial advances has been given up and in almost all the advanced countries of the world it has been realised that it is the inescapable responsibility of the banking institutions to engage themselves directly in term-loans to industry, consistently, of course, with the usual canons of safety, liquidity and prudence. In our country also, banks are required to assume more initiative. The technique of rolling down the short-term advances is bound to get a conversion into term-lending which, with its benefits on the one hand, involves certain element of taking risk on the other. With the expansion and development of a wide-range of industrial enterprises, formal term-lending by the banks is bound to be adopted, and it is at that time when the Indian banks would look towards this institution for assistance in the maintenance of their liquidity.

And in the end, when this underdeveloped country will march forward on its economic development under the Five-Year Plans, the importance of industrial development through medium-scale enterprises is bound to be recognised for the regional development, and it is then only that the existence and activities of Refinance Corporation will become a boon to the medium-scale industries in the Private Sector.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

FORT WILLIAM : INDIA HOUSE CORRESPONDENCE AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY PAPERS RELATING THERETO (Public Series). Vol. I. 1748-1756. Edited by K. K. Datta. Indian Records Series. National Archives of India, Delhi, 1958. Pp. 1160. Price not stated.

It is now nearly twenty years since the Government of India undertook the scheme of publication *in extenso* of the valuable correspondence between the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London and the Council of Fort William in Calcutta. The series which was to commence from 1748 (documents of the earlier period being practically non-existent in the National Archives of India) was to terminate in 1800 in the first instance. Of the twenty-one volumes of this series, the present is the first in chronological order, though the fourth in order of publication. In his well-written Introduction the editor has first given the historical background comprising (to begin with) the administration of Alivardi Khan as the Subadar of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The period was marked by repeated Marhatta invasions of the province as well as several Afghan insurrections. Giving a brief review of the contents of the records, the editor first mentions the steps for the strengthening of the Company's fortifications in Calcutta and the increase of its military establishment. He then deals with the working of the Civil Service and the judicial and zemindary branches of the administration. Much effort, we learn, was made to abolish the abuses of private trade indulged in by the Company's servants. We have then an interesting notice of the Company's relations with the Armenian residents of Calcutta.

A review of Sirajuddaula's relations with the Company is followed by the most valuable portion of the Introduction dealing with the economic condition of the province during this period of transition. The extensive and profitable trade of Bengal with the rest of India and other Asiatic countries in the first half of the 18th century was followed by a sad decline in the share of her own merchants in the same in the middle of the same century. Bengal never recovered from this decline. Meanwhile, the trade of the English East India Company was growing in spite of keen competition of the Dutch Company. We have an adequate description of the Company's methods of trading through middlemen and the list of its exports and imports. This naturally leads to a survey of the industries of the province comprising the manufacture of cotton and silk fabrics and sugar in Bengal and of saltpetre in Bihar. A short statistical list of prices quoted by the editor shows nearly a rise of 30 per cent in the price of rice between 1738 and 1751. We have at the end a short account of the complicated currency of Bengal from the early years of the 18th century. Besides the Madras and the Bengal rupees, we read, coins from mints situated in other parts of India poured into the province as the result of its favourable balance of trade. These coins were very often debased either by the mints or by dishonest dealers. The value of this volume is enhanced by a map of Bengal and the adjacent provinces, plans of Chandernagore and Calcutta and a few historical portraits and sites. Other valuable features are the short notes, the bibliography of published and unpublished works and the exhaustive index. The long list of corrigenda is to be regretted.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

RAFI AHMED KIDWAI—His Life and favouritism and nepotism ; but these criticisms Works : By Dr. Pran Nath Chopra, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Shiva Lal Agarwala & Co. Private Ltd. Pp. 217, Price Rs. 9-50 nP.

The two Ministers of the Indian Union who have carved for themselves an undying name for sterling contributions are Patel and Kidwai. No praise is too high for Patel, integrating the various princely States with what was known as British India. No praise is equally too high for Kidwai, who as Food Minister confounded sceptics by his bold initiative and honesty of purpose ; he, again, saved for us Kashmir from the hands of Shaikh Abdullah, 'who had', in the language of the author, 'gone astray owing to the intrigues of the Western Powers who dinned into his ears the vision of an independent Kashmir with himself as a veritable Sultan—the States' independence being guaranteed by the Dominions as well as by the United Nations'. As Food Minister—the Ministry had hitherto proved, according to the author, 'the graveyard of stalwarts like Rajendra Prasad, Jairamdas Daulatram and K. M. Munshi—Kidwai 'successfully accomplished', as the India Government says in its obituary note, 'his policy of removing all irksome controls on food and his boldness, in a sense, helped the country to turn a situation of scarcity into one of sufficiency'. Before partition, the country was deficit in food. In 1951, it imported 47 lakh tons and 48 lakh tons in 1952 ; but in 1953, the Government had 20 lakh tons in stock. After Kidwai's death, it lost the old tone and was the target of many just criticisms. The secret of his success was his dead earnestness. "Wherever," the author says, "there was report of deficit, he himself rushed to the spot."

At a critical moment in 1953, when Shaikh Abdullah felt secure to push ahead, entrenched on Nehru's dull, obstinate trustfulness in scorn of the repeated warnings of Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookherjee, who practically lost his life in unearthing the historic conspiracy referred, to above, Kidwai took charge of Kashmir affairs. For about a week, we gather from the author, he used to visit Kashmir each day to guide the Kashmir Government in the light of developments. But for his strong attitude, says N. C. Chatterjee, the 'great betrayal' would not have been averted ; Meher Chand Mahajan speaks of his 'practical wisdom and unerring judgment' in saving Kashmir.

With regard to Kidwai's honesty and courage of conviction, we have it from the author that he frankly confessed,—'There is a general complaint of corruption ; people are talking of

favouritism and nepotism ; but these criticisms are not influencing the Government's activities' ; —this was well within three years of Congress rule. He was constrained to support Gandhiji's view-point that 'after the attainment of independence, Congress should have dissolved itself'. Regarding Nehru, Kidwai, who was sincere to the core in his love and admiration for him, could not help saying, 'Pandit Nehru talks of high philosophy and ideals but the problems of the common man cannot be solved that way.'

The book, under review, is an eminently readable study and the author has done full justice to the subject of memoir. It is to his credit that as we finish reading it, we once again feel the poignance of the sudden and untimely end of Kidwai, every inch a patriot, and thoroughly honest in acts and utterance. He began his political life as the Secretary of Motilal Nehru but carried in his knapsack the Field Marshal's baton.

Joges C. Bose

AND FOUR TO GROW ON : By Francis Palmer. Published by Hodder and Stoughton. London. 15 shillings net.

The experiences related by Mrs. Palmer in the book entitled "And Four to Grow on" are certainly out of the ordinary. The story in brief, relates the incidents connected with the adoption by the Palmers, a childless couple, of Joe and Ruth, a pair of orphan brother and sister. These two had in their short lives been through so much hardship and neglect, that all their maladjustments when placed in normal society had to be carefully analysed in terms of their previous experiences. But the sympathetic outlook of their foster parents helped them to overcome most of their fears so much that they were only too pleased to help another pair of unfortunate children adjust themselves into the Palmer home as their brother and sister.

The Palmers believed and acted on the principle that although they had no children of their own, yet by taking into their hearts, deserted and maltreated children, they more than filled this gap in their lives. Mrs. Palmer is of the opinion that in the same way that a doctor mends broken bones so a foster parent mends bruised and broken minds of these maltreated children. Thus apart from the daily emotional upheavals resulting between both the parents and the children, it is very interesting to follow the record of this experiment from a Sociological point of view. "The average Welfare ward has had so much shifting around and has accumulated so many fears, that whatever comeliness he may have possessed is jaded... They have stored

up many distorted ideas and have endured hardships which have helped to develop their characters fast—in the opposite direction from that of accepted society. (P. 220)". It is furthermore an established fact that the majority of Juvenile delinquents are from instable homes. So Mrs. Palmer argues that juvenile delinquency would also decrease if the laws related to minor wards throughout the nation could be made more flexible, so that without lengthy court hearings and red tape, natural parents who neglect and abandon their children, would have no further hold on them. And capable childless couples like the Palmers, could legally open their hearts and homes to such children quickly. This would help both parties, the former because they should be removed from harmful environments before the first five formative years of their lives are over, the latter because a childless couple often drifts apart without the common bond of having children.

Thus we may say that this book in its gentle way, will bring hope and joy to countless childless couples as well as to numerous deserted and orphan children.

Lakshmi Chatterji

**THE ASTROLOGICAL SELF-STRUCTOR** : By Prof. S. Suryanarain Rao. Published by the Astrological Office, Basavagudi, Bangalore-4. Price Rs. 5/-.

Professor Suryanarain Rao, the doyen of Indian Astrology, is no more, but he will be remembered for a long time because of his life-long devotion and valuable contributions to the science of Astrology. In the whole of India it is he who first of all wrote in English language books on Hindu Astrology. His authentic and invaluable work, *The Astrological Self-Instructor* became a source of information and inspiration to the students of Astrology in India and abroad alike.

*The Astrological Self-Instructor*, though not a voluminous one is, undoubtedly, Prof. Rao's masterpiece inasmuch as it convincingly testifies to the author's deep erudition and mastery over the subject. His original way of explaining the Fundamental Rules of the Calculative Branch of Astrology is simply amazing. The book created a great demand since its first publication in 1872 and the popularity it has attained is evident from the fact that it is now running the 11th edition.

The present edition, with some improvements on the author, by B. V. Raman, another veteran Astrologer of the South, has been published by B. S. Chandran, the youngest son of the deceased

Astrologer. Sri Raman's additions and alterations have enhanced the value and usefulness of the book which every student of Astrology should possess. The casting of horoscopes seems to be an uphill task to the beginners, but the process explained elaborately in this book is so simple and dependable that if one follows it attentively he will be able to sketch out any horoscope with thoroughness and accuracy.

There is no dearth of books on Astrology in English language but *the Astrological Self-Instructor* may be singled out from the lot because though published in the last decade of the nineteenth century it is still indispensable for the beginners who are willing to learn the fundamentals of a difficult subject like Astrology without anybody's guidance.

Nalin Kumar Bhadra

**CONTEMPORARY INDIAN SHORT STORIES (Series I)** : Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi. Price : Cloth-binding Rs. 3. 50; Paper-binding Rs. 2.50.

This anthology of short stories from different Indian languages will give the reader an idea of the progress India has achieved in this branch of literature. It will, moreover, point out the unity of Indian social life in spite of provincial and linguistic differences. This first series contains fifteen stories, each representing one language. It is interesting to note that a story originally written in English has been included herein. Thus it is evident that the compilers regard English too as one of the languages of the Indians. Among the writers represented are: Prabhat Kumar Mukhopadhyay (Bengali), Premchand (Hindi), Kalindi Charan Panigrahi (Oriya) and Rajagopalachari (Tamil). "The omission of Tagore," says Sri Humayun Kabir in his Foreword, "will strike even a casual reader. This omission is deliberate as it was felt that of all Indian writers Tagore is the one who is most widely known outside his own language-group."

The English rendering by different translators has been fairly adequate.

**ROMANCE Vs. NEO-ROMANCE** : Gourcharanananda Thakur : To be had of the author, P.O. Joynagar Mozilpur, 24-Parganas. Price Rs. 2-8 as.

A venture in English verse that may at best deserve a word of encouragement, not because of merit, but because of perseverance.

X

**SONGS OF LOVE** : By Shri Kumud Bandhu. Published by R. N. Dutt. 5/1, Dum Dum Road, Calcutta. 1959. Rs. 3.00.

This is a collection of verses intended as the poet hopes in his Foreword, to "guide, as a beacon light, the destiny of humanity in the formation of a decent human society based on the absolute power of love." We are in some doubts about this high aspiration. The verses rarely rise above the pedestrian, although one detects in patches a quality of fervent suppurating emotion about them.

Ramesh Ghoshal

TRUSTEESHIP : By M. K. Gandhi. Pages 40, Price 25 nP.

PROHIBITION AT ANY COST : By M. K. Gandhi. Pages 24, Price 20 nP. Both Published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14.

Mahatmaji's well-known views on Trusteeship and Prohibition are expressed in the above booklets. He was not in favour of capitalism as we understand it, but he was against its abolition by violent methods. What he wanted was that owners of capital should consider themselves trustees for others not owning it in the legal sense and use it as such. Various aspects of this trusteeship and realisation of this in practical life by non-violent methods have been discussed in detail by Mahatmaji in his replies to questions of Pyarelal.

Gandhiji was in favour of complete prohibition. He was not prepared to change his views on account of failure of prohibition in the U.S.A. The booklet under review is a compilation by R. K. Prabhu of Gandhiji's writings on the subject published mainly in *Young India* and *Harijan*.

The cheap publications deserve wide circulation.

DR. B. C. ROY AND OUR TIMES: By Prof. P. K. Ray. Published from 17, Bhupendra Bose Avenue, Calcutta-4, Pages 14, Price Re. 1/-.

This short life-sketch of Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, whose 79th birthday fell on the 1st July 1960, is a timely publication. Although nicely printed on good paper the price fixed seems prohibitory.

A. B. Dutta

#### SANSKRIT

BHAKTI-VISNUPRIYAM (A Sanskrit drama) : By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, Secretary, West Bengal Government Sanskrit Siksha Parishad. Published by Pracyavani Mandir as Vol. XXI of Pracyavani Sanskrit Series. Rs. 2.00 nP.

It is with very great pleasure that I went through the Sanskrit Drama "Bhakti-Visnupriyam" composed by the well-known research scholar Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri. Scholars all over the world are familiar with Dr.

Chaudhuri's invaluable Research works numbering nearly one hundred in the different branches of Sanskrit Literature, published two decades ago in different Series such, as "Contributions of Women to Sanskrit Literature," "Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature," "Contributions of Bengal to Sanskrit Literature and so on. But it is indeed a matter of great gratification that his recent original contributions to Sanskrit Literature are also of equal worth. These include "Sanskrita-Duta-Kavya-Itihasa;" "Sasvati" and "Bhasvati;" Tikas on Ghatakarpura Kavya and Padanka-Duta respectively; and a large number of superb Sanskrit Dramas, Poems and Songs.

The Sanskrit Drama "Bhakti-Visnupriyam" is one of his well-known Dramas. It has had the unique honour of being the very first Sanskrit Drama by a modern author, ever to be broadcast from any Centre of All India Radio. It has also been successfully staged many times by Dr. Chaudhuri's Pracyavani Troupe, all over India. The cause of the phenomenal success of this Sanskrit Drama lies mainly in its very simple, sweet and easily intelligible language, and sublime plot, not to speak of its wealth of fine songs and poems, in different metres and on different subjects. Its research value also is not a whit less. Dr. Chaudhuri in his usual scholarly scientific and thorough manner, has presented us here with a large number of facts regarding Sri Visnupriya, hitherto unknown.

It is sure to be a land-mark in the History of Modern Sanskrit Literature. Dr. Chaudhuri's noble attempts to propagate Sanskrit Language and Literature through not only Scholarly Research Works, but also through such attractive medium-like staging of Sanskrit Dramas and recitals of Sanskrit Songs have earned him the gratitude of all. His new enterprise has been crowned with stupendous success and goes a long way to make Sanskrit a living language.

It is, indeed, seldom that Research Scholars are gifted also with poetic abilities and devotional fervour. But these Sanskrit Dramas, Poems and Songs of Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri have clearly shown that he has been gifted with all these three to no mean extent.

Satkari Mookerjee

#### BENGALI

MA : By Sri Akshaya Chandra Chakravarti. Second edition. Published by Sri Savitri Devi, Sadhan Kutir, Abasa, Midnapore. Pp. 95. Price Rs. 2/-.

The author of this booklet is the retired Head Teacher of Bengali in the Dinanath High School at Nagpur. He has to his credit three Bengali books named *Kamale Kamini*, *Prema-*

*rekha* and *Chinta-rekha*. The *Prema-rekha* contains a short life-sketch of the late Sir Bepin Krishna Basu, the famous founder of Nagpur University and an illustrious Bengali outside Bengal. The latter half of the book, under review, comprises a dozen poems selected from the *Kamale Kamini* and the first half is of autobiographical reminiscences. Happily he recalls how in 1917 while a school boy he had the good fortune of spending eighteen auspicious days in the Belur-Math and meeting Swami Premananda, Swami Shivananda and other direct disciples of Sri Ramakrishna and furthermore the Holy Mother of the Order. Though several quotations from Sri Aurobindo and Romain Rolland have enhanced its worth a bit, yet a long list of printing mistakes, arbitrary composition and loose language, etc., have made it unreadable and unattractive.

Swami Jagadiswarananda  
**HINDI**

**UTTHAN** : By Toppil Bhasi. Published by Asok Prakashan Griha, 20A, Ramnagar, New Delhi. May, 1960. Rs. 2/50 nP.

This is a Hindi rendering of the drama written by Toppil Bhasi in Malayalam—*Ningal enne Komunistapi*, which has, we are told,

attained celebrity in Kerala. Spread over 14 scenes, it does not follow the old technique. There is no reason why it should. Performed more than 600 times, this propaganda-play must have made its mark, but for qualities not discernible in the translation. May be its *forte* lay in its powerful songs, which have not been reproduced in the book under review. An unrelieved picture of wrongs perpetrated on innocent and ignorant victims who are goaded to stand up for their rights and to cling to the red flag.

P. R. Sen

#### GUJARATI

**NAJAR : LAMBI ANE TUNKI : LONG AND SHORT SIGHT** : By Jyotindra Dave. Published by the Gandiv Sahitya Mandir, Surat. Illustrated Jacket : Thick Card Board. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 3/- (1956).

Jyotindra Dave has by his speeches and writings won for himself the topmost place as a humourist. His humour is gentle but penetrating. This collection of twenty witty and humorous stories has recently brought him a Prize of Rupees Two Thousands from the State Government, as the best writer in that field. He is sure to produce equally good work in that field hereafter.

K. M. J.

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# Indian Periodicals

## National Unity

**Chowringhee**, July 17, writes editorially :

Some say it is English that unified India and made one nation out of a medley of races speaking different languages. Others say, India always had the same culture and the same religion and classical language—Sanskrit—and that is what bound the Indian races together. A careful study of Indian history, however, makes it quite clear that whenever India had been united, from time to time, under this ruler or that dynasty, it had never been a matter of linguistic or cultural oneness. Asoka might have used Pali for his rock inscriptions all over India, Sher Shah or Akbar, Urdu, but there were all the languages and dialects in full use all over India during these periods of unity. There are no reasons to support the point of view that unity in point of language or culture will create political unity. England under the Heptarchy or France under the Dukes before Richelieu possibly had great similarity of language and culture among the politically disunited kingdoms and dukedoms. The Roman Empire united all sorts of peoples under one political organisation. And so have the U.S.S.R. now. There are no grounds for imagining that the British Empire of India, Burma and Ceylon was, one unified whole by virtue of the English language being used for State purposes everywhere. The Swiss and the Belgians have more than one language in their States and they do not break up politically for that reason. Nor did the English language prevent the American War of Independence. Political unity, therefore, is not a product of linguistic unity. Same religion also does not unite different communities, as is well-illustrated by the Europeans and the Arab States. Political unity is created by similarity of ideals and interests. And, of course, by a strong Government functioning on clear-cut lines established by a Constitution and by laws which are impartially enforced. Political disunity is always the result of weak and

unfair management of the affairs of the State, and of allowing the Constitution to lapse and the laws to be disobeyed. The forces which break up political unity are the products of unfair practice, favouritism, creation of privilege and extra legal rights and similar fundamentally illegal powers for persons who place narrow self-interest above the greater ideals and interests of national magnitude. Indian unity under the British was the result of British political and economic interests, the achievement of which required that all the races speaking the 242 languages and dialects of India should obey orders issued in English everywhere and enforced by a handful of Indian personnel who understood English as well as those various languages and dialects.

India under the Congress administration since 1947 has shown symptoms of disunity on a linguistic ground; because the Congress allowed the various communities, cliques and racial groups of India to take a lead in the so-called provinces, which, incidentally, had a British origin and no racial, cultural or linguistic significance whatsoever. The Congress found it necessary to placate local leaders in order to remain in power and these local leaders, not having any **National Ideals** nor any **National Interests** began to feather their own intellectual, economic and political nests, so to speak. And their understanding of their limited requirements for self-aggrandisement were, indeed, very crude and nationally degrading.

The idea of having Hindi as a national language was the beginning. Gandhiji began this, probably in the nineteen-thirties and was criticised by eminent political writers like the late Ramananda Chatterjee who said repeatedly that this idea of establishing an undeveloped language, spoken by the most backward peoples of India, as the national language, was a retrograde move and would create endless trouble for India. As a matter of fact, the fact that Hindi was forced upon the Bengalis and Tribal peoples of Bihar, encouraged the people of Orissa, Assam, etc., to hold up their respective languages, as great ideals

and desiderata of their racial-linguistic communities. Today we have established some half-baked languages as things to fight for. We have forgotten our fight against poverty, disease, illiteracy, national weaknesses, foreign aggression, etc., etc., in order to ram the Assamese language or Hindi down the throats of people who do not speak these languages. India is being broken up by the half-enlightened leaders of the various communities of India who have become locally important by virtue of local superiority in numbers or by their importance in the Congress organisation. If the Central Government do not or cannot suppress these people by an iron hand, there is no doubt that India will break up into a hundred groups who will pass their time gibbering at one another in their respective languages or dialects. We think the Constitution of India should be amended and Hindi disestablished as also all other local languages. English should be maintained as the official language of the Central and the State Governments.

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#### Financial Problems of the Third Plan

M. Kalecki who came to India, at the invitation of Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, Secretary, Indian Statistical Institute, did some research work on the subject of the Third Five-Year Plan. In an article, under the above caption in the Economic Weekly, July 9, 1960, he writes:

In view of the very low standards of living of the broad masses of Indian population, these seem to me the basic postulates of balanced growth.

On these assumptions, to any rate of growth of the national income there should correspond a definite rate of increase in the supply of necessities, in particular of food-grains. Indeed, this is true if existing tax rates are not changed (barring the case of significant redistribution of income before tax). But since the necessary rate of increase in the supply of necessities will not be affected by additional taxes on higher income groups and non-essential commodities, taxation would hardly influence significantly the demand for necessities.

Let us consider first the problem of adequate supply of necessities. It can be estimated that a 5 per cent increase in the national income per annum requires a rise in agricultural production at an annual rate

of about 4 per cent. (The rate of increase in the production of foodgrains on the assumption that no imports would take place in 1965-66 would have to be even higher, namely, about 4.5 per cent per annum.)

Such an expansion of agriculture is a tremendous task which, I think, requires far-reaching changes in the social and economic conditions prevailing in agriculture. I think that in the present outline of the Plan, adequate provisions have been made for irrigation and fertilisers. On the other hand, I do not believe that, with the agrarian conditions prevailing in India now, these facilities will be used to the full to produce the output required.

Agricultural holdings may be roughly subdivided into three classes:

(a) Relatively large or medium holdings, cultivated by peasants who own the land or have security of tenure with or without assistance of hired labourers.

(b) Small holdings cultivated by peasants who own the land or have security of tenure.

(c) Relatively large holdings leased by the owner to a number of small tenants without security of tenure either openly (in some States) or by circumventing the existing laws providing for security, through shifting the tenants around at short intervals, leasing land *de facto* to 'servants' or 'share-croppers', etc.

The second category, i.e., small cultivators, though they do not suffer from insecurity of tenure, do not enjoy conditions necessary for undertaking improvements such as availing themselves of irrigation facilities or engaging in minor irrigation projects, utilising more manure and fertilisers, improved seeds, etc. They are oppressed not merely by their inherent poverty but also by their dependence on the trader and money-lender (who is frequently the same person). Being involved in a daily struggle for survival, they are not able to plan for the future.

The third category, i.e., owners leasing their land (frequently classified as having land under 'personal cultivation') is by no means more promising from the point of view of expanding production than the second. The owners will be frequently of the rentier-landlord type, not particularly inclined to introduce improvements. The

**de facto** tenants have no security of tenure and in addition they suffer, of course, from all the disabilities characteristic of small cultivators.

We shall try to outline here briefly a set of measures which would help to overcome to some extent the deficiencies of the agrarian structure that hamper the development of Indian agriculture.

With regard to increasing the viability of small holdings, it is clear that poor peasants are unable to carry out any investment or even buy fertilisers and implements without the credit assistance of the Government. It is also of great importance that they should be exempted from irrigation charges which constitute frequently an obstacle to the utilisation of existing irrigation facilities. However, no significant results from application of such measures can be expected unless the problem of the hold that the trader and money-lender has on the small peasant is radically tackled. The peasant sells a substantial part of his crop immediately after the harvest at a low price to discharge, *inter alia*, his obligations to the money-lender and at a later period buys grain for consumption or seed at high prices, and again gets into debt. A Government Corporation should buy and sell agricultural produce at fixed prices throughout the year thereby eliminating seasonal fluctuations. (Traders must not be used as agents for this operation because in such a case not much would be actually changed in the present set-up.) The Government should also grant through appropriate channels short or medium term credits to replace the activities of the money-lender. It is only in this way that the small peasant will achieve a degree of economic security necessary for undertaking basic improvements on his holding. The enforcement of ceilings for rents is also important in this connection.

Let us turn to the problem of relatively large holdings which are **de facto** leased to tenants without security of tenure. A solution of this problem may, I think, be a properly scaled progressive land tax. The tax would have to be so high per marginal acre of relatively large holdings as to force the owner either to cultivate the land economically by introducing the necessary improvements or to sell a part of it. In the latter event, a mortgage bank would have the priority to buy the land. It would, in

turn, sell this land to the actual cultivator (tenant without security of tenure, 'servant', 'share-cropper') on instalment credit, the respective annual payments not exceeding the rent paid by him presently. (A more straightforward solution of the problem would, of course, be to grant security of tenure to all **de facto** tenants. Such a reform would, however, encounter considerable practical difficulties, given the present set-up in the countryside.)

It should be emphasised that the implementation of the measures outlined above offers a splendid opportunity for starting a vigorous co-operative movement among the small peasants which would greatly facilitate the drive for expanding production on their holdings.

An increase in total agricultural output at 4 per cent per annum would provide adequate supplies of foodgrains, oilseeds, sugarcane and cotton to sustain an annual rise of 5 per cent in national income. Nor does the expansion of corresponding production of manufactures raise any difficult problem. Thus, in addition to foodgrains, adequate supplies of vegetable oil, sugar, (mostly in the form of gur) and cotton cloth could be made available. The consumption of all necessities would increase by about 4 per cent per annum, which seems to be in proper relation to the rate of the growth of national income.

Even though adequate facilities for manufacturing necessities (as for instance, cotton cloth) are provided by the Plan, the problem of full utilisation of these facilities may arise. Should a semi-monopolistic increase in prices take place, the demand for the product in question will be restrained and the capacities will not be used to the full extent. The consequences will thus not differ from those of physical shortage. Thus, in addition to making provision for an adequate capacity to produce, control over the prices of necessities will have to be exercised. On the other hand, it should be noted that price-control without adequate facilities for production does not solve the problem of supply of necessities at stable prices. Indeed, such a situation is characterised by shortages, haphazard distribution and black markets (unless, of course, comprehensive rationing is introduced, which seems unlikely to function properly in a country like India).

Let us now turn to the second basic

problem, namely, that of restraining the consumption of non-essentials to provide sufficient resources for financing of investment. The Third Five-Year Plan involves an increase in the relative share of home financed investment in the national income, approximately, from 8 per cent in 1960-61 to 12 per cent in 1965-66. If, however, consumption is not restrained by taxation, the rate of saving is not likely to increase significantly. It is true that to the rate of increase in the national income by 5 per cent annually there would be a corresponding annual rise in the consumption of necessities by 4 per cent only. However, this would be made up by a higher rate of increase in the consumption of non-essentials so that total consumption would expand approximately *pari passu* with the national income. To enable the rate of saving to increase from 8 per cent to 12 per cent in the course of the Third Five-Year Plan, the rate of increase in non-essential consumption should be kept down to approximately 4 per cent per annum. Thus, it should not exceed the rate of increase in the consumption of necessities which it certainly will, if not restrained by taxation.

The necessary curtailment of expenditure on non-essentials could be achieved most equitably by an increase in the progressive income-tax. Unfortunately, apart from taxation of salary earners, the income tax is very ineffective in India because of widespread evasion. However, the existing income-tax may be supplemented by direct taxes which could not be easily evaded and which would also perform in part some functions other than those of restraining the consumption of non-essentials. The most important of such taxes is the progressive land tax whose effect on agrarian conditions in a direction beneficial to the development of agriculture was outlined above. Next may be mentioned the tax on agricultural rents. Further, the profits on imported articles should be intercepted by means of raising the duties up to the level of the difference between the actual internal market price and the import price. Finally, taxes on commercial premises, factory buildings, and high class residential buildings may be considered which would stimulate, *inter alia*, a more intensive use of the existing space in trade and industry while economising on new construction,

and help restrict the building of luxury apartments. However, the above taxes cannot by far be expected to restrain non-essential consumption to the extent postulated above. The problem has to be solved to a substantial degree by means of additional excises and duties on selected non-essentials.

In order to put into proper perspective the problem of curtailment of the consumption of non-essentials, it is useful to say a few words on the importance of this consumption as compared with the expenditure on necessities.

A preliminary inquiry into this subject was carried out on my suggestion by the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission. In the expenditure on necessities were included the following items : foodgrains, potatoes, spices, vegetable oil, hydrogenated oil and ghee, gur and sugar, fluid milk and dahi, sea-fish, salt, cotton-cloth, soap, soft coke, firewood and dung, kerosene oil, matches, housing, transport and communication. It should be noted that each item was evaluated at the price of low grade varieties: the value of rice was obtained by multiplying the tonnage by the price of coarse rice; the value of cloth was evaluated similarly by multiplying the yardage by the price of coarse cloth; for fats was substituted a vegetable oil equivalent and for sugar a gur equivalent; finally, by the same token, the expenditure on housing, transport and communication was not fully included in necessities. It is clear that in this way the price differentials between higher and lower variety of the respective items were classified as a part of non-essential consumption.

The result of the inquiry is rather striking: it appears that necessities in the above sense constitute only about 55 per cent of the consumer expenditure on goods and services, so that about 45 per cent fall in the category of non-essentials. On this basis, the required reduction in the expenditure on non-essentials in 1965-66 as compared with what it would be otherwise is of the order of 10 per cent. As mentioned above, even after such a curtailment, non-essential consumption would still increase from 1960-61 to 1965-66 at about the same rate as consumption of necessities (i.e., by about 4 per cent per annum).

Assuring an adequate supply of necessities and restraining the expenditure on

non-essentials to the extent necessary for essentials is appropriately restrained). The financing of investment are, as said above, the two basic pre-requisites of financial stability. It should be noted that the fulfilment of these two conditions does not exclude financing of Government investment by loans. Indeed, it appears that even after introduction of the taxes suggested above, private saving will appreciably exceed planned private investment (as is the case at present). This difference is to be absorbed by public projects and to this extent it will be necessary for Government to finance its investment expenditure by loans.

In this connection it is sometimes asked: How can Government 'get hold' of private savings in order to use them for financing of investment? The question is wrongly framed. One should rather ask: How can Government restrain private investment to the level allocated to it in the Plan? If government succeeds in this private savings over and above private investment may be absorbed by Government investment without causing inflationary pressures (of course, on the assumption that the supplies of necessities are adequate and the consumption of non-

essentials to the extent necessary for essentials is appropriately restrained). The absorption of private savings by Government investment will proceed automatically. Indeed, to the extent to which this does not happen by direct purchase of Government securities, the savings will manifest themselves as increase in the indebtedness of the banking system, inclusive of the Reserve Bank, to the private sector (i.e., the increase in the excess of cash and deposits held by the private sector over banking credits granted to that sector). The counterpart to these savings is the increase in indebtedness of the Government to the banking system. It is in this way that the Government 'gets hold' of private savings through this system.

As to the problem of checking the excessive buoyancy of private investment, a variety of methods may be applied. Taxes such as referred to above and others devised specially for this purpose (rather than for the sake of curtailment of non-essential consumption); selective restrictions on bank credit; and last but not the least, direct measures such as licensing—all come into consideration and may supplement each other.



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**Africa is Transformed**

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., writes in *Vigil*,  
July 16, 1960 :

Greetings to the Mali Federation, which became independent recently! Greetings to the Congo, which became independent last week! And, greetings to the new Republic of Ghana! Africa is transformed.

Mali and the Congo symbolise the extremes of African change. The independence of the Federation is the result of a long, orderly development without any frontal attack on the previous colonial Power, France. The independence of the Congo is sudden, without planned political preparation, and arising, in the first instance, from a violent clash with the Belgian authorities. These different origins will inevitably colour immediate events, though within a decade one may expect little difference in the pattern of the two States.

Consider the story of the evolution of Senegal and French Sudan which form the Mali Federation. First, as a part of French Equatorial Africa, they were politically integrated with France. Then, when President de Gaulle formed his French Community, they became self-governing internally. Fifteen months ago they decided to federate. Now they attain independence.

Their political leaders have assimilated much French culture. I knew Leopold Senghor, the President, many years ago in Paris. He was characteristically French—gay, a poet, a politician. I remember a day of intense debate at a socialist conference. Then we went to a night club. The African orchestra was playing one of Senghor's songs.

The other leaders are French as well as African in their mould of thinking. Lively Modibo Keita, the Federal Prime Minister from Sudan; M. Mamadoudia, Senegal's socialist economist, the Deputy Prime Minister; Maderia Keita, Sudan's Leftist Minister of the Interior; Doudou Thiam, Senegal's conscientious Minister of Finance; Tidjani Traore, the capable Federal Minister of Information. All these are French trained politicians.

They will make economic treaties with France, perhaps defence treaties. They will seek to build an African entente with the other independent States emerging from French West and Equatorial Africa, ex-

tending perhaps to Togoland and the Cameroons.

This grouping will not associate easily at first with the Pan-Africanism which is sweeping over the rest of the Continent. France is not popular in Africa because of the Algerian war, and because the States within the French sphere, except for Guinea, have put the brake on the drive to independence and the full expression of the African "personality." Time will heal these differences.

The story of the Congo is the opposite. The Belgians excluded the African people from Government and administration. Only in the last few years was there a beginning of democracy even in local affairs. The irresistible claim for independence seemed to come overnight. Wisely the Belgians read the writing on the wall.

From across the borders of his dictatorship in Central Africa Sir Roy Welensky has denounced Belgium's "bailing out" as a political swindle, but the consequences of resistance to independence would have been far worse. Violence, repression, hatred would have mounted. Finally, the Belgians would have had to flee from the country. As it is, the new African Prime Minister had promised the French residents security and invited them to stay.

Not that the course of the Congo will be easy. The difficulties Patrice Lumumba had in forming his new Government illustrate the clash between tribal and national loyalties which is deep-rooted. A constitution will be needed which gives a satisfying autonomy to the large and self-conscious African communities held together by Belgian forces but now liberated to work out a basis of association by agreement.

The preliminary success of Patrice Lumumba in overcoming the opposition of Joseph Kasavubu and the Bakongo tribesmen, on the one hand, and the tribalist Conakrat Party in Katanga, on the other, and in uniting practically all elements in the National Government is a good augury; but the coalition is uneasy and we must expect further clashes, perhaps at early point, certainly as the constitution is constructed.

Much better, however, that the African peoples of the Congo should work through these problems themselves than that they should be frustrated by artificial relation-

ships imposed on them by an alien dictatorship. One hopes that the leaders of all the parties will recognise that they have a great responsibility to all Africa in establishing a plan of harmony. A large part of the world will decide the issue of independence with speed by the success or failure of the Congo.

Patrice Lumumba illustrates in himself African ability to take responsibility despite absence of experience in legislatures or governments. He is young, only 34, slim, tall, little moustache, goatee beard; his eyes are determined, his dedication is indicated in gestures, he smiles, his speech reflects quick intelligence. Background: born in a village of mud huts, primary school, teachers' training college. The school was Protestant, the college Catholic: noting their antagonism, he became a free thinker. Clerk in a tax office, assistant postmaster. The first time he spoke for his fellows was as president of the staff association; he was eloquent and showed challenging initiative. Moved to Leopoldville,

the capital, in 1957, seeking greater independence. Became commercial director of a brewery—and formed the Congo-National Movement, appealing to the working population, irrespective of tribe. The Belgians courted him, inviting him to Brussels. Returned via the Accra All-African Congress. Back at Stanleyville, riots. Imprisoned: released after a fortnight with the prestige of a hero. Now Prime Minister with the support of 117 of the 137 members of the newly-elected Legislature. Three years ago he was a postal employee!

The Prime Minister's colleagues are of mixed political views and tribal backings. Only two of them have had University education. They've come together under the immediate inspiration of their country's independence. It may be difficult to keep them together. But Lumumba has the philosophical temperament; he keeps calm and good tempered when around him emotions flare. He may do it. All of us wish him well.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Rabindranath and the Indian Tradition

We reproduce here the following article published recently by Do Vang Ly, Consul General of Vietnam to India :

It would be difficult to separate Rabindranath Tagore the poet from his total personality, which expressed itself in various ways. Tagore has left behind him a body of works which include almost every kind of literature from lyrical poetry to politics. These works offer evidence of a mind which consciously or unconsciously was in tune with his times : he, with his less famous nephew, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, was perhaps the only painter who anticipated in India the expressionistic movement which was beginning to sweep over Europe and America—not the expressionism of Kollwitz so much as that which was an element in the works of artists such as Klee, whose mysticism (if the word may be used) was not submerged in the misery and abandon of a Europe in the later twenties or thirties. The quality of dream may be seen in Tagore's half-revealed faces, as it were, in the reticence to make absolutely public a private emotion. It was primarily in manner, in his considered departure from representation of nature as well as from the manner then termed "traditional" and loved by the majority of painters that counted.

The manner had grown primarily from a sense of nationalism; its votaries were E.B. Havell and Ananda Coomarswamy, and its principal practitioner and acknowledged leader of the group that took to it was Rabindranath's other nephew, Abanindra Nath Tagore.

This is certainly not intended to imply that Rabindranath was not affected by the spirit of nationalism. However, unlike many of his countrymen, he brought to the consideration of nationalism a mind which was surprisingly moderate. When almost all virtue lay in being nationalist to the core, and it was sinful to even question this, he showed a restraint and wisdom which were quite remarkable. In his essay on Nationalism in India, he remarked that "there is only one history—the history of man. All national histories are merely chapters in the larger one." During the evolution of the Indian nation, he observed somewhere that "the moral culture of brotherhood was limited by geographical boundaries, because these boundaries were true. Now they have become imaginary lines

of tradition, divested of the qualities of real obstacles. So the time has come when man's moral nature has to deal with this great fact with all seriousness or perish." The situation was made more serious and urgent by "the most important fact of the present age," i.e., "all the different races of men have come close together."

## Nationalism

Elsewhere, in Nationalism in the West, he cried out in anguish at the consuming spirit of nationalism. "Man, the person must protest for his very life against the heaping up of things where there should be the heart, and systems and policies where there should flow living human relationship."

In a poem entitled 'The Sunset of the Century,' Rabindranath comments :

"The hungry self of the Nation shall burst  
in a  
Violence of fury from its own shameless  
feeding,  
For it has made the world its food  
And licking it, crunching it and swallow-  
ing it in big morsels,  
It swells and swells.  
Till in the midst of its unholy feast descends  
The sudden shaft of heaven piercing its  
heart of grossness."

In this poem Rabindranath has commented on nationalism explicitly. This is naturally not so in his other poems, where man in his spiritual context is of course invariably the central theme—in accordance with the traditional Hindu mysticism and metaphysics. Before going to his poetry, and to his interpretation and involvement with the tradition as he saw it, it may not be out of place to dwell for a time on the Hindu way of apprehending the spiritual.

Indian literature even from the time of Rig-Veda is characterized by a conviction that man's discovery and realization of the self is the ultimate purpose of living; that the universe is but the manifestation of what he called the world soul.

Consider : From some unknown desolation the Aryans suddenly arrived in history. They were nomads and they appeared to have some pastoral poetry. The quality of verse and imagery in the Rig-Veda seems to contain a tale. In the beginning the Aryans naively wondered :

"Where goes the sun by night?  
Where is the moon by day?  
What lies behind the sky?  
Why don't the stars fall down?"

But when they had perhaps been settled for some centuries in the fertile plains of India, the primitive tenor of the natural elements gave place to a sensuousness, and a new dawn appeared in the sky, and the Gayatri Hymn, which has been repeated by the Hindu ever since it was written over 2,000 years ago, says :

"May we attain that excellent  
Glory of Savitri the god  
That he may stimulate our thoughts."

Slowly the Aryans imbibed the culture and wealth of the restless Dravidian mind, and adopted the philosophy of the universe (*samsara*) : a man is born, and born again, as is his Karma (quality of dead); his endeavour is, by bhakti (devotion) to attain yoga (union with the world soul). All this complexity the Aryans assimilated, and grafted it on their simplicity. Toward the end of Rig-Veda, the poetry has an abstract purity, and the metaphysics are as clean as mathematics. The hymn of creation is considered to be the noblest utterance in all vedic literature. Philosophic speculation yielded the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas and the Upanishads. The universal Reality, Brahman, manifests itself in Unreality, Maya, Man partakes of Reality; he seeks awareness of Atma (soul for realization of the Reality, for Ananda, or the final bliss, when joy and sorrow are known to be unreal).

### Epic

Indian tradition flows thereafter through the two epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. These are speculated to have been composed some two or three centuries after Christ, and there is consequently found in them a flowering out in reaction to the several precise intellectualism and austere abstraction of the later Rig-Vedic period. The acme of ethical wisdom and metaphysical statement at the time is said to have been reached in the *Bhagavad Gita*, or the song of the Lord, a small treatise in the form of a dialogue between Lord Krishna (symbol of the metaphysical absolute) and Arjuna which takes place in course of the *Mahabharata*. Renunciation for realization of Reality on the one hand, and the dispassionate doing of good in the midst of social obligations on the other for realization of the higher self, are the two alternative ways commended by Krishna.

This introduction of an alternative had its effect in the next few centuries. About 400 A.D.

the dynasty of Vikramaditya of Ujjain arose to rule India from the wider half of the peninsula to the borders of Persia, and knit the region into one political, and consequently cultural whole. This was a golden age for India. In this period, poets and dramatists flourished. In Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* (Cloud Messenger), a lover entrusts a cloud with a message for his beloved, and acquaints it with the perils and joys of the way:

"The mountain peak is mantled all about with mango coverts with ripe fruits aglisten. Colored as a comely tress thou shalt soar on high. Now the peak shall worthy wax the seeing of the mates immortal, with ripple black as breast of Earth."

The vigor of the classical renaissance stretched on to the 8th or 9th Century A.D. *Gita Govinda* by Jaya Deva belongs to that period. Gradually, art and poetry hardened to codification and rules emerged for Poetics and Rhetoric. Creativeness was dissipated or stifled in rigid conventions.

### Revival of the Old Fervor

With the coming of Muslim conquest, there was a sudden revival of the old fervor, but naturally with a pronounced religious basis. The old poetic genius regained life and forced itself out of the cage of conventions. The saint-poets such as Ramanuja, Shankaracharya, etc., all produced poetry of subtle and refined rhythms whose influences is evident in the works of Tagore, and his contemporaries. Ramanuja wrote with a mellow gentleness :

"The vessel of a thousand sins, and plunged Deep in the heart of life's outrageous sea,  
It seeks in thee the refuge of despair.  
In mercy only, God make me thine."

Jumping over the centuries we come to the period of the strong influence of the British education upon the Indians (I have particularly in mind Lord Macaulay's minute on education in 1855), that dulled the Indian genius. As a reaction to this dullness, Toru Dutt emerged from the scene, who, through her translation of French romantics into English and through her rendering of some ancient ballads and legends, helped the sub-conscious Indianness (if I may use the term) to make itself felt. She was a step to the emergence of Rabindranath Tagore; for genius, despite its unpredictability, does not come from a vacuum. It is the product of an environment. A contemporary Urdu poet by the name of Muhammad Iqbal, expressed the spirit of the times in his song, *Naya-Shiwal* (New Temple), in which he said :

"Our pilgrimage will be higher than all the  
pilgrimages of this world,  
We will raise the pinnacles of our temple to  
meet the very edge of the sky,  
We will rise every morning to sing sweet  
hymns,  
We will dispense to all worshippers the wine  
of love."

This is perhaps said with an assertiveness which was alien to Rabindranath. But it nonetheless conveys the freshness of mind in the new dawn that was lighting the eastern sky, and the response to world ferment of the sensitive Indian mind, groping forward with one hand, but with the other holding on to direction—whispering tradition.

To know Rabindranath's poetry, it would be necessary to acquaint oneself with his religious inclination in understanding of the self and the Supreme being. It would be futile to attempt to measure his work with the help of a definition of poetry or art, however comprehensive. Definitions of art follow the creation of art; with each new addition, the definition must change, which makes defining unpractical and profitless. As Rabindranath inimitably put it, in an essay on art, "In our zeal for definition we may lop-off branches and roots of a tree to turn into a log, which is easier to roll about from classroom, and therefore suitable for a text-book. But because it allows a nakedly clear view of itself, it cannot be said that a log gives a truer view of a tree as a whole."

A clue to his religious attitude and drawing upon tradition is offered in his *Religion of Man*, in which he writes: "When I look back it seems to me that unconsciously I followed the path of my *Vedic* ancestors; to me the verses of *Upanishads* and the teaching of Buddha have been things of the spirit and, therefore, endowed with boundless, vital growth, and I have used them both in my own life and in my preaching as instinct with individual meaning for me and for others, and awaiting their confirmation, my own special testimony must have its value because it has its individuality."

At a young age, a collection of "old lyrical poems composed by the poets of Vaishnava sect" came into his hands and he became "aware of some underlying idea deep in the meaning of these love poems . . . they sang of a love that ever flows through numerous obstacles between men and Man the Divine . . ." In 1877 he visited England; the poetry he wrote in this period has been described by one writer as "heart-wilderness." Tagore himself felt:

"There is a vast forest named the heart  
Limitless on all sides  
Here I lost my way."

In passing, one remark. When he was 18, a "sudden spring breeze of religious experience" came to his life and passed away, "leaving in my memory a direct message of spiritual reality." One day he says, as he watched the early dawn sun rising, "I suddenly felt as if some ancient mist had in a moment lifted from my sight . . . The invisible screen of commonplace was removed from all things and all men and their ultimate significance was intensified in my mind." The poems that followed were, he says, "the first throwing of his inner self outwards;" in them he sang of "joy of attaining the Infinite with the Finite."

The creation of Rabindranath Tagore was perhaps Creation, Conservation and Destruction, in which he has dwelt on the hymn of creation in the Rig-Veda, Brahma, the Absolute, All-Inclusive and All-Comprehending, emerges from his meditation, and utters in joy the hymn of creation; Vishnu, the Preserver, brings life and order; as he sits in contemplation on the lake of Manasarovar, Lakshmi, the world's desire, arises from the lotus.

But the sun, the moon, the stars and even the earth are tired of their daily monotonous tasks, and cry out for a new order in place of the old. Siva comes out at Brahma's instance and destroys everything. Brahma closes himself in meditation, and the cosmic night is silent.

This summarized paraphrase does not pretend to indicate the worth of Tagore's poem; it is given only to illustrate Tagore's deep root in Hindu tradition, and his belief implicit that to move forward the direction must be apprehended from tradition.

#### *Tagore's Life*

In 1900 Tagore retired to Santiniketan, where he wrote what was later translated as *Gitanjali*. Tagore's was a life perhaps best epitomized in the words of a sculptor, who remarked that an artist must make and unmake, and then remake and re-unmake. "Thou," he said in a poem:

"Who are the innermost spirit of my  
being, art thou pleased  
Lord of my life?  
For I gave to thee my cup filled with all  
the pain and delight  
That the crushed grapes of my heart  
had surrendered,  
I wove with the rhythm of colors and  
songs the cover for thy bed,  
And with the molten gold of my desires

"I fashioned playthings for thy passing hours."

But a new revelation tempered the pain and the yearning. "God finds himself by creating," he wrote in his "Stray Birds." He re-emphasized the importance given in the Upanishads to intuition for sensing and comprehension. In 'Sadhana' he wrote : "The Vision of the Supreme One in our Soul is a direct and immediate intuition, not based on any ratiocination or demonstration at all. Intellect is like a railway station, but the station platform is not our home. It is only a stop in the process of comprehending reality."

The contribution of Tagore to contemporary Indian literature may be summed up by saying that he has made Indians aware of tradition as distinct from conventions. Perhaps no better assessment could be made of his place than by using the term he is said to have used for himself—"the gardener" of Indian literature.

#### Indian Philosophy Inspired Keyserling

Count Hermann Keyserling was one of the German thinkers on whom Indian philosophy had had a profound influence.

Keyserling passed away in 1946 and his 80th birthday fell on 21st July. We reproduce here the following article on this great philosopher, by his son Count Arnold Keyserling won in Calcutta, published in *German News*, July, 20, 1960:

Most philosophers trace their work to one fundamental moment of inspiration, and try throughout their lives to develop it to its last sequence. Such was the case with Kant, who found his moment of inspiration whilst reading David Hume, and Descartes in his *Cogito, Ergo Sum*. With my father it was not a certain moment or reading: the main inspiration and the new direction of his life came through his contact with India.

Starting as a natural scientist, he had turned, by 1905, to critical philosophy and to Kant as a guidance, and so his first books were in the tradition of Kantian idealism. But, with his coming to India in 1911, a great change pervaded his whole outlook: he turned away from purely critical and scientific philosophy and tried to "philosophize with his whole being." In India, he came to understand the oneness of the universe, the interdependence of the spiritual, the mental and the empirical worlds. Forthwith, he endeavoured to find Man's place in relation to the whole cosmos, seeing in any creed, in any

special form of life or religion, only the means of attaining perfection.

The "Travel Diary of a Philosopher," (Published again in India, in 1959, by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay,) which describes his Indian experiences, found such an echo in the general public that he was asked to form a new philosophical institution in Germany, which was founded under the name of "School of Wisdom," in 1920, in Darmstadt. In one of his first speeches under the title "Oriental and Occidental Thought," he described the Eastern wisdom as the soul, the inner being, to which Western science and technology had to provide the appropriate "body."

Rabindranath Tagore, in whom my father saw the prototype of the "oecumenical" Man to come, presided over the first session of the "School of Wisdom," and they issued a joint statement that henceforth three centres—Santiniketan, Darmstadt, and a third planned at that time in China—should prepare the ground for the spiritual unification of the globe. Up to the last great session of the School in 1928, under the theme "Man and Earth," in which many of the leading intellectuals of the time participated, the School remained tuned to the same general theme.

My father's main theme of writings, up to his death in 1946, remained the ultimate self-realisation in the framework of mankind. Thus, up to the last moment, he remained true to the inspiration which India had given him.

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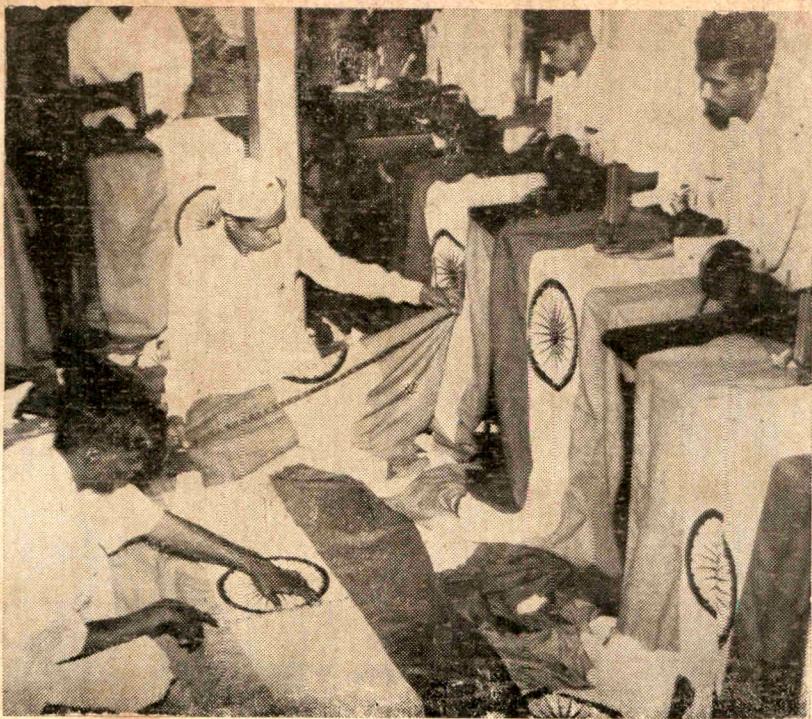
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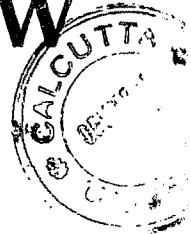
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## NOTES

### Home and the World

On the International stage, Africa still holds the centre, both with regard to the play at cross purposes being staged by the Soviets and the U.N., and also because of the role played by Premier Tshombe of Katanga, who wishes to secede and form a separate State altogether. The main forces involved in the critical position now faced by the United Nations, whose authority and prestige is at stake in its mission to restore order in the Congo, are the Western alliance—the N.A.T.O.—on the one hand, and the Soviet Union which has threatened to intervene, unilaterally, in the Congo if Belgian troops were not completely evacuated immediately. Belgium being a major member of the N.A.T.O., the other members of the Western alliance are faced with a delicate situation, and that in its turn has made the task of the U.N. officials in charge of the mission exceedingly complicated.

The Congo, though the name has been familiar to all through rhymes, songs and fables, is a little known area in the interior of Africa. The following description, taken from the **New York Times** of August 8, would be useful therefore :

The Congo, in the heart of equatorial Africa, comprises an area one-third as large as the United States inhabited by 14,000,000 blacks. They are grouped in some 200 tribes which speak at least thirty-eight different languages. The great grassy plains and almost impenetrable jungles of the Congo harbour tremendous riches. The Congo produces one-half of the free world's

uranium, 75 per cent of its cobalt, 70 per cent of its industrial diamond.

The richest of the Congo's six provinces is Katanga, in the south-east portion of the country. It is there that the Congo's principal mineral deposits are located and Katanga accounts for about 60 per cent of the Congo's entire exports, two-thirds of its electric power and more than half the revenues for the central government. Some 1,700,000 persons inhabit the sparsely-populated province, whose capital is Elizabethville. Without Katanga, the Congo's economy would be severely handicapped.

Belgium ruled the Congo from 1885 to last June 30. Belgian companies owned and ran the mines and controlled all of the country's other principal resources—the timber, livestock, rubber, cotton and fruit plantations. There were roughly some 90,000 Belgians in the Congo during the past year. Ten thousand Belgian civil servants ran the Congo's administration, 1,000 Belgian officers ran the 25,000-man Congolese army.

On the granting of Independence, after about 80 years of Belgian colonialism, towards the end of which a period of nationalist agitation set in there started a struggle for power between several factions. The chief leaders in this internal struggle were the two now in the world's news. They are, Patrice Lumumba, who has assumed the Premiership of the Central Government of Congo. 34 years of age and intensely popular in his own domain he is intent on a United Congo, his challenger is Moise Tshombe, 41 year old Premier of the Provincial Government of Katanga. Wealthy, Conservative and pro-Belgian, his election

is said to have been financed by the Belgians. The incidents following the grant of independence are best described in the following extract, also from the **New York Times**:

At the time of independence, there were 2,000 Belgian troops in the Congo. Under a treaty, never formally ratified by the Congolese, they were stationed at two specified bases pending their ultimate withdrawal from the Congo.

Within hours of independence there was a series of violent eruptions in the Congo. The 25,000-man Congolese army mutinied against their continued direction by white Belgian officers, Congolese attacked white civilians, looted their homes and there were widespread reports of rapings. Paralysis gripped the country's transportation system, commerce, sanitary, health and other vital services. There was growing unemployment and a shortage of currency.

Then followed a series of incidents which not only intensified the prevailing confusion but also enhanced the inter-tribal jealousies. The Belgians, in their 80 years of absolute colonial control, had only ruthlessly exploited this territory, of about a million square miles, without any consideration for the luckless inhabitants. As Thomas Kanza the 24 year old representative declared at the Security Council meeting, in reply to the charges of mass raping and other excesses against the Congolese, the Belgians ruled Congo for 80 years without educating a single Doctor or Engineer. Kanza said that he was the first Congolese allowed to leave Congo for acquiring higher education, and this event occurred only eight years ago. He stated that if the Congolese were incompetent to govern in a civilized pattern then the first indictment should be laid on those who trained them thus.

In the confusion that followed the widespread disturbances, a challenger appeared on the scene in the person of Premier Tshombe, who invited the Belgians to send in troops to restore order in Katanga and when response came in the shape of air lift of paratroops to Katanga and elsewhere in the Congo, he proclaimed the secession of Katanga from the Congo, on the 11th of July. This proclamation and the resultant opposition to the entry of

U. N. troops into Katanga has been and still is the greatest headache to the Secretary-General to the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld. The U.N. troops have been fairly successful in restoring law and order—at least a bare semblance of it—elsewhere in Congo but in Katanga the position is still indeterminate. The U. N. forces are meeting with obstruction and insults at every step and despite Premier Tshombe's outward polite acceptance of Hammarskjöld's proposals, there seems to be some plots brewing to stall the progress of law and order. Of course, the vital question is whether Katanga remains within the Congo of Premier Lumumba and President Kasavubu or secedes completely.

The latest news show that Dag Hammarskjöld and his top African adviser, Dr. Ralph Bunche of the U.S., are grimly holding on to their plans, despite extreme intransigence from both Lumumba and Tshombe and insolence and insults of the undisciplined mob that the Congolese army has degenerated into. The situation has been complicated further by the attitude of the Soviets, which is puzzling, to say the least in its day-to-day variations.

In the colonial territories still remaining in Africa, the Portuguese are attempting to build up another South Africa by sending in masses of emigrants from Portugal, at the rate of 40,000 a year. Mass persecution of those who are attempting to let in the light of liberty in the benighted territories of Portuguese Africa and suppression with force is the order of the day. We have reproduced elsewhere in this issue a communication from the International Commission of Jurists, a non-political and non-governmental organization which has consultative status, category B, with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. It fully illustrates the working of the minds of the anti-diluvian autocrats that rule the most backward State in Western Europe.

In the British territory of Northern Rhodesia where die-hard, last ditchers of Britain, has so far held down the Africans with the mailed fist there seems to have been a faint dawning of sense. Northern

Rhodesia's legislature has passed a law barring further racial discrimination, with a clause for compensation to those who may suffer loss of white customers by allowing Africans to trade freely, during the first twelve months.

Nyasaland, the long-strung hilly territory, which was forcibly merged into the white-dominated Central African Federation with the two Rhodesias, has been long agitating to be allowed to separate, so that the 2,720,000 Africans may work out their own destinies independent of white domination, discrimination and exploitation. Their able leader, Dr. Hastings Banda, was freed from prison over four months back, through the intervention of the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Ian Macleod. Last month there was a conference in London in which Mr. Macleod successfully put through, after 11 days of discussion, a new Nyasaland Constitution, in which the African majority was represented to a large degree—with safeguards for the minority, whites and Asians who number about 20,000 in all. As a half-way gesture it was welcomed by the African delegation.

In Algeria, the disappointed F.L.N. leaders, intensely exasperated at the sham pour-parlers at Paris, have evidently decided to go on with the desperate battle for freedom, as violence has again broken out there. It is evident that France has yet to learn that freedom's fight is always won.

Iran has been subjected to the wrath of the Arab League leaders, who have called Iran a traitor to Islam, because Iranian oil is being sold secretly to Israel. The whole affair was touched off by a remark by the Shah of Iran, at a Press Conference, that Iran does recognize the **de facto** Israeli Government though it does not formally recognize Israel.

In Asia, there has been a sudden **coup d'état** in Laos where a paratroop captain has seized power at the administrative capital, Vientiane. The position is rather obscure as yet but the move seems to have been actuated by anti-Americanism. How far there will be a change in the authority,

over the entire area of Laos, is indeterminate as yet.

In the Americas, the organization of American States is meeting, at the time of writing, at San Jose, Costa Rica, to decide on the course of action to be followed in order to deal with problems that are affecting the New Hemisphere consequent on Cuba's unilateral action in dealing with the U.S. properties in Cuba and the threats from the Soviets to intervene on Cuba's behalf against the U.S. What will be the outcome of the conference is impossible to predict but if an unanimous warning is given to Cuba, against allowing its territory to be used as a penetration point in the hemisphere for the Soviets, then even Fidel Castro may halt his headlong course.

In Europe, or rather in the Mediterranean area, the island of Cyprus, long marked for its campaign of violence and terrorism in the cause of "Enosis", has taken another step towards consolidating independence and normalcy. At the beginning of the month of August, the Cypriotes elected the members of their national legislature, a House of Representatives with fifty seats of which, under the independence agreement, thirty-five are for the Greek Cypriotes and fifteen for the Turkish Cypriotes. The President-elect Archbishop Makarios and the Turkish Vice-President Fazil Kutchuk have firmly established their positions. The independent Republic of Cyprus, which came in its own on August 16, seems to be at last free from troubles.

In Moscow, the U-2 trials are over and the hapless aviator, Powers, captured after the plane was shot down over Sverdlovsk, has been sentenced to ten years' detention, "three of which he will have to undergo in a prison." Powers must be fully aware that this was one of the hazards of his profession, but one's sympathy goes to the members of his family.

At home, we are awaking slowly to the realization of our lamentable deficiencies in the matter of discipline and control, which are the main attributes of civilized human beings. We are still under the shock

of what has happened in Assam, the consequences of which are likely to be far-reaching, judging by the frenzy in West Bengal. The events in Assam have shown to all thoughtful persons how futile are party organizations and policies and how puerile the principles enunciated by the leaders of all parties, when faced with the degraded animal instincts of racialism and parochialism, of which linguism is an off-shoot. In Punjab, over 14,000 Akalis have been arrested, and in Assam an incompetent administration is wallowing in a helpless state in the mire of party politics.

#### The Dandakaranya Project

There seem to be some peculiar forces in action at New Delhi, putting out of gear the normal and efficient working of the administrative machinery. These forces are never seen in the open, their malevolent influences being apparent only after the mischief is done. The result has been felt for sometime through the crooked decisions and directives that are issued from time to time in certain departments, under a veil of secrecy. When the mischief is detected, it is either too late to determine who were the real culprits, or else the resultant damage is of such a magnitude as to make the ruling party or its active faction apprehensive about the safety of its hold on reins of Government. The outcome is the same, a smoke-screen of verbiage, behind which the whole affair is hidden. Public memory being what it is, all reactions to the evil such as demands for the punishment of the evil-doers and remedy for public losses, etc., die out, and the rats go on working in the dark with impunity.

The *Statesman* of August 18, carried a report on the reconstitution of the D.D.A., which seems to indicate that some such malignant influence is at work. The Prime Minister's formula for the better working of the project seems to have upset the plans of some powerful persons at present in control of the Dandakaranya project. It is a gigantic and long-term project, with plenty of scope for loot, waste and the placing of wasters, related to men at the top, in fat jobs.

The unusual haste in taking decisions

on vital matters, like the delegation of powers and "responsibilities" to different departmental heads, inclusive of the Chief Administrator and Chief Engineer, as reported by the staff reporter, seems to indicate that some parties are trying to cut out secret channels for malpractices before a capable Administrator can take preventive measures.

#### Nagaland

The Lok Sabha debated, on August 18, the recent decision of the Centre to create a separate Naga State. The question of granting autonomy for Manipur and Tripura was raised but was not given any mention in Pandit Nehru's speech on behalf of the Congress Ministry. The points made by Pandit Nehru in reply to the criticisms were fairly conclusive otherwise. Most of the speakers from the opposition welcomed this decision, the principal critic being a Jana Sangh member. The criticisms were about the name, "Nagaland" as well which, Pandit Nehru himself admitted, was not quite happy, but hardly important enough to be made an issue of during the discussions with the Naga leaders.

Pandit Nehru made it clear that Law and Order would be a reserved subject, directly under the Governor, until normal conditions were restored. In particular the Tuensang area would be directly administered by the Governor for the next ten years as expressly requested by the representatives from that locality and agreed upon therefore by the Centre. There would be an elected body, comprising representatives of all Naga tribes, to advise the Governor on administrative matters but the Governor's authority will not be curtailed in any way thereby.

The main criticisms were that the decision amounted, virtually, to a surrender to rebellion, that the State was too small to be viable and finally that it was doubtful whether it would bring peace to the locality.

The decision is certainly worthwhile in our opinion, if only to strengthen the determination of the Naga leaders, who represent the majority, by far, of the Naga tribes, to restore peace in that unhappy

area. It will further demonstrate the absurdity of the stand taken by those who are trying to hold up Phizo's claims.

THE EDITOR

### India Belongs to All Indians

So said President Rajendra Prasad recently somewhere in non-Hindi India. We are afraid, nevertheless, that the idea of an Indian Nation is slowly undergoing disintegration. We are all becoming overconscious of our sub-nationalities and very soon India will have no Indians, but only Assamese, Bengalis, Biharis and so on and so forth. The ease with which the sub-nations of India have attained "sovereignty" in their respective states under Congress rule, has given India a premonition of total break up. If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru spends more of his time in giving his views on the Congo or Sweden with a view to enable the world to gain by his wisdom, and allows the self-seekers of different States to gain in power and importance by maligning and attacking other Indians in their own States or elsewhere; Pandit Nehru may very soon have to migrate to Sweden or to the Congo as he is only a Kashmiri and not entitled to make his home in Delhi, Lucknow or Patna. Nor can he stay in Kashmir as he was born in Uttar Pradesh and possibly did not learn to speak in the Kashmiri language or dialect. President Rajendra Prasad too comes from Bihar and though the whole of India may belong to Bihar, Bihar will never belong to any but the *Bhumihars* and *Kayasthas* of Bhojpur, Mithila or Magadh. The President had said that India was one and indivisible and it belonged to everyone of them (Indians) no matter what their differences were. Very encouraging words but does any Congressman or Communist really believe in them? For India and the Indians are now guided by Congressmen and Communists, and they think India belongs to them or to the Chinese. Indians as such do not exist any longer. The Congress has converted them to State or language groups and the Communists to brain and soul washed servants of a new faith which tolerates no nationalities (with the honourable exception of Russian and Chinese). Our regional and linguistic groups are now beginning to be expansionists. *Jiska danda uska raj* in *Rastrabhasa* means, India belongs to the strongest wielders of the big stick. And, so, all groups are out to establish their "rights" by exercising

might. The break up of India is not very far off if this state of affairs continues any longer and we may even visualise the Congolese taking police action in India in order to protect the lives of the shintos of nowhere. If such thing happened then Indian history would have a chance to apportion credit to the various groups jockeying for power in India and decide whether Bihar or Assam came first in point of causing the disintegration of India. President Prasad's words perhaps have little adhesive quality and will not keep India together; for, against his words are the disruptive activities of his immediate followers and admirers who put their own advantages above all considerations of national solidarity. The Congressmen of Bihar and Assam are good examples of nation-breakers and unless India breaks them, they will surely break India.

A. C.

### Old and New : Educated-Uneducated

President Prasad said at Coimbatore that we must learn to mix the new with the old in order that our knowledge did not estrange us from our own people, who being uneducated stuck to their ancient traditions. We have not understood quite clearly what our President meant when he said all this; but history teaches us that a total break from the past is impossible psychologically unless one is removed at birth from his regional environment. We find too that however much one may educate certain people, they never truly modify their ways or outlook. Once a so and so, always a so and so, as the saying goes. President Rajendra Prasad continued this dissertation by telling the South Indian graduates that many uneducated people were in fact more educated than the educated and that it was good to learn to be educated in the uneducated manner (?). We would say, many educated people were more uneducated than the uneducated and that they were therefore more educated than the educated. . . . . When we were College Students we were taught logic and we used to quote, "Epaminondas said all Cretans are liars. Epaminondas is a Cretan. Therefore, he is a liar. Therefore what he says is a lie. Therefore all Cretans are not liars. Therefore what Epaminondas said was not a lie. Therefore all Cretans were liars . . . . . The old and the new and the educated and the uneducated open out a similar vista.

A. C.

### Independence Day

By the time we go to Press and appear in print the Independence Day will have been over. This year, in Bengal, there has been complete cancellation of all festivities in connection with the *Swadhinata Divas*. The Governor of Bengal cancelled her programme, and many clubs and institutions have called off their celebrations. Pandit Nehru, as usual, made an unnecessary and uncalled for statement and said that Independence Day had nothing to do with Assam and one should therefore not mix issues. Well, if Independence of India means that the Assamese can beat up Bengalis in Assam, some of whom do not even live in Assam proper, but in portions of Bengal which have been scissored off and added to Assam, then such Independence is fake and the Congress is also becoming a fake and untrue to its ideals by backing all kinds of anti-Indian organisations and activities in Bihar, U.P., Punjab and elsewhere. The Congress-made Independence had never really been Independence in so far as it was purchased from the British by ceding large areas of India to a new State created by the British. Even then, one was hoping that the rest of India will be one and the people will have all the freedoms that are guaranteed by the Constitution. But slowly and increasingly India is being handed over to the forces which have no desire for Indian Unity. These forces on the one hand wish to enslave all Indians economically in a semi-Communist manner by introducing State Capitalism and by allowing some selected private capitalists to complete the economic enslavement by cornering of foodgrains and other essential commodities and by depriving Indians of the rights of free enterprise by a network of controls, prohibitions, licences and permits which could be obtained only at the will of the bureaucracy. In the circumstances Pandit Nehru should call a conclave of Congressites (and hand-picked Communists too) and celebrate their own independence. The people of India have not attained independence in their own opinion and we hope they will do so sooner or later by abolishing the two major political cliques which plan to reduce India to a State of slavery to the Congress of the Communist Party of India. The *Banias* of India are also running neck to neck with the political parties to get a strangle-hold upon Indian freedom and

our people should learn to defend themselves against *Bania raj* too. In Calcutta, on Independence Day black flags would have outnumbered the national flags. Some young men had thought of putting up old baskets and brooms which are a traditional totem used by masons to chase away evil spirits while construction goes on. Our work of Nation Building is now in progress and many *bhoots* are infesting the building site, which is India. These *bhoots* or evil spirits must be exorcised before we can finish our work properly and well.

A. C.

### Political "Philosophy"?

All persons who acquire political power by force or by cunning sooner or later, begin to quibble in terms of political philosophy, social welfare, national defence or religion, as suits them, in order to justify their action in reducing the freedom and liberty of their peoples. Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan is no exception to this rule. He has begun to think that he is a great political thinker who has created new freedoms by destroying the common or garden freedoms of the people of Pakistan. He has, in his opinion, thought out a new method of establishing a democracy by starting village councils which he calls basic democracies and, he thinks, these rural or city ward councils will fulfil the requirements of a democratic form of government by adding together the local preferences of persons with a limited community outlook and thus creating greater national preferences without any national political outlook or vision. Village *Panchayets* are usually elected on the basis of local preferences which are based on considerations of a very limited value. Ten thousand *Panchayats* can never produce a scheme of public finance of national dimensions, for the reason that small electorates will always have a narrow outlook. Such bodies may, of course, grant authority to tyrants to do what they liked without understanding what they were granting. Field Marshal Ayub Khan does not like political parties because some political parties have done some harm to Pakistan. He condemns all political parties for all times for that reason. This is hardly fair on the democracies of other countries which have a better human element managing their national institutions. We have no idea

what is Islamic and what is not and we do not think that any religion has helped to set up political standards and institutions of any excellence. The history of Muslim dynasties in India and elsewhere gives us a great many examples of corruption, immorality and of crude tyranny. Aurangjib the Great Mogul was a person with an over-abundance of Islamic fervour; but he imprisoned his father and killed off his brothers. He also tyrannised his Hindu subjects and, thus, brought about the downfall of the Mogul Empire. Other Islamic kingdoms and empires have also showed us how people doing five *nawajes* daily could act in an immoral, unjust and inhuman manner. The Field Marshal of Pakistan, who is also the President and Dictator of that country, therefore, is indulging in a lot of self-deception when he declares his faith in Islamic ways and traditions, and lays claims to an original approach to a solution of the problems of public liberty and freedom.

The Field Marshal says, for example, "Sincerity and purity of thought, restraint in feelings, boldness and forthrightness in action, breadth of vision, moral integrity, sublimity, impartiality in justice, and fear of God in every walk of life are qualities without which the life of human beings and nations remains incomplete and spiritless.

"By the grace of God our nation possesses these faculties in great measure. . . . ."

While we agree that these high principles of human conduct are unchallengeable we have to admit that the people of Pakistan began their political life by rioting, killing and by committing offences against women, which did not prove the "sincerity and purity" of their thought; nor their "restraint in feelings" etc., etc. The people of Pakistan made a bad beginning and their initial political and economic failures were the result of their own distorted outlook. The Field Marshal's later condemnation of the previous leaders of Pakistan proves that his general adulation of the Pakistani character is just a boost. He said in the course of the same speech from which we quoted before: "The so-called honourable men changed parties for ministerial office with shameless disregard for the oaths taken by them in the name of God and His Prophet. . . . . The majority of political leaders with whose names we became familiar during the last 30 or 40 years held the field turn by

turn but always inflicted nothing except a new injury on the motherland. Each one of them, according to his ability spread the tentacles of either his wisdom, his simplicity or his crookedness. Every one used the country and the nation like a Guinea Pig in the laboratory of his personal desire and selfishness." After this general condemnation of "each one" and "every one" of Pakistan's leaders "during the last 30 or 40 years" the Field Marshal goes on to admire Islamic traditions and history with the outlook of a bigot and comes to the conclusion that if the Pakistanis followed his advice they would soon reach the pinnacle of political success and economic development. And it will be Islam that will achieve this.

The Field Marshal is a capable man, and he has already done some good to the people of Pakistan. The only thing that stands in the way of Pakistan's progress is religious bigotry. If the Field Marshal steers clear of bigotry and constant references to the Islamic past of the peoples of Pakistan, he may yet make those people fully civilised and progressive. The previous leaders of Pakistan exploited the religious fanaticism and bigotry of the peoples of Pakistan and thereby prevented their advancement. If now, Field Marshal Md. Ayub Khan continues in the same tradition, he may give them more of economic progress by crushing the forces of corruption; but he will never succeed in making Pakistan a modern, rational and culturally progressive country. He possibly fears that if he did not always heavily emphasise the *Islamic* nature of the people of Pakistan, they may naturally get mixed up with the people of India. This is a natural fear in people who have made their career by dividing India into two on a communal basis. But, we would like to see at least one great leader in Pakistan who would rise above such pettiness.

A. C.

#### Nehru's Assurances

Pandit Nehru specialises in making statements and giving advice *gratis* and Assurances to his own countrymen as well as to all comers. This habit of his has resulted in many useless and irresponsible pronouncements some of which have been quite innocuous and others very misleading and dangerous to his countrymen whose

well-being he is supposed to be looking after. His statements re. the Congo or Katanga, for example, have not stirred a single leaf in the forests of Africa and the Congolese and others have gone on without troubling to halt and listen to Pandit Nehru. But when Pandit Nehru said everything was safe and sound in Assam without taking any trouble to discover facts, he drove a certain number of his countrymen (Bengalis, not Kashmiris) into potential danger; for the Assamese gangsters were still at large and were functioning sporadically without any interference from the Government of India or Assam. Later on Pandit Nehru said in connection with borders security that the forces of India were in full occupation of the frontier and that things were quite secure. Immediately after that statement, the Chinese patrols infiltrated  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles into Indian territory. The only thing, therefore, that one can be sure of where Pandit Nehru is concerned, is that he will take the best part of our earnings and squander the same in the name of planning or some such irresponsibly conducted political-economic ventures. In the circumstances should Pandit Nehru remain as our Prime Minister?

A. C.

### Mr. Asoke Sen's Mission

We do not know why Mr. Asoke Sen was sent to Assam by the Central Government. Surely not to preach brotherhood, nor to make enquiries as to the identity of the criminals who committed murder, rape, arson, robbery with violence, etc., etc., in Assam against the minorities here of whom the largest section were Bengalis. Judging by the slogan "Bangal Kheda" (chase the Bengalis out) it would seem that the movement was directed against the Bengalis of Assam and other people too got a share of the atrocities by reason of their inability to speak or write Assamese. Or perhaps, they objected to the looters looting and were killed, injured and robbed as a result of their resistance to Assamese nationalism. One Maharastrian couple lost their baby in the course of the house burnings that were organised by the Assam hooligans. The hooligans were aided by some people who gave them trucks, petrol and arms and the Assam police helped to liquidate resistance by the minorities. Then Pandit Nehru went to Assam and found nothing wrong there and advised the thousands who had run away to

go back to Assam, where, the Pandit said, there was absolute security. With all this now recorded as general knowledge, why did Mr. Asoke Sen have to go to Assam? And why did he have to make statements bracketting the Bengali sufferers with the Assamese gangsters as joint participants in the incidents? That was an attempt to put a false interpretation on the incidents. No wonder the Bengali Youths burnt Mr. Sen's effigy at Dum Dum when he passed through!

A. C.

### The Palai Central Bank

The Palai Central Bank is the largest bank in Kerala and thousands of the people of that State keep their savings in that bank. The bank must have been investing funds in certain types of business during the Communist *raj* in Kerala. When the Communists were ousted by the Congress some of these investments must have turned sour due to loss of official backing. And thus good investments became bad as a result of political changes. The Reserve Bank of India had been saying nothing about the Palai Central Bank's position for many years. But after the change of Government the Reserve Bank officials began to wake up to the violations of the rules and regulations engaged in by the Palai Central Bank. And eventually the Palai Central Bank was closed down by the Reserve Bank.

Now, we would like to know what investments of the Palai Central Bank turned bad after the change of Government and to what extent the Congress Government of Kerala were responsible for the change from good to bad. We would also like to know who were the Reserve Bank officials who looked after banking in Kerala before and who were there after the change of Government. When these facts are known, we shall be in a position to judge why, how and due to whose activities and machinations the Palai Central Bank shut down. The Congress Ministers are now running to Delhi to seek Pandit Nehru's help to safeguard the interests of the depositors. Why? Guilty conscience, may be.

A. C.

### Sadhus, Leaders and Banias

Among those classes of persons who produce the largest number of fakes, Sadhus, Leaders

and Banias can be considered to be quite top-ranking. Every day one reads in the newspapers how a Sadhu was convicted of some low crime and yet the Sadhus carry on their religious endeavour in their thousands and are mostly not addicted to crime. A few bad Sadhus spoil the good name of the entire group and all Sadhus become suspect. Our leaders similarly may be largely quite good men who try to serve their people to the best of their ability. Yet a few bad men give the entire class of leaders a stinking reputation. It is, therefore, necessary for all leaders to expose their bad colleagues and to push them out of circulation as soon as they are found out. For bad leaders drive out good leaders if they get a chance; and they should never get that chance. Among tradesmen too bad Banias drive out good Banias by unfair competition and illicit activities. The ancient trade guilds, etc., kept up the good name of the traders. But today all associations of trades people have not that sense of prestige and they allow their credit to be dissipated for immediate advantages. Among India's trades people there are far too many unscrupulous dealers and the good men should now combine to drive the evil ones out.

A. C.

### Muddling Through

The British have been famous through all their history for the stupid and illogical manner in which they acted and then somehow managed to avoid disaster and emerged from the boiling cauldron of political trouble with some semblance of success and survival. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, whose parents sent him to England at an immature age, to become a **Sahib**; who became a **Sahib**, by neglecting his studies but mastering the gastro-socio-sartorial arts of English high society, and remained a **Sahib** too in so far as he always remained immune to facts and logic in spite of the close spiritual bonds that bound him to Mahatma Gandhi. In every sphere of thought and action since Pandit Jawaharlal became the Prime Minister of India, he has thought only in terms of preconceived notions and acted or neglected to act with a supreme disregard for logic, truth, justice and his own previously admitted principles. How, truly British! The Pandit's Brahmin

ancestors must feel proud of this utter **Sahib** who can dissociate himself from his environment totally and in a split second without any effort whatsoever. The Pandit, during his thirteen years of **Raj** over the peoples of India, has many acts, incidents, etc., to his discredit, which have mostly gone against his previously admitted belief, and commitments.

He began his career by agreeing to a partition of India and thus gave up the homes of millions of Hindus to the Moslems of Pakistan, in order to achieve "Independence." He has not yet stopped giving up territory to Pakistan, Portugal, China and, may be, others and, he has done this without the consent of the people concerned. He has a great faith in majorities and he always likes to sacrifice minorities for the greatest good of the greatest number. But he did not remember this when he sacrificed large tracts of India to the Moslem minorities of India who claimed a separate State.

After obtaining "Independence" the Pandit promptly changed the provinces of India into States which were more independent and defiant of the Centre than the provinces had ever been under the British. In fact, the Pandit already thinks the States are Nations with their separate language and culture, though he also thinks that India is greater than the States without troubling to enquire how. For, India without the States has no magnitude and therefore no existence. During his thirteen years of **Raj** Pandit Jawaharlal has done very great things, indeed, for the people of India. One may, of course, ask who the people of India are as against the people the States of the Indian Union. Nobody knows, but one can make a wild guess. There are many Kashmiris in India who are not Kashmiris in the sense that Kashmir is a State of India. These Kashmiris, perhaps, are the Indians we are thinking about. For, they hold many prize posts in the public and the private services and there is no unemployment among them as there is among other people. These Kashmiris are a good-looking people and they put on good clothes. Their personality therefore overflows their other

qualities and they thus get the cream of all things. Apart from these Indians, there are some **Bhumihars** and **Kayasthas** of Bihar who are also Indians. These people also are found in most lucrative jobs that are available in North India. We do not know who the Indians are in South India, but there are some who are found not only in South India but also in the northern States. So, we are wrong in thinking that all Indians belong to the States of India.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru allowed Pakistan to chase all Hindus and Sikhs out of their States; but he protected all Muslims who chose to stay on in India; though he agreed to the principle that the Hindus and Muslims are two separate nations by agreeing to the partition of India on that basis. He imprisoned the late Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee or permitted him to be imprisoned because the late Shyamaprasad challenged Muslim **Raj** in Kashmir. Of course, the Pandit imprisoned Sheikh Abdullah too at a later date.

Pandit Jawaharlal thinks that all minorities in the States can be rightly deprived of their constitutional rights by the majorities, provided the latter belonged to the Congress clique and showed respect to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. But the Pandit thinks that the Portuguese of India (if any) have a **de facto** right to owe allegiance to Portugal, though the French or the Dutch were not entitled to such privileges. The Anglo-Indians had not asked for any privilege to form an English State. Had they done so, the Pandit might have had another occasion to bring his British logic into action.

Recently the Pandit had been thinking about the oneness of the assaulter and the assaulted and, on this occasion, he used his Brahminic background by agreeing that there is a unity in point of responsibility for the action, between the murderer and the murdered, the ravisher and the ravished and the looter and the looted. As to Constitutional rights the Pandit perhaps thought that these should not be allowed to stand in the way of the spreading of Congress ideology. The Pandit has already allowed the Congress to allow food adulteration, cornering of essential articles of

consumption, black-marketing, sale of permits, licences, etc., for the provision of funds for the Congress. The Congress, therefore, is above India. Of course, where China comes in the Communist party attains a priority over the Congress.

A. C.

### Imposing Hindi

On Independence Day the President of India reiterated his recent pronouncements regarding imposition of Hindi on people who were not Hindi-speaking. Whether his reassurance was for the benefit of South Indians or for all Indians, we do not know; but if he meant that his **Raj** will spare all non-Hindi speakers from the imposition of Hindi on them, we would suggest that he began his good work by withdrawing all Hindi writers from non-Hindi-speaking areas of the province of Bihar. In the District of Singhbhum, there are no Hindi-speaking people who have not been "imposed" upon the locality by the Bihar Government. Yet there are so many Hindi-speaking officers in the District that the official medium of correspondence is Hindi. Anybody who wishes to read or take a copy of any report, remark or resume made by a Bhojpuri official, has to know Hindi or go blind into things. If this is not imposition of Hindi as well as of Hindi-speaking personnel, we do not know what President Rajendra Prasad knows about all this, at least he should know, for he worked in close collaboration with many Bihar politicians in the past who carried out this imposition and infiltration by Bhojpuris over long years. If the policy has changed now, let us see some positive evidence of it.

A. C.

### Whitewashing Goes On

The whitewashing of the Assam crimes and of the criminals and their inspirers, aiders and abettors is going on all over India as sponsored by the Government of India and their party men and sympathisers. The latest effort at putting some of the

blame on the Bengalis has been a kind of pseudo enquiries and analysis into and of the root causes of the organised attacks on the Bengalis in Assam. One alleged reason was that the Bengalis monopolised business in Assam. This is not true and if people who monopolise business in any State should be murdered, robbed and chased out then the Marwaris in West Bengal would have rather a thin time. Another alleged reason for the attack on Bengalis was their superiority complex and their inability to become one with the people of the place. If this is true, then all Brahmins all over India can be justly murdered, including Kashmiri Brahmins, as well as all foreign qualified technicians, lawyers and other degree-holders of Cambridge or London. All graduates and Matriculates of Indian Universities are guilty of this feeling of superiority and the Matriculates of Patna and Allahabad lead these "Superior" men and women. They even call themselves **Inglisman**. We do not see what good all this nonsense is doing to the Assam Government and the Assam Congress. They ought to hand over the criminals for trial according to the Law of the Land. No one must escape punishment after acting in the manner that some Assamese have. And those who financed and encouraged them must be punished too. Mr. Nehru cannot put the Law in abeyance.

A. C.

### **They Come in Cluster**

The sublime unconcern of our Prime Minister, in respect of the reckless abandon and nonchalance of his Defence Minister Mr. Menon's financial transactions, bids fair to pass into a byword. What, in common parlance, has come to be known as the 'Jeep scandal' has, as we have seen, cost us Rs. 3,136,471/-, besides the cost of litigation for ten years. At the end of the period, it transpired that the party, Mr. Menon dealt with, has had at no time the resources to cover what redemption, if any, we might have obtained from the Court. What, again, in unfortunate succession, is newspaper's headline is the Defence Minis-

try's overprovisioning and everindenting of some stores during the period 1953 to 1957.

The Public Accounts Committee has, in its report to the Lok Sabha, endorsed the adverse comments of the Auditor-General. It has referred to certain aircraft spares, which resulted in overprovisioning to the extent of nearly Rs. 35 lakhs. The Government, in attempting to justify the deals, has made its position all the more clumsy. The report, in fact, critically comments on the Government's plea that this aircraft spares ordered, though originally intended to cover the requirements of only five years, were being fully used up for ten years, i.e., the entire span of life guaranteed to the aircrafts. The Government's overzealousness in showing how judiciously and economically it used the spares, rather, exposes itself to what the report pinpoints, that when spares estimated for 5 years' last for ten years, it needs no argument to prove that it is a case of gross overprovisioning. The people who prepared an explanation like this and those who sought to pass it muster have really made a sorry mess of the whole thing. But, happily, for the ends of truth, high-ups in the administration fall into such errors and this is how people come to know of it.

The report is an illuminative study and calls for space, we cannot afford to spare. This much, however, will suffice that what the report further says, with regard to our Government's contract with a foreign Government for the purchase of some aircrafts and incidental matters, is as much distressing. It says that a review by 'a team of experts', early in 1957, disclosed surpluses in maintenance-spares to the extent of Rs. 20 lakhs. They also found that assemblies, valued at over Rs. 6 lakhs, were in excess of actual needs. Procurement on the basis of the recommendations of the manufacturers, in the case of four other items, had also resulted in overstocking to the extent of Rs. 8 lakhs.

Not in Law, but in Fact, it is Mr. Nehru's will that rules India. And in that sense, we are having a new type of democracy—it is a totalitarian democracy.

Therefore, he is, circumstanced as are with the Congress commanding the majority, our one stay and hope. Would be care to consider what disturbing effect it has upon the public mind, if people, at the helm of affairs, are suffered to play fast and loose with the exchequer? It is all well—and it is so since the days of Pericles—to cry down strikes and other manifestations of people's discontent as unpatriotic. But no ruler of men should, without perils to the trust and responsibility reposed in him, ignore the classical warning of Edmund Burke that 'if the people are in the wrong, it is not for nothing that they are in the wrong.'

J. B.

### **Yet a Ray of Hope**

In anticipation of Mr. Nehru, visiting Pakistan to sign the Canal Water Treaty, and the possibility of a discussion of other outstanding problems, which have bedeviled the relation between India and Pakistan, President Ayub Khan, in his Independence Day message, has had his say on India. "It remains to be seen," he says, "whether these talks are going to meet the same fate as several such talks that took place between Delhi and Karachi. A good deal will depend on the Indian attitude." The clear implication is that it is India's attitude, which has hitherto stood in the way of a peaceful settlement. The 'implications' settles down into a faith, when he says, "We have made every conceivable effort to go out of our way to resolve our problems with that country, even though the response from Indian leadership has very very tardy indeed." We are afraid President Ayub Khan, initially, is not fair to the 'Indian leadership', inasmuch as he has minimized its inherent difficulty as to fix up to whom to talk to for a final settlement. In thirteen years, there have been seven or eight Prime Ministers,—really difficult to remember the exact number in the stress and strain of everyday life—but Mr. Nehru may now proceed to talk about settlement with an eye to finality, because President Ayub Khan rolls into his individual person all the various sources of authority, such as to be able to say decisively, 'I am Pakistan.'

It is observable that how so the military man Mr. Ayub Khan differs from his civil predecessors on the throne, in content and quality, there is a strange affinity of accents in respect of India. It may be comprised in one sentence—India is in the wrong and hence she must appear in ashes and sackcloth to do something concrete and tangible to 'inspire confidence in her peaceful intentions.' We have, by the time, got used to such sentiments and language and do not propose to waste any breath over it. Of one thing we feel certain. Mr. Ayub Khan is earnest for a settlement with India. It is for his own interest. He has with an iron-hand put down the hitherto accepted, imposed upon, if you choose, the leaders of people. Some of them have been driven underground. He needs to have a peaceful relation with India so that there may not be any moral infiltration—political infiltration being out of the question so long as Mr. Nehru holds sway—from this side, co-operating with forces for the enthronement of a standard democracy.

Whatever it is, if, to start with, the two countries can relax the restrictions of travel and trade, it will go a long way to compose the differences, which have been doing no good to either. President Ayub Khan has to his credit the cessation of border skirmishes. He is to seriously consider if he can walk up one step more to heal up the hostile aloofness, ingeniously worked up, to divide man and man.

J. B.

### **Portuguese Colonialism**

The International Commission of Jurists sent on July, 27 a cable to the Prime Minister of Portugal requesting his personal intervention to enable Doctor Manuel Juan da Palma Carlos, a distinguished Portuguese lawyer, to leave Lisbon for Luanda, Angola, to defend persons accused of distributing a seditious publication. The trial began on July 25. Dr. da Palmas Carlos was prevented from leaving Lisbon Airport on Saturday, July 23, by the PIDI, a special police force under the personal authority of the Prime Minister of Portugal. He was given no reason for this action. A copy of the cable has been sent to the President of the Bar Association of Lisbon. The text of the cable to the Prime Minister is :

"The International Commission of Jurists, a non-governmental organization representing thousands of judges, lawyers and teachers of law in countries throughout the world, has learned that the authorities of Your Excellency's Government have prevented Doctor Manuel Juan Da Palma Carlos from going to Luanda, Angola. He is one of the leading counsel of the team defending fifty-seven persons accused of sedition. If Doctor Da Palma Carlos is not allowed to attend the trial the accused will be denied the right to counsel of their own choice. In consideration of the conclusions on Criminal law and procedure approved by the International Congress of Jurists held in New Delhi in January 1959 and the principles of the rights of the defence as guaranteed by Article 8 of the Constitution of Portugal and similar rights to free choice of counsel granted in most countries, the International Commission of Jurists expresses grave concern over this interference with the rights of the accused and requests Your Excellency to intervene with the proper authorities to permit Doctor Da Palma Carlos to serve the accused in accordance with these rights. The International Commission of Jurists has also requested an observer of Brazilian nationality to apply in Brazil for a visa to attend the trials on behalf of the Commission."

Jean-Flavien Lalive,  
Secretary-General

### Portuguese Colonialism

The following piece of news appeared in the daily press :—

United Nations, August 14.—Afro-Asian sources here fear that Portugal is attempting to convert Angola and other Portuguese colonies in Africa into another South Africa by strengthening the element of white settlers in these areas.

A recent communication from Portugal to the United Nations said that 40,000 persons were migrating from the country every year and that migration at this rate was provided for in Portugal's development plan.

The communication, in reply to an U. N. questionnaire on long-term economic projects, said that Portugal's development plan "assumes

that the average migration figure of about 40,000 persons per annum will be maintained."

The targets of the third development plan on which the preparatory work was to begin soon, according to this communication, were "subordinate to the supreme political objective underlying Portuguese policy everywhere, creation of a single economic entity as a basis for a fully integrated multi-racial community."

The communication indirectly reiterates Portugal's claim that its overseas possessions are "provinces" and not colonies in these words : "The plan covers the white national territory, that is, Metropolitan Portugal and the overseas province."

By coincidence, the Portuguese communication follows one from Ghana about the untenability of the Portuguese claim that its colonies are provinces. The Ghanaian communication was addressed to the committee of six which has to recommend to the General Assembly whether in its view these possessions should be treated as non-self-governing territories or not.

### Pandit Nehru's Speech

We append below the significant portions of Pandit Nehru's Independence Day speech :—

The Prime Minister said: "We have no desire to take anybody else's territory. At the same time, it is clear that we will not allow anybody to come on our soil or threaten our freedom (cheers). These things go together—we have to respect others and respect ourselves. If anyone talks against our dignity and self-respect, we will face him. We do not want anybody's territory nor do we want to interfere in the affairs of any other country or people in the whole world."

Shri Nehru asked the people to remember the "delicate world situation" where the atmosphere was being poisoned because of this "rattling of swords by the big and mighty" and their preparations for war. "This is a dangerous world we live in and any complacency on our part will be ruinous. We have to remember that if our unity weakens then the reins of freedom that came into our hands through years and years of hard work and sacrifice can slip out of our hands."

Shri Nehru said: "Today we have gathered here to observe the birth of India's Indepen-

dence. Thirteen years ago we observed this day when India emerged as a free nation in the world. We were happy but in reality it was not a day of happiness but of remembering our pledges to our people which we had taken during our freedom struggle. Some of these pledges were fulfilled with the advent of freedom, even so, new, sufferings and calamities came in its wake."

The Prime Minister said that with the coming of freedom, one pilgrimage was completed but "we had not come to the end of our journey."

"Another journey began to build the nation. On this day; therefore, we have to remember our old principles and our great leader, Gandhiji, from whom we received strength.

"When people become complacent and weak and forget the big issues and bogged conflicts, then this very freedom gets endangered."

Shri Nehru said that if people forgot this and kept their province or language or communalism or caste above country, then the country would face ruination and utter disaster.

"You are welcome to your province, your *mohalla* (ward), your family, but when you keep these things above the country, when you keep communalism or language above the nation, then the country will certainly fall. On this day people must remember how through the united effort of the people under Gandhiji's leadership the nation forged a 'peaceful weapon' for attaining freedom.

In a brief reference to Goa, Shri Nehru said amidst loud applause : "Let the world remember that this part of India, Goa, is always in our minds and hearts and it is merely because of our courage and not weakness and because of our desire to remain firm on our principle not to solve any problem through military means that we have stayed our hand in liberating Goa. We have this problem and we will tackle it. Let the world remember and let those who are dominating Goa today know that India will get over this problem and Goa will be freed of foreign domination."

Shri Nehru referred in passing to the "dangers on our borders" and said: "We have to pledge today to face the dangers on our borders and we will face them with all our might."

"We won this freedom through our unity and hard work. Remember that no enemy from outside can harm us if our minds are clear and we have the capacity for making united effort. No outsider can harm us but this internal weak-

ness, this internal dissension, can harm us terribly. It is because of this weakness and internal dissension that for hundreds of years, the country remained subjugated and outsiders came and dominated us. This was so not because of their (outsiders') might or power but because of our weaknesses and stupidities."

Shri Nehru said amidst cheers that anyone who forgot the country and bowed before considerations of province or language would harm the country.

"The time has come when every Indian has to realise where he stands in respect of the country. Does he stand by the country or his group? The time has come when no one can afford to live in any delusion about this. Everyone has to realise what would happen to our borders if people were to think of their groups and live in their own separate compartments."

Shri Nehru continued : "What is the first duty of any nation or country? The first duty is to preserve our freedom and strengthen it, because if we give freedom a secondary place then this freedom will collapse. We have to measure things with this yardstick alone, namely, what strengthens and maintains the freedom and unity of our country and her progress and what comes in its way."

The Prime Minister said: "We say our aim is to establish socialism, equality for all. But you cannot change things all at once. We have to take 40 crores of people with us. But we must be clear in our minds about our aim, our socialist principle, of giving equal opportunity to all to progress. We have also to remember that countries live in freedom through their hard work and only through this can we reach our goal of socialism."

It cannot be attained by magic or by reciting '*mantras*'.

"The voice of India was again heard in the counsels of the world after hundreds of years because it was the real and authentic voice of India and not merely the chanting of slogans. The people of the world heard this voice and heard it with respect."

If people were now to quarrel and fight amongst themselves in the name of language or province or communalism, would not the world think that all this greatness of India they had come to acquire a respect for, was an illusion after all, he asked.

"Today, therefore, it is not for a *tamasha* that we have gathered here but to take a pledge, to look introspectively into our hearts and minds, and ponder over actions and our duty to our country."

Addressing himself to those people who had decided not to observe Independence Day because of some "bitterness or anything else," Shri Nehru said that there might be a reason behind their bitterness, but it was quite clear that they were only allowing themselves to bog down into petty things and they were forgetting the importance of Independence Day.

Referring to the Assam disturbances, Shri Nehru said that Assam and Bengal were big provinces. There was bitterness and suffering there which had to be removed, and which would be removed. But there was no doubt that there was an element of fear behind this bitterness which did not allow the people there to tackle this problem effectively.

"Remember, that in this world there are many defects and weaknesses but the greatest defect and sin is this fear. Many defects and weaknesses in the world are the offspring of fear. If in India strength came during the freedom struggle to the people, it was because Gandhiji shed this fear from our hearts and minds. He taught us to be fearless and to strive unitedly.

"So what is this that people should be afraid of each other in Assam or in Bengal? What is this that because of this fear, people begin to think that Assam or Bengal is bigger than India? That is to forget India and by so doing they neither serve Assam nor Bengal".

Shri Nehru said that these people who had decided not to observe Independence Day were forgetting their prime duty to India and were not showing their loyalty to India. "We have to understand and make a firm declaration and take a pledge that we will remove all such weaknesses from our country."

The Prime Minister then turned to the "strange *tamasha*" going on near Delhi in the Punjab about a Punjabi Suba. This demand might be good or bad but there were many wrong things in this movement and dangerous to the freedom of the country. "The Punjabi language is a great language, a virile language and I want that every Punjabi should consider it his duty to learn both Hindi and Punjabi because if he

does not do so, he loses the real wealth in the Punjabi language. I do not understand how there can be a conflict between Hindi and Punjabi".

"It is small minds, uneducated minds who compete and come into conflict with intelligent minds. Those who are intelligent learn from others, ponder over their mistakes and try to get out of any pettiness they might have got bogged down into. Our country is big, our nation is big, our history is big. We have thousands of years of culture behind us which had good and bad things. But now we have entered a new age when we require fresh minds and strong arms and hands. In the name of province or caste or language we only warp our minds and bind our hands and feet. When we fight over petty things, we only injure the body-politic of India. Can you serve your country like this?"

"We will not allow our country to fall. That time was past for all time to come. For this reason we have to take the pledge to go on our journey, hand in hand, working co-operatively with the resolve that whoever comes in our way of marching unitedly will be swept aside. We will not tolerate small petty matters to endanger our freedom."

Shri Nehru said that the real strength of India lay in the strength of the Indian people. "You have to understand that today and realise what is your duty. Every Indian's first and foremost duty is to defend India's freedom, and strengthen India's unity."

### The President and Hindi

The following extract is from *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* of August 16 :

President Rajendra Prasad today told the people of South India that the idea behind proposed introduction of Hindi as the official language of India was not motivated by any desire "to impose Hindi imperialism" on them.

"We do not wish to impose anything on you. We are continuing our work in English and it has been authoritatively stated that we shall continue to do so as long as you wish us to do so. We shall not impose anything on you—not even English. Your wishes on the official language will be fully respected", he said.

The President was addressing an Independence Day meeting attended by over two lakh citizens of Madras at the Marina here.

In a forty-minute speech which dealt mainly with the official language problem, the *President* made special appeals to the people in the South as well as the North to understand each other's difficulties and problems.

He told South Indians : "You expect us to respect your feelings and we do so. We do not wish to impose anything on you—not even English. But please do not wish to impose on the people of North India a foreign language. We do not wish to impose Hindi on you and you should realise the importance of not imposing English on us. I am sure that just as we respect your feelings you will also respect the feelings of others."

In his appeal directed to the North Indians, the President said: "I have a feeling that, if they left the question of Hindi to be solved by South Indians themselves, Hindi would have made greater progress. The people in the North should realise that Hindi can become more of an all-India language only if the consent of the people of the South is acquired. It cannot be imposed. After all, it is a fundamental principle of the Constitution that the wishes of the minority should be respected."

The President also wanted people in the North to learn the language of the South. He said he realised that it would be difficult for everyone to learn so many languages but as far as possible, some effort should be made. People residing in different parts of the country should be able to understand each other and communicate with one another. That could be done only if they studied each other's languages.

### Assam Incidents

The same issue of *Hitavada* had an article from the pen of Shri Gorwala, from which we append an extracts below, which gives an on-lookers' view on the vexed question.

Again, if the Assamese do form a large majority in Assam, on what basis can the minorities resist their desire that Assamese should be the language used in the processes of 'ruling' of that self-government which is the common aim of both? Wisdom would dictate the acceptance of this view. If on the other hand, the Assamese do not form a large majority, their

numbers giving them only a marginal advantage, clearly they ought not to press their desire and ought to be prepared to accept the reasonable compromise of the use of both languages.

In any case, nothing can justify the outrages that have taken place, largely against the principal minority, in Assam. Those who attempt to extenuate such evil doings by talk of grievances caused by superior airs, of long-hidden inferiority complexes bursting forth into a vengeful present, do the Assamese no service. Their explanations were better left unsaid and they and the Assamese might both with advantage reflect on the characteristic of a true democracy mirrored in the following words of the famous Athenian, Pericles : "We obey the laws, more especially those which protect the oppressed, and the unwritten laws whose transgression brings acknowledged shame."

### Children as Election Agents

*The Hitavada* of Aug. 12 had the following editorial comment, which we endorse.

One of the suggestions made by the Congress Party and the Bharatiya Jana Sangh that has found favour with the Election Commission is that processions should be banned during election campaigns. Many may agree with the Commission's view that apart from being expensive, such processions often spark off trouble and tend to become 'a grave source of public disorder.' It is a common sight during election campaigns to see groups of youngsters, mostly hirelings, going about the town in processions at all odd hours and shouting slogans. Use of children and school boys for such purposes is in no way desirable. Educationists and social workers have been objecting to politicians utilising the 'services' of children for their own ends, and they feel that the sooner this practice is brought to an end, the better it would be for the mental health of children and also for our social well-being. In the interest of orderly elections and a peaceful atmosphere during electioneering, and also for making elections less costly, the suggestion may be welcomed in many quarters.

## PLATO AND GANDHI AS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHERS

By PARMATMA SHARAN M.A., Ph.D.

Head of the Department of Political Science, Meerut College.

Plato was the first great political philosopher of the West and Gandhi the greatest political philosopher of modern India. The two great philosophers have many points of similarity as well as dissimilarity. Of the two, Plato is much more systematic in his political philosophy than Gandhi. The reason is not far to seek. Plato has given to the world such great classics on political philosophy as **The Republic**, **The Laws**, **The Politicus** and a number of political dialogues. So far as Gandhi is concerned his political philosophy is contained in no single treatise. In fact, it has to be pieced together from innumerable bits of his speeches and writings dealing with the practical problems of his time. This fundamental difference in their political philosophies is due to the reason that whereas Plato was a great speculative philosopher, Gandhi was a great national leader. A comparison and contrast between their political philosophies can be made under the following main headings:

### As Idealists

Plato has rightly been called the father of idealism in political philosophy. **The Republic** portrays his ideal state, whose model is laid in heaven. It is based on the 'Idea of the State'—a perfect universal concept, different from the actual existing imperfect states of his time. In this respect Plato's thought is metaphysical. Plato worked over a theory of ideas about which C. L. Wayper says: "He saw in the actual world a constant flux, a perpetual flow of ever-changing appearances . . . The permanent character of anything he calls the Idea . . . An Idea in Plato's sense is not part of the world of time and space. It is eternal, it is the final and independent reality. Because it is eternal it must be different from the object in which it appears. The Idea of a horse will be different from any particular horse."<sup>1</sup>

Thus according to Plato, the world of Ideas is the real world. His Ideal State is to be governed by the philosopher-kings who have attained the true knowledge of the Idea of the Good.

Gandhi's political philosophy is also based on certain metaphysical principles. For him the ultimate object of a man's life is self-realization i.e., realization of the Absolute Truth. His other assumption is that man is spirit rather than body. Further, he is a firm believer in God, who, according to Gandhi, "is that undefinable power which we all feel but which we do not know."<sup>2</sup> To him God is Truth and Love, and Truth is what the voice within tells him. But Gandhi reconciles the goal of self-realization (or attainment of 'Moksha') with service to mankind. From these assumptions it is quite clear that Gandhi's political philosophy has a metaphysical basis.

Thus both Plato and Gandhi approach political problems from a moral standpoint. It may be said that while Plato is idealistic in his approach, Gandhi's approach is spiritualistic. However, both are moral philosophers. For Plato the State was not only the highest moral organisation, but a moral organism in which politics was not separated from morals and religion. In the present world of power politics and diplomacy, Gandhi is rightly credited with having based politics on religion. It has been aptly remarked that he spiritualised politics and secularised religion. Another aspect of his great contribution in this field is his theory of non-violence and the technique of **Satyagraha** based on truth and non-violence.

### Their Best States

Both have given their conceptions of the Ideal State. The goal of Plato's Ideal State, as depicted in **The Republic**, is the happiness of all. In reply to the accusation that under the prescribed conditions the guardi-

1. C. L. Wayper : *Political Thought*, pp. 18-9.

2. *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 3.

ans would not be happy, Plato makes Socrates reply "Our object . . . is not to make one class pre-eminently happy, but to make the whole State as happy as it can be."<sup>3</sup> Another end of his Ideal State is the achievement of unity. Gandhi also believes that the ultimate end of ideal society is the 'greatest good of all' i.e., **Sarvodaya**. Gandhi was also a firm believer in the ideal of unity, at the altar of which he became a martyr.

But despite the above similarities, their conceptions of the Ideal State differ in important respects. Plato's Ideal State is to be governed by the philosopher-kings —the wisest and most virtuous few. They are not to be bound by any laws, which in Plato's opinion, are rigid and conventional. His Ideal State is thus a monarchy; or at best an aristocracy, in whose government the common people have no share. This was the remedy suggested by Plato for the great evils of incompetence and factionalism so rampant in the democratic state of Athens. This clearly shows Plato's distrust in the wisdom of the common man and also reflects his low opinion for democracy.

As opposed to the above, Gandhi's best State is no state at all. It is an ideal stateless society based on non-violence. It is in this sense that Gandhi was a philosophical anarchist, who wrote in 1931: "To me political power is not an end but one of the reasons of enabling people to better their condition in every department of life. Political power means capacity to regulate national life through national representatives. If national life becomes so perfect as to become self-regulated no representation is necessary. There is then a State of enlightened anarchy. In such a State everyone is his own ruler."<sup>4</sup>

Here a brief reference to their attitudes to law and individual freedom may also be made. In his Ideal State Plato awards a very low place to law; although in his

second best state depicted in **The Laws**, as the name of the book itself indicates, laws are made sovereign. So far as individual freedom is concerned, there is very little scope for it in Plato's Ideal State, which is to be ruled absolutely by the philosopher-kings. But Gandhi is an out and out advocate of individual freedom as should be obvious from his belief in the ultimate goal of a stateless society. To the question whether all legislation is violence, Gandhi replied that legislation imposed by people upon themselves is non-violence to the extent it is possible in society. It may also be added that in Plato's ideal as well as second best states life of the people is controlled and regulated by the State in so many ways, e.g., marriage, population, property, education, etc. But Gandhi is opposed to all forms of regimentation and recommends in most cases the method of self-control.

### Their Second Best States

As already said, Plato's second best state described in **The Laws** is a Law State having a mixed constitution. It is, as it were, a half-way house between his ideal and the actual states of his time. The State is very small both in area and population. It has an agricultural community and is situated off the beaten track. It is governed by such institutions as the Popular Assembly, the Council, Guardians of the Law and the Nocturnal Council, etc. The second best state of Gandhi's conception is a predominantly non-violent form of democracy, in which military, police, and courts of law have their place in keeping with the facts of life. In it power is very much decentralised; the state being organised in the form of a pyramid with a broad base of self-sufficing village republics. Thus we find that the ideal of self-sufficiency and the principle of representation are dear to both the philosophers.

### Justice and Dharma

One of the most fundamental principles of **The Republic** is Plato's conception of

3. Laidler : *Social and Economic Movements*, p. 13.

4. Quoted by N. K. Bose in 'Studies in Gandhism,' p. 67

justice. It is not, in the least, a legal or commonly understood concept. It is a principle of specialization of functions, according to which the three classes of Society in the Ideal State perform functions prescribed for each one of them. E. Barker writes: "The justice of the state is the citizen's sense of the duty of his station, issuing before the world in public action; such a conception of justice is the final and ultimate answer to the individualism in life and in theory which Plato combated."<sup>5</sup> This principle is intended to ensure harmony in the state by ruling out rivalry between the three classes of people. Thus it is, in short, a moral principle and a human virtue. But Plato's three classes are neither hereditary, nor are they, in any sense, like the castes of Indian society. Gandhi was a believer in the true 'Varnashram-Dharma', i.e., the four varnas or classes of peoples in the Hindu society performing their allotted duties. But he was opposed to the prevailing caste-system based on birth and characterized by the evil of 'high and low'. So Gandhi also emphasized the performance of duties. He says: "In Swaraj based on Ahimsa people need not know their rights, but it is necessary for them to know their duties . . . rights of citizenship accrue only to those who serve the state to which they belong."<sup>6</sup>

It would not be out of place if we compare Plato's conception of Justice with the Hindu concept of 'Dharma.' It is true that both the philosophers emphasize the performance of their duties by individuals. But while Plato's justice is mainly a political and social phenomenon dealing with the life of man to man, the Hindu concept of Dharma is a moral principle of life applicable to whole life in this world as well as in the next.

### Education

Both the philosophers have laid a very great emphasis on the role of education in the reformation of society. Plato has

given such a detailed scheme of education for the guardians in **The Republic** that some commentators have called it a treatise on education. While education in **The Republic** is a handmaid of justice, it is the handmaid of self-control in **The Laws**. Plato's scheme of education aims at the harmonious development of all faculties; but it is controlled and regulated by the State. But Gandhi, taking into consideration the peculiar conditions of his country, gave to his people the scheme of Basic Education. Its object is the physical, intellectual and moral development of the children through the medium of a handicraft. The State is only expected to propagate and aid the scheme.

### War and Peace

The views of Plato and Gandhi in this respect are very similar. Plato was opposed to all wars of aggression; he justified only defensive wars. According to him, a war between Greek City States was not a war proper. He also laid down that Greeks should not enslave Greeks. This shows that he had an idea of a Greek society different from and also more civilised than the non-Greeks. However, he could not conceive of a world society. On the other hand, Gandhi was a true citizen of the world and the greatest advocate of peace and non-violence. He was an ardent nationalist, but at the same time a true internationalist in his outlook. He says: "My love of nationalism or my idea of nationalism is that my country may die, so that the human race may live."<sup>7</sup>

### Women

In his views about the role of women, Plato was very far-sighted. Plato considers women as equals of men in all respects; so they can be as good guardians of the State as men. So far as their education is concerned, there is to be no difference. But his views about family life so far as guardians are concerned, are not only very different from the conventional ones but

5. *Greek Political Theory*, p. 177.

6. *India of My Dreams*, p. 19.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

also quite novel. He recommends a sort of community of wives, i.e., guardians are not to lead a married family life, in abolishing which he has two aims—emancipation of women and reform of marriage. His first aim is highly laudable and is in line with the modern view. Gandhi also deserves the credit for the emancipation of Indian women from the four walls of their houses. But Gandhi believed that man and woman are complementary to each other, though, in no way, the one is inferior to the other. He says: "The women keep and manage the homes. They supplement the meagre resources of the family, but man remains the main bread-winner . . . . The division of the spheres of work being recognized, the general qualities and culture required are practically the same for both the sexes."<sup>8</sup> This is why Gandhi also says: "Woman can run the race but she will not rise to the great heights she is capable of by mimicking man. She has to be complement of man."<sup>9</sup> Gandhi believed in monogamous marriage and usefulness of family life. In this respect Plato also revised his views later, as is clear from a study of *The Laws*.

### Economic Ideas

In *The Republic*, Plato prescribes a kind of communism of property for the guardians. It was his conviction that those who possess political power should be deprived of the economic power. So the guardians are not to have any property or house of their own. He writes: "Gold and silver, we will tell them that they have from God; the diviner metal is within them."<sup>10</sup> That the guardians may not be thus corrupted they must be a class apart, consecrated to high and noble ends; they must be in the world but not of it; . . ."<sup>11</sup>

Barker rightly points out that Plato's communism is ascetic, a principle of self-abnegation. At the same time it is aristocratic; because it applies only to the two upper classes. It is very much different from modern forms of socialism or communism which aim at a more equitable and fair distribution of material goods. Plato's State in *The Laws* also controls acquisition and distribution of property.

Gandhi is thoroughly socialistic in his attitude, although he does not want the State to bring about any kind of socialism. According to him, every individual should be free to follow any trade or occupation, but his means of earning livelihood should always be pure and honest. Further, no individual should lead a life of luxury and keep more wealth with him than is necessary. He is an advocate of the theory of non-possession (*Aparigraha*) and trusteeship. The theory of trusteeship means that a mill-owner or a *zamindar* should consider himself as a trustee of his surplus wealth which should be used for the benefit of the workers or the peasants. Disagreeing with the Marxian theory of class-war, Gandhi recommends the non-violent way of converting the hearts of the wealthy people. Gandhi also advocated a very simple life for the people and he was against all kinds of exploitation.

### Their Contributions

Plato's most characteristic ideas are: (i) rule of the philosopher-kings; (ii) scheme of higher education; (iii) the principle that political and economic powers should not be united in the same hands; (iv) that there is no material difference between the capacities of man and woman; and (v) the principle of justice. Gandhi's greatest contribution to political thought and practice is his technique of *Satyagraha*. Other important contributions of Gandhi are: (i) all men and women are equal and (ii) peace is the highest ideal for which all human beings should work.

8. *Selections from Gandhi*, p. 272.

9. *India of My Dreams*, p. 65.

10. *The Republic*, Bk. III (Jowett's Translation, Vol. 3), p. 106.

11. A Gray : *The Socialist Tradition*, p. 18.

## SOME POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE BEQUESTS OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA

BY PROF. HARIDWAR RAI, M.A.

*Department of Political Science, Patna University.*

### I

"THE three hundred and fifty years the English spent in India", says Philip Woodruff "make one story, but a story which unfolds itself like a stage play in a series of acts".<sup>1</sup> This play, it may be added, sometimes tragic, sometimes comic, but eventually ending in tragi-comedy, produced both positive and negative results. However, for evaluating some of the positive results of the British rule it is not obligatory to accept the untenable thesis of "White men's burden" that was enunciated by the proponents of colonialism to make their rule look respectable to peoples of colonies. The thesis was intended to justify the colonising efforts of the British as "a responsibility" of the Victorian conscience to bring "light to the benighted Hindus abroad".<sup>2</sup>

Negatively, the British Rule in India, kept people chained in slavery and made them forget their sense of honour and responsibility. It exercised an immense demoralising and pulverising influence. It undermined the traditional economy of India. Traditional institutions and methods for deciding and settling disputes were replaced by new ones. Ancient village institutions were deprived of their powers and authority by the new centralised government. The Indian village ceased to be self-governing and became, instead, a unit and part of the single administrative system. Besides, the State machinery that accomplished this task remained legally and technically responsible to the British Parliament and not to the Indian people whom it governed. "They constituted" says Dr. Desai in

his book *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* "the inevitable undemocratic feature of the State structure set up by the British in India."<sup>3</sup> The new State was historically the offspring of the British conquest of India and was designed to subserve the political, economic and strategic interests of the British Empire.

Two American scholars, in an article, published in the *Public Policy* (1959) have assessed the results of the British Rule in India. Among other things, they maintain, "The forces of the indigenous economy, which rested heavily on handicraft self-sufficiency, were badly damaged while local entrepreneurship, for reasons of psychological outlook, financial resources and competitive disadvantages, among others, were unable to turn the new conditions to India's advantage. The relative weakness of technical, scientific, and managerial training in the new educational institutions meant that when independence came and the State was prepared to play a role in the economy, India was deficient in these key areas."<sup>4</sup> As primarily a peasant society, the Indian State lacks a stratum of highly-skilled industrial workers, technocrats and administrators used to the exercise of initiative and responsibility. The British system of education and economy created a widespread gap between the most powerful and most wealthy—plutocrats and quasi-feudal land-owners—on the one hand, and the least powerful and the poorest on the other. It has heightened the sense of separateness between the modern section of the population and the more traditional, less educated or utterly uneducated strata. This attenuates the sense of affinity necessary for the development of a modern political society and hampers its further growth. "It makes for mutual alienation and

1. Woodruff, Philip, *The Men Who Ruled India*: The Guardians (London, 1954), p. 13.

2. Rudolf, L.I. and Rudolf, S.H., *Towards Political Stability In Underdeveloped Countries: The Case of India*, published in *Public Policy*, (1959) Year Book of the Graduate School of Public Administration, (Harvard University), p. 152.

3. Desai, A.R., *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (Second Edition, 1954), Bombay, 144.

4. Rudolf and Rudolf, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

a failure of mutual identification.”<sup>5</sup> Guy Wint divides British action in India into two compartments, destruction and creation. “In one of its guises” he observed, “British influence . . . was one of the principal disintegrating forces which have ever been turned upon an old society. It hampered and pulverised, transforming the ancient body of customs and public opinion which in the last analysis is what causes men to act as they do as members of society. It broke many of the old links between man and man and left man as so many separate atoms, and the problem ever since has been to bind them up again into society by new principles”.<sup>6</sup>

## II

When the East India Company assumed the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, it found that there was a complete break down of law and order. Anarchical elements had taken possession of the situation after the collapse of the Moghul Empire: The rest of the country was also thoroughly fragmented and there were no political institutions worth the name. The lack of a sense of nationalism, the disposition of the Indian to think of himself as belonging to a caste or a religious community rather than to a country or nation, made the British conquest possible. Therefore, the restoration of law and order and the liquidation of anarchical elements was the first major task before the East India Company. This necessitated the establishment of a distinctly new type of State structure—highly centralised and ramified in the remotest corner of the country. Even in the villages there was upheaval. Former invasions and administrative changes had left the peasant life more or less unchanged. “When the British administration was set up”, says Wint, “it was found that in parts of North India the rural society consisted virtually of a federation of village republics ruled by the Panchayats, served by hereditary village officers and hereditary police and lightly presided over by the monarchical government and so, apparently, it had been for centuries”.<sup>7</sup>

5. Shiles, Edward, *The New States*, published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*.—An International Quarterly, Vol. II, No. 3, April, 1960, p. 271.

6. Wint Guy, *The British in Asia* (Faber and Faber, Ltd., London, 1946), p. 55.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

Under such circumstances, it was not possible for the British to enjoy the results of their conquest. Political unification and maintenance of law and order were, therefore, the imperative necessity. But there were two main obstacles in the way of political unification. First, the Indian villages were self-governing entities and the Panchayats formed the real government of the village population; and secondly, the country lacked a unified national economy and efficient and well-organised means of communications.<sup>8</sup> Naturally enough, the people were not socially and economically integrated. In the words of Dr. Desai, India was “a geographical and cultural continuum”.<sup>9</sup>

Under the British, India was governed for about one hundred years under a unitary system. The whole country was brought under the umbrella of a single political rule. This period coincided with the rapid development of all means of communication. The British regime affected the very roots of national life. The new government, its vigorous hands reaching everywhere, touched and destroyed the age-old institution which had been the centre of rural Government. Instead of governing the rural areas through the hierarchy of petty hereditary officers, it decided to substitute for them “a new corps of petty bureaucrats, appointees of its own, and in a little while the whole hierarchy melted away; the work of Panchayats was transferred to government officers and judges and, therefore, they ceased to meet”.<sup>10</sup> Thus the centralised State which was, in the words of Dr. Desai, “a historically progressive act”<sup>11</sup> produced what Wint describes as “the worst feature of Indian Social Life”; that is, “the lack of natural cohesion and of social action by the people themselves”.<sup>12</sup>

## III

Restoration of law and order and elimination of anarchical elements were achievements of great importance. But what is of even greater importance is its by-products which distinguished the British rule from earlier governmen-

8. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

10. Wint, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

11. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

12. Wint, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

tal systems in India. The first was the introduction of the rule of law. Government by law has been the peculiar mark of English political practice and influence. Sir Percival Griffiths, a former member of the Indian Civil Service, has written in his book *Modern India*: "This doctrine which binds the Government as much as the subject to justify its action in the courts was a typically British contribution to the Indian polity and was, in fact, a complete negation of the absolutism which characterised all earlier periods of Indian History."<sup>13</sup> There is no gainsaying the fact that earlier governmental systems were absolutist. Political rights and civic liberties have no place in those systems. The governed had no agency to influence the government of the day. Criticism of activities of government was construed as sedition and was dealt with as such. "The old link between man and man had been fear or personal loyalty; the new link (established by the British) was by means of institutions."<sup>14</sup> Government in the past were institutionalised in the persons of the monarchs. The result was a personal institution which, in the very nature of things, sacrificed the person. Instead, the British established an institutionalised impersonal government.

The most important corollary of the rule of law is the equality before the law. This was also a singular British innovation in India. "Law in the East", has remarked Wint, "had meant as a rule a traditional custom, not easily altered, but under the British it became a rational system which was understood to be changeable to meet changing needs."<sup>15</sup> This view is in line with one expressed by Dr. Desai who, in his above mentioned book has held, "The British established a uniform reign of law in the country. They enacted law and codified them. They established a new system of law and tribunals, and thus they had to supersede the customary law which prevailed in pre-British India and appropriate village and caste committees of their power to enforce the customary law which further varied from place to place in the absence of a uniform system of law."<sup>16</sup> The British introduced a legal system which was on the whole

equalitarian in contrast to the customary law which prevailed in pre-British India. That customary law discriminated between caste and caste, between community and community, whereas the new concept thus introduced was based on "the democratic conception of equality of all citizens before the laws of the State".<sup>17</sup> Though in the law of marriage and succession the British conserved the old system, in the civil and criminal law they wrote new codes copied from western systems and with little regard to Indian traditions. These proved very strong engines for change.

This does not, however, mean that the British Government in India was an exact prototype of the British Government in the United Kingdom. Some of the provisions of law gave the British Government in India a power of high-handed action which would never have been tolerated in England except in time of war. At the lower levels of justice, judiciary and executive were not strictly separated. Besides, there were some discriminative legislation in favour of the Europeans which placed them on a higher footing than the Indian citizens. Nevertheless, when all is said and done, there remains a substratum of truth that the subject in India was in fact guaranteed, to a far greater extent than was known before in Asia, against arbitrary proceedings by the executive. He enjoyed, within wide limits, freedom of speech, freedom of religion and freedom from fear of arbitrary arrest. To this extent British rule promoted individual liberty, though it did not at first accord the liberty of self-government which is the greatest of liberties.

#### IV

A highly ramified State structure which the British set up required an equally centralised administration so as to make possible the continuous flow of maximum profit from the business of government. The administrative system that they built up was not a product of any set political theory. It was as much the outcome of political situations as of chance circumstances. The East India Company was a trading company and, therefore, the administrative machinery, in the beginning, was designed to subserve the purposes of the Company. But with the assumption of the

13. Griffiths, Percival; *Modern India* (Ernest Beun Ltd., London, 1957), p. 47.

14. Wint, Guy ; *op. cit.*, p. 59.

15. *Ibid*, p. 60.

16. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

17. *Ibid*, p. 149.

Liwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765, the nature of the work of the Company started undergoing a gradual change. The administration of revenue and civil justice was vested in the Company's agents in these provinces. It also became slowly responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the administration of criminal justice.

For long the revenue administration was the only centre of government in the district and absorbed all governmental authority operating in the district. The power and prestige of the executive government were due to its own power. Even the origin of administrative courts and administrative law in India are traceable to land revenue administration.<sup>18</sup> Land revenue administration led to the growth of a system of proper keeping of records, which, in course of time, developed into red-tape and routinised system of administration. It is land revenue that initiated the people into the idea and institutions of State and business of government and taught them the practice of political obedience. This kind of administration, however, did not require initiative and creativeness. It demanded strict adherence to rules and precedents. The result was that by the end of the 19th century India became what Ruthnaswamy has described as a happy hunting ground of bureaucracy and bureaucrats.<sup>19</sup>

In a bureaucratic administration efficiency is regarded as the prime need. For achieving efficiency, centralisation becomes inevitable, and the British Government in India was no exception to this rule. Even as early as 1638, the Company's servants in India recommended a system of great centralisation. The Regulating Act of 1773 wanted a division of authority in the Governor-General's Council and by creating the Supreme Court, the Act intended to apply some checks to autocracy. But it interfered with efficiency and the Supreme Court had to retreat in 1781. In 1786, Parliament of Britain authorised the Governor-General and the minor Governors in Madras and Bombay to override their councils in extraordinary cases inasmuch as "such power would tend greatly to the

strength and security of the British possessions in India, and give energy, vigour and dispatch to the measure and proceedings of the executive Government."<sup>20</sup>

This centralising feature was very prominent till the first decade of the present century. But when in 1906, the Liberal Party formed government in Britain some attempts at decentralisation and decentralisation of governmental authority were begun. The Royal Commission appointed in 1907, to report whether through measures of decentralisation or otherwise the vocal and educated sections of Indians could be appeased, commented that the attitude of the Central and Provincial Governments was too much dominated by considerations of administrative efficiency. They paid too little attention to the importance of developing a sense of responsibility amongst their subordinates and of giving sufficient weight to local sentiments and traditions.<sup>21</sup> Till 1919, there was absolutely no distinction between government and administration because those who formulated policies were also in charge of implementation of those policies. It was only natural that such a centralised system of government and administration should have expropriated the functions and powers of village and caste communities and transferred them to the officials appointed by itself.

The centralised administration was matched by another remarkable phenomenon, that is, hierarchically graded public services, which further helped in the administrative unification of the country. The conception of an organised civil service originated with the East India Company.<sup>22</sup> In fact the term Civil Service was coined by the Company and applied to that part of the service of the Company which was carried on by the covenanted servants who did not belong to the Navy and the Army. "The term 'civil service,' says Dr. Gladden, "was first used in relation to the East India Company, to distin-

20. Quoted by Dr. A. T. Markose in his book, *Judicial Control of Administrative Action in India* (Madras Law Journal Office, 1950), p. 92.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

22. Chanda, Ashok, *Indian Administration* (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1958), p. 93.

18. Ruthnaswamy, M., *Principles and Practice of Public Administration* (Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1956), p. 69.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

guish between the military and civil sectors of the Company's personnel".<sup>23</sup>

Till the last day, the British administration remained bureaucratic and the Indian Civil Service continued to be the real governing corporation. "From the very beginning," says Dr. N. C. Roy, "they chose some functions as the essential duties of the Government. They concentrated all their efforts upon their performance and performed them with as much efficiency as their general education and special training might allow. . . . . They had great achievements to their credit in maintaining law and order and in dealing with revenue problems. Beyond these they were loath to look".<sup>24</sup> The British civil servants were interested in the maintenance of British supremacy and, therefore, they felt concerned only with those duties the right performance of which might ensure this supremacy. They were, naturally enough, not interested in those functions "which might minister to the welfare of the people but might also have sown seeds of dissolution of the British Empire in India."<sup>25</sup> They did not want to interfere with the interests of the privileged classes because the latter in the words of Dr. Dwarkadas, served as "bastions of support"<sup>26</sup> to the British Government.

## V

The period of British rule in India was further characterised by the influx of ideas and

23. Gladden, E. N., *Civil Service or Bureaucracy?* (Staples Press Ltd., London, 1956), p. 4.

24. Roy, N. C., *The Civil Service in India* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 9.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

26. Dwarkadas, R., *The Role of Higher Civil Service in India* (The Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1958), p. 23.

institutions of British form of representative democracy. From the late 19th century onwards, they set up semi-representative assemblies for every unit of government; there were district boards, municipalities, legislatures for the provinces and a central legislature for the whole country. Though they were mainly consultative, they succeeded in giving some training in the intricacies of Parliamentary procedure. They aroused the interest of the people in democratic institutions and egged them on to demand vigorous and powerful ones. Indian political development may be said to be both revolutionary and evolutionary. Broadly, the political development may be regarded as revolutionary in character where it relates to the process of freedom from the bonds of imperialism. It is the most important revolution of our time that we attained independence from the foreign yoke and our democratic polity achieved a sovereign status. But the Indian political development is also evolutionary in character, inasmuch as the seeds of representative institutions were sown in the early part of this century and the last decade of the 19th century. Morris-Jones has observed : "the story of the development of legislative bodies in India is, of course, only part of the constitutional history of British rule. . . . ."<sup>27</sup> Members of those semi-representative institutions learnt the difficult but necessary art of give and take of parliamentary life. That, it can be safely presumed, might have developed tolerance and respect for views of others. In any case, the ground was prepared for parliamentary institutions and when independence came, at least a section of the Indian people had become accustomed to parliamentary life, especially, its electoral vicissitudes and had realised the importance of the right to franchise.

27. Morris-Jones, W. H., *Parliament in India* (Longmans, Green and Co., Lond. 1957), p. 45.



# AN ASSESSMENT OF INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

By D. S. CLAIRE

Every nation wants to behave in the international sphere in accordance with its distinctive national point of view. On the contrary, they were bent upon discarding and damaging each other as far as they could. It is even more so in respect of those countries where resurgent nationalism attained national independence. Quite naturally, therefore, it was fired with a new mission to contribute something new to the modern civilization.

When India attained independence, she found the great nations of the world divided up into two opposing camps. One was headed by the United States of America which had attained preponderant and pre-eminent position in the Western civilization by virtue of its being the arsenal of the allied powers who fought the Fascist coalition. This camp believed in free enterprise and had the liberal tradition of Europe as its mainstay. The second bloc was headed by the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics which had emerged as a powerful country by virtue of its new realization of the strength of the socialist system which was manifested during the crucial stages of the Second World War, when the Nazi war machine was rolled back from Russia to its fiery doom in Berlin. In this victory of unprecedented magnitude the Soviet Union gained an immense amount of prestige. What is more, it advanced its military frontiers by adding the small countries of Eastern and Central Europe to the socialist system. This bloc of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union was proud of the Socialist system with its vast potentialities.

Both these blocs had the opportunity of co-operating with each other. Unfortunately, they fell apart at the fateful meeting in Paris convened in the year 1947 during the months of June and July, where the United States and the Soviet Union could not come to an agreement on the post-war economic problems.<sup>1</sup> The United States, through Marshal Plan, which Great Britain and France supported, sought to solve these problems by assisting the nations by aid from overseas. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, wanted that each state must endeavour from within and not through spoon-feeding. Both these camps stuck fast to the different systems they believed in, and in their dealings with each other they

Such was the state of affairs when India attained her long-cherished aim, that is, independence. What contribution could India make in a world torn into opposing camps? At that time, it was not possible for India to measure her strength in terms of soldiers, guns and other material means at its disposal. However, India could offer a solution for the ills of the world based upon the glorious tradition which had been India's mainstay for generations. And that is what India actually did offer to the world. In March, 1950, Mr. Nehru during his foreign policy statement clearly stated: "It (policy of non-alignment) is a policy which flowed from our past."<sup>2</sup> What was that tradition of the past?

The spirit of Indian tradition teaches us to tolerate and respect each other's point of view, without any effort of causing damage to a man, and for that matter a nation, which does not believe in the same way. This tradition is based upon the Indian philosophy which teaches us that the ways to God are different, but the final destination is the same. Therefore, each system can contribute—and has contributed—to human welfare and it does not matter what the system actually is. India had been at the peak of her glory when the spirit of this tradition had been paramount in her national affairs, both internal and external. The ages of Asoka and Akbar are the most glorious periods of Indian history because of the manifestation of this tradition.

## *Consolidation of Independence*

The foreign policy of a state is based on its self-interest, and it was in the interest of India to base her policy on this ancient tradition. Therefore, India behaved in an equally friendly way towards both these camps without regard to the systems they followed. It might have been a strange spectacle to those whose minds were prejudiced with exclusive philosophies of capita-

1. See : Leontyev, A., "The Marshal Plan in the Light of Realities," *New Times* (Moscow), Nos. 26, 27, 29 and 30, 1948.

2. Quoted by Srivastava, G. P., "Some Aspects of Indian Foreign Policy," *The Modern Review* (March, 1954).

lism and communism to find India praising both these systems in the same breath; but anybody conversant with the glorious Indian tradition would have found nothing strange in it. It is true that for a time India "ploughed a lonely furrow." But eventually the people came to appreciate India's view-point. The United States began to take interest in India immediately after her first General Elections. By virtue of the Indo-American Agreement of January 5, 1952, the United States consented to give financial help. But the interesting side of the story is that the Soviet Union also developed great sympathy and affection for India and the Indo-Soviet Trade Pact was signed on December 2, 1953. This shows how willingly India invited foreign economic aid irrespective of the economic system of the country which gives it.

The first and foremost task before India was the consolidation of her independence. India had got independence through a dispensation of the British Parliament, *viz.*, Indian Independence Act, 1947. But a written word can hardly be an adequate guarantee of Indian security and independence when, at the time of partition, India was dependent entirely upon United Kingdom for war supplies of all kinds. So long as India remained dependent on one single country for equipping her military forces, her independence could, at best, be a paper independence and nothing more than that. The first task of Indian foreign policy was, therefore, to expand the area of dependence for her war supplies. At the same time to make independence real, this dependence on foreign sources of supply was to be reduced as much as possible, with or without foreign help.

In order to effect this, India, by degrees, began to explore alternative sources of supply of war materials and equipments. It was in pursuance of this policy that India developed close relations with the United States and France, so that war equipments could be procurable from these countries. The area of dependence for war equipments now embraces the entire continent of Europe, the United States and Canada. Even the Soviet Union has made some offers in this regard. But the equally important task has not been neglected. In this regard, India has availed of the offers from foreign firms to develop war industries by the loan of foreign technicians, and licences for the indigenous manufacture of

patented and proprietary equipments and other material help in the shape of raw materials for the manufacture of military equipments in this country.

### *Pattern of India's Alliances*

As a corollary to the above aspect, India's security and independence cannot be insured without friendly alliances with immediate neighbours. The principles, enshrined in the Panch Sheela Treaty signed first with China and then with Burma, have served as the corner-stones of India's policy of friendship with her neighbours. She has pursued this policy towards her immediate neighbours even in the teeth of grave provocations initially from Pakistan which had hitherto looked upon India with hatred, and now from China.

It is India's avowed intention that outstanding problems with her immediate neighbours should be solved peacefully and through negotiations, and not in the battle-field. It is true that much suffering and perseverance is involved in such a policy. But, India sincerely believes that ultimately the truth shall prevail. And so here India is solving her problems with Pakistan on the council tables.<sup>3</sup> In the near future, the border question with China will also be solved in the same manner.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to observe

3. India's relations with Pakistan seem to have taken a change for the better since the last year. Some of the outstanding questions are being solved peaceably. Although the Kashmir question is still dragging on, some of the other matters have been solved. Canal water *ad hoc* agreement had been reached. It expired at the end of March, 1960. It may further be extended till Pakistan has found alternative sources of water supply. Similarly, an extradition treaty between the two countries is expected to be signed very soon.

4. Some developments in Sino-Indian relationship have been noticed. Mr. Nehru had sent an invitation to Mr. Chou En-lai on February 5, 1960. The invitation had been accepted. Mr. Chou arrived in New Delhi in April, 1960.

Instead of indulging in wordy duels each one of them laid his heart open before the other. This course was in the interest of not only both the nations but also those who were keenly watching the developments in South-East Asia.

here that China is aware of India's intentions. Had she known that India is going to join the Western bloc she would have taken control of all the territories over which she lays claim. Moreover, official statements from Peking go to show that she intends to settle the question peaceably. One may ask why China acted in such a manner? In fact friendly nations would have quarrelled over the border which has not been officially accepted by one or the other.<sup>5</sup> upto 1941 the British were trying to put pressure upon China to accept the Mac Mahon Line. But she never accepted it. However, it does not mean that China is not at all guilty. In fact, China is guilty in two respects. The first and foremost is the mistrust China has shown to the Panch Sheel Doctrine to which she was a signatory.<sup>6</sup> Non-aggression and Peace-

Incidentally, Burma had already reached some agreement with China. General Ne Win of Burma had gone to China to settle the border dispute between them. It was expected that this arrangement would be endorsed by the Government of Burma, which had come into power through unconstitutional devices after the military rule. Mr. B. P. Koirala, Prime Minister of Nepal, went to China in the second week of March, 1960, to seek solution of the outstanding problems facing these two nations.

When Mr. Chou came to Delhi Mr. Nehru stated, that the settlement of the border dispute might not be sought unless, the aggressed territories were vacated by the Chinese troops.

5. It may be pointed out that within federal states initially there are boundary disputes, as in the case of India, e.g., Maharashtra-Gujarat dispute, and Mysore-Andhra boundary questions are yet to be settled. However, border disputes between independent sovereign states and between states in a federation do not stand on a status of equal footing. The writer wants to emphasise that border questions are bones of contention even between neighbours and friendly states.

6. Prime Ministers of China and India, Mr. Chou En-lai and Mr. Nehru respectively, signed the Agreement on June 28, 1954, enshrining the Five Principles therein. This agreement was signed after an Agreement on cultural and trade intercourse, etc., between the two countries was signed on April 29, 1954. These Five Principles were accepted in the Bandung Conference by 29 nations of Asia and Africa. See : Mukerjee, S. K., "Panch Shila," *The Modern Review* (September, 1955).

ful co-existence are two of the five principles. Secondly, China has acted in contravention of the established rules of International Law, according to which India had a claim over the territory.<sup>7</sup> Thus, still another Panch Sheel principle is violated, i.e., mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and sovereignty.

If the Sino-Indian affair is considered to be a test for India's foreign policy, it comes out clearly that her policy has not failed and for this reason has not been abandoned. India sticks to her policy of non-alignment with any bloc. On the other hand, India has got extremely friendly relations with the small neighbouring countries, such as Nepal, Burma and Ceylon, although with the latter she has the problem of Indian settlers.<sup>8</sup>

7. India's title to the territories in question may be established through, what is called; "Prescription" under International Law. (See Fenwick, C. J., *International Law* (New York, 1950), pp. 356-358.) Under International Law China was wrong in resorting to violence through aggression without resorting to other means of pacific settlement of disputes. Although China is not a member of the U.N.O., it does not mean that China has no responsibilities towards other states, especially those who have recognized her as a *de jure* state.

The Chinese episode has revealed that in the matters of international relations states should not take the words uttered by statesmen of other states as implying real intentions of those states.

8. There are about two million Indians in Ceylon, mostly of Mannar and Tamil Indian origin. There are numerous stateless persons of Indian origin many of whom failed to apply for Ceylonese citizenship by August 6, 1951—the last date prescribed under the Ceylonese law—and in other cases the applications had been rejected. Regarding the figures of these persons see : Sarkar, Chanchal, "Indian Labourers' Case for Ceylonese Citizenship," *The Statesman* (New Delhi), July 4, 1959.

Mr. Nehru has held talks since 1947 with successive Ceylonese Prime Ministers. In 1954 an Agreement was signed by Sir John Kotewala, the Prime Minister of Ceylon and Mr. Nehru—Sarkar thinks that the Agreement is still supposed to be operative ; (Sarkar, *op. cit.*) On the other hand, there is a view that the 1954 Agreement is as good as a scrap paper in view of the abrogation by Ceylon of the constitutional provisions made under it. In 1956, Mr. Bandarnaike, the late Prime Minister of Ceylon, announced his inten-

Next in the chain come the neighbouring countries which do not touch the Indian border but nevertheless have powerful impact upon our national life. In this category may be included Afghanistan, Iran, Egypt, Malaya, Japan, Indo-China, Yugoslavia, the U.S.S.R., etc. With these countries India has friendly relations guaranteed.

by several agreements of cultural, economic and other character.

### *India and the Commonwealth*

India's association with the Commonwealth cannot be cut off with just a single stroke. The link with the Commonwealth has developed for centuries, first as an Empire country, then as a dominion and now as an independent Republic enjoying the full membership of the Commonwealth. It is not only expediency that dictates India's attitude towards the Commonwealth.<sup>9</sup> She has been tremendously influenced by the liberal tradition of Great Britain which sets the pattern for other Commonwealth countries also. India has belonged so long, to the Sterling Area and she cannot get out of it without serious injury to her economy.

India's association with the Commonwealth has been much criticized because of the ideological differences between India and Great Britain. Great Britain has been and is even now a powerful colonial country. India, which has espoused the cause of the former colonies, is anti-colonial, and she had herself been a victim of the evils of colonialism. But the differences could not

tion of concluding a new agreement. The Agreement of 1954, could not be implemented because of differences over its interpretation.

The urgency of the problem is well recognised by the Government of India. The Prime Minister has indicated to the Cabinet that the Stateless persons should be induced to opt for Indian citizenship and then their reparation could be made. For these details see: *The Statesman* (New Delhi), May 2, 1959.

9. For further readings on India and the Commonwealth of Nations see: Mukerji, P. C., "India and the Commonwealth of Nations," *The Modern Review* (July, 1949); Banerjee, D. N., "The Commonwealth Agreement and India," *The Modern Review* (February, 1950); and Maity, A. B., "International Status of India," *The Modern Review* (April, 1954).

have been bridged if India had kept out of the Commonwealth. Indeed the evil does not end by staying out of it. India's policy towards colonialism being what it is, she can always exercise a more sober influence on British colonial policy from inside than it could do from without.

### *India and the United Nations*

Some people have wrongly described India's policy as that of neutrality. In fact, it is quite the contrary, a policy of active participation, especially in the United Nations and secondly in the Afro-Asian cause. India views every problem on its merit, criticising and denouncing whenever a problem needs such a treatment.

In the United Nations India actively supports what the Charter stands for and in the real sense of the term she champions the cause of world peace by leading the bloc of non-aligned nations who initially did not stand anywhere in the battle of two blocs in this cold war. Now the icy hands of cold war have started melting and this bloc of nations has come to be recognized by both the blocs.<sup>10</sup>

The first aspect of India's policy in the United Nations is directed against the racial problem. Her stand is based on the United Nations Charter for Human Rights. She has strongly criticised the internal policies of some of the States which discriminate among their citizens on grounds of race. Unfortunately the U.N. is helpless because the States assert their internal sovereign authority. Thereby, nothing but an appeal to the moral conscience of the peoples of the world has been sought to be made by India. Her own nationals have been victims of racial indiscretions in South Africa, Kenya and Ceylon. All that India can hope for is to solve in a peaceful manner. With Ceylon some progress has been made through this means.

The second aspect of her policy is her participation in the Trusteeship Council. She has al-

10. It is a matter of prestige for India that the Chiefs of the two power blocs came to New Delhi and tried to woo India. They stayed here for comparative longer periods than they stayed anywhere else on their tour. President Eisenhower of the United States came here in December, 1959, and Prime Minister Khrushchev visited India in February, 1960.

ways championed the cause of trust territories and has in all ways asked for the benefit of the inhabitants of the territories. In this regard India's role in the case of South-West Africa is commendable.<sup>11</sup> The Union of South Africa's

11. About South-West Africa very little is known to laymen in India. A former German Colony, South-West Africa was placed as a 'C' mandated territory under the South African Government in 1920. After World War II the League of Nations was dissolved. But at the concluding session of the League of Nations Assembly in San Francisco in 1945 all the mandatory powers agreed to put their mandated territories under the Trusteeship system. With the exception of South-West Africa, all the former mandated territories had become Trust Territories by 1947. The Union of South Africa contends that the United Nations is not a successor to the League of Nations, hence she has refused to send annual reports to the United Nations. She has refused to give permission to some tribal chiefs who were invited by the Trusteeship Council.

Although South Africa is not legally bound to place South-West Africa under Trusteeship system, nevertheless, she cannot incorporate the former mandated territory. [See: *International Status of South-West Africa (Advisory opinion of July 11, 1950)*, *International Court of Justice, the Hague*.] The Court also stated that the provisions of Chapter XII of the U.N. Charter provide a means by which South-West Africa can be brought under the Trusteeship system. Moreover, South Africa alone is not competent to modify the international status of the territory. Besides, the apartheid policy of the Government of South Africa is such that the natives could not be granted equal rights (of citizenship and property, etc.,) with the non-coloured people of South Africa. Thus the purpose of the mandates ("a sacred trust" of the civilization) will be fruitless.

For further study see: Scott, M., *Shadow over Africa* (London, 1950); Yankson, J. A., *South-West Africa in International Scene* (1953); Oppenheim, L., *International Law*, Vol. I, Eighth edition (London, 1955), pp. 225-233. For South African point of view see: Van Pittius, Gey, *International Affairs*, 23 (1947), pp. 202-209.

India has always championed the cause of the natives of South-West Africa. Her statements in the General Assembly debates clearly indicate that the natives will be worse under South-African laws if South-Africa is allowed to incorporate South-West Africa.

arbitrary action in not sending even annual reports has been much criticized and it appears now that she has consented to send reports on the progress made for the welfare of the natives.

The United Nations is the chief instrument of world peace. The Charter is based on this ideal. The "big five" were expected to continue to be friendly to each other. But soon they ceased to act in unison, the hopes of the 'fathers' of the U.N. Charter were thrown back when the diplomatic duel between Washington and Moscow ensued. The race for nuclear armaments and the policy of "brinksmanship" hovered over humanity like the *Sword of Damocles*. Indeed, as Ahmed S. Bokhari has stated, "The gravest danger seemed to come, not from the smaller nations, but from a possible conflict between those that were elevated in the structure of the U.N. to be the custodians and guarantors of peace".<sup>12</sup> They were convinced of maintaining peace, in Churchill's words, "through power and strength". "The Cold War was," Charles A. Beard remarked "perpetual war for perpetual peace."

Under such circumstances, India led the vanguard in appeasing the two blocs and making them realize their true duty towards humanity at large through the United Nations. She always insisted on disarmament, a problem which baffled diplomats of both blocs, but fortunately which is going to be solved through negotiations. India must be congratulated for her efforts, though not selfless in the true sense of the term and one of the leaders of the Cold War has taken the initiative in this aspect, which had haunted humanity for well over a decade.<sup>13</sup>

#### *India, Asia and Africa*

Bringing forth a third force in the new world today is no mean an achievement. India's aim has been to secure political freedom for Africa and Asia and free this part of the world from

12. Bokhari, Ahmed S., "Parliaments, Priests and Prophets," *The Statesman* (New Delhi), May 15, 1959.

13. In the January Session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. Khrushchev announced the reduction of the forces. For a critical analysis, see: Deutscher, Isaac, "Reduction in Russia's Armed Forces," *The Statesman* (New Delhi), January 23, 1960. Before that Mr. Khrushchev made his intentions known in his U.N. General Assembly Speech.

the Western and Soviet blocs both of whom are defending the present iniquitous *status quo*. Most of the countries of the Afro-Asian world were former colonies and had acquired independence after much strenuous efforts. One more factor weighed in favour of the Afro-Asian solidarity. Whereas the Western nations, in spite of their common legacies, are split or are out of step with each other on almost all issues of world importance. Amongst the Asian and African nations there is, in spite of the diversity of governments, religion and races, a remarkable degree of unity on certain global issues, political and economic.<sup>14</sup>

Although India is herself faced with the problem of economic reconstruction, she has led the torch-light for all Africa and Asia in combating all imperialist designs in this part of the globe. India's stewardship of Asian and under-developed countries is undeniable. At Bandung these nations laid open before the world their concerted intention of non-alignment.<sup>15</sup> Like the Pan-American League of Latin American countries, this bloc of Asian-African countries has acted in collaboration in the United Nations. Through the Colombo Plan the member countries of this group have sought to solve some of their outstanding economic problems. Besides, loans from different countries of both blocs have been frequently taken, because the vital aim of economic development has somehow to be achieved in accordance with their basic policy of non-alignment.

#### *Conclusion*

India wants peace and is firmly convinced that peace would not be served by the policies which have culminated in cold war. India's foreign policy enjoys wide popularity throughout the world because it is a policy of peace which all peoples desire, a policy of friendship among all nations, large and small, a policy of equality and co-operation among states.

14. Bokhari, *op. cit.*

15. Bandung Conference, April 18, 1955, was held at Bandung, Indonesia. 29 Asian and African States participated. As regards the aims and objects of the Bandung Conference, see : *The Free Press Journal*, April 9, 1955. See also : *Ibid.*, April 3, 1955, for the manner in which the Conference was divided into Five Commissions.

Now I propose to state briefly the criticism levelled against India's foreign policy. Firstly, it is argued that we try to import the notions of individual morality in the field of international relations, but the formulators of our foreign policy should not forget that the laws of individual morality do not apply to states and state morality is something different from individual morality.<sup>16</sup> But, if we analyse this criticism, it appears that this does not represent the correct view. On the face of it, indeed, it appears moralist. However, our foreign policy is based on the evaluation of the realities of each situation. Besides, our attitude towards each situation, be it Kahsmir question<sup>17</sup> or Chinese affair, has to conform with the broad outlines of our policy of non-alignment. We have to try to avoid ourselves falling prey to the politics of power blocs.

Secondly, some critics contend that the natural result of our non-alignment policy has been that none of these big blocs look upon us with favour. Words used by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his resignation letter of August 15, 1947 have been quoted time and again. "We have no friends left."<sup>18</sup> They argue that in the border dispute we have no friends. But we find that we have friends not only in the capitalist blocs but in the socialist bloc as well. The idea of having friends of the critics was well scented by Mr. Nehru, who in his foreign policy debate on Nov. 25, 1959 remarked : "Some (people) think that India has no friends. Their idea of friendship is to have a strong iron chain of pacts. It is not a chain of friendship ; it is a chain forged by the compulsion of events. We do not want such chains to bind us."<sup>19</sup> It may be pointed out

16. Srivastava, *op.cit.*, p. 192.

17. In evaluating self-interest some mistakes may be made. Thus, for example, in the Kashmire case when our representative in the beginning put our case in the U.N. our foreign office used leniency towards Pakistan's attacks. Later on it was found that our case had become somewhat different and we were in a position as if we were a contending party with Pakistan. Mr. Krishna Menon has put our case in the right way and thus Pakistan has been described as an aggressor in Kashmire.

18. Quoted by Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

19. *The Statesman*, (New Delhi) November 26, 1959.

that the idea of having military pacts goes against the basic principles of our policy.

Thirdly, some people have argued that India's policy is that of neutrality and rests on the sphere of idealism. They have cited the example of the United States. Foster Rhee Dulles in his *America's Rise to the World Power*, has given an interesting reading of American foreign policy since independence and has traced the factors leading to America's rise to world power. Critics have stated that "the policy of neutrality suits a weak and poor State which the U.S.A., undoubtedly was when she secured her political freedom."<sup>20</sup> However, legally and truly speaking the word neutrality is a misnomer. As students of International Law, we should not forget that during war or belligerency alone the word neutrality can be applied.<sup>21</sup> During peace time no question of neutrality arises, because there are no belligerents.

In conclusion all that is needed to be emphasised is that the policy of non-alignment is a

means and not an end;<sup>22</sup> and as a means it has served India's purpose perfectly well. The policy of non-alignment does not mean isolation. Moreover, as Mr. Nehru remarked in 1951, our policy is not neutralist but is one of active endeavour to preserve, if possible to establish, peace on a firm foundation. In its true sense the policy of non-alignment aims at peace through a positive policy. The three aims of our policy can be enumerated in this way: (1) avoidance of war or if and where conflicts break out, to prevent its extension; (2) mediation wherever possible; and (3) to judge every question on merit, no matter if we have to vote with or against either power bloc.

Looking back in retrospect one can safely assume that the main purpose of our foreign policy has been achieved, at least the credit of making some concrete achievement goes to India. The two power blocs have been brought nearer. Ultimately when they will be brought together, peace will be secured and that is exactly what India's foreign policy aims at.

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20. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

21. Fenwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 611 ff.

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22. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

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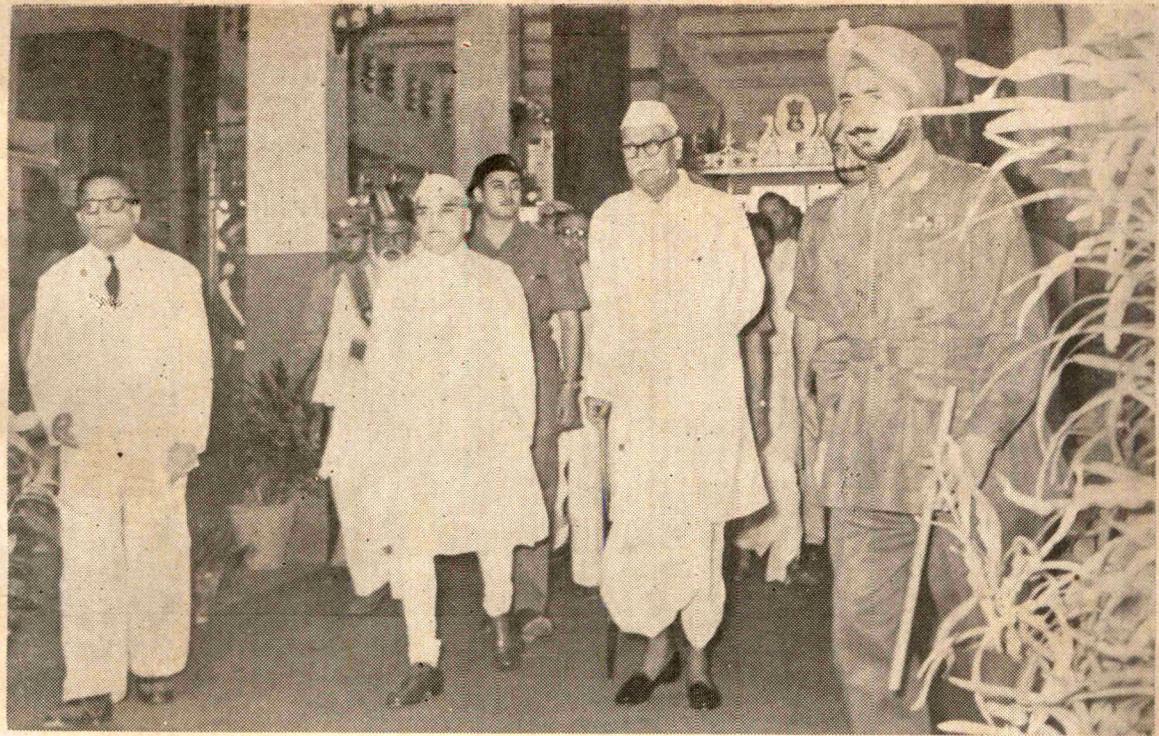
## IS SOCIALISM A MERE NEGATION OF CAPITALISM ?

By AJEYA MUKHERJEE

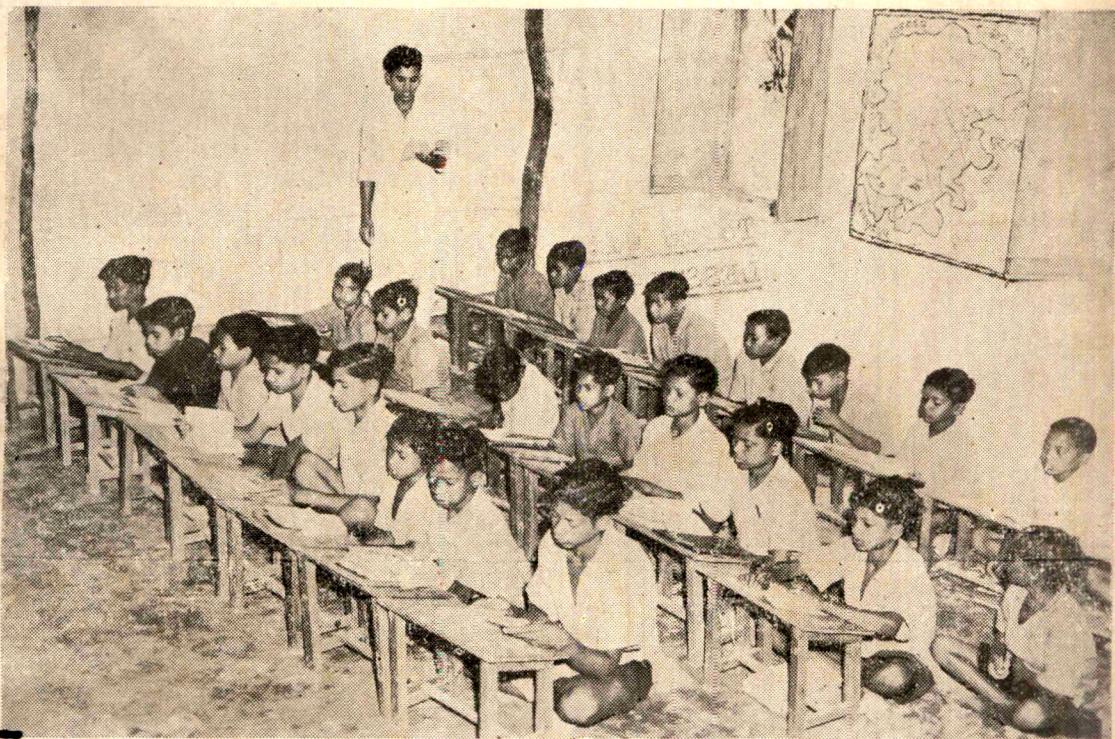
The failure of the Paris Summit positively calls for intense heart-searching on the part of those who count in world politics and the conflicting socio-political ideologies that are contending for world hegemony today. It is also high time that the common man and woman refused just to be mere pawns on the political chess-board and did some rational thinking of their own in order to avert an impending disaster. In the present article, an attempt is made to help develop a logical and perfectly unprejudiced attitude towards the oppositely orientated creeds of socialism and capitalism, which have given rise to the two major hostile camps in which the world finds itself divided, with consequences that could fare to blot human civilization out of existence in the event of a third and last global conflagration.

There are many who beguile themselves with the utter misconception that the millennium of communism, via socialism

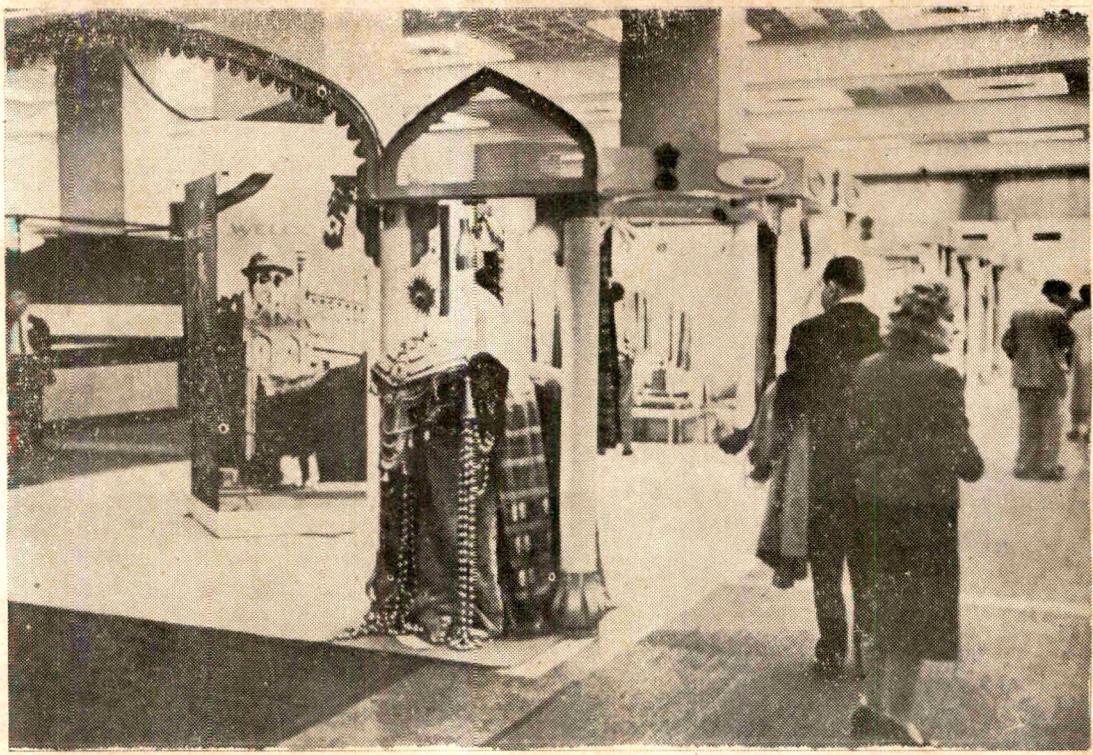
can be ushered into society only by smashing pillars upon which capitalism stands. The popularly held belief about socialism is that it is but a mere negation of capitalism. As capitalism is equated with ownership of land and means of production by a fortunate few, socialism is supposed to denote the common ownership of these factors. To such thinkers, while capitalism is a means for the exploitation of many by a few, socialism upholds the motto of equitable distribution of national wealth. But in reality, socialism is decidedly not just a negation of capitalism. It would be a logical fallacy to view socialism simply as an opposite creed of capitalism just as day is not merely the opposite of night and bitter is not that of sweet. Socialism is not a bare contradiction of capitalism, it has its own logic and path. It has come out of the heart-pangs of a world, groaning under the ravages of vitiated human behaviour. The tired world has seen the dream of a



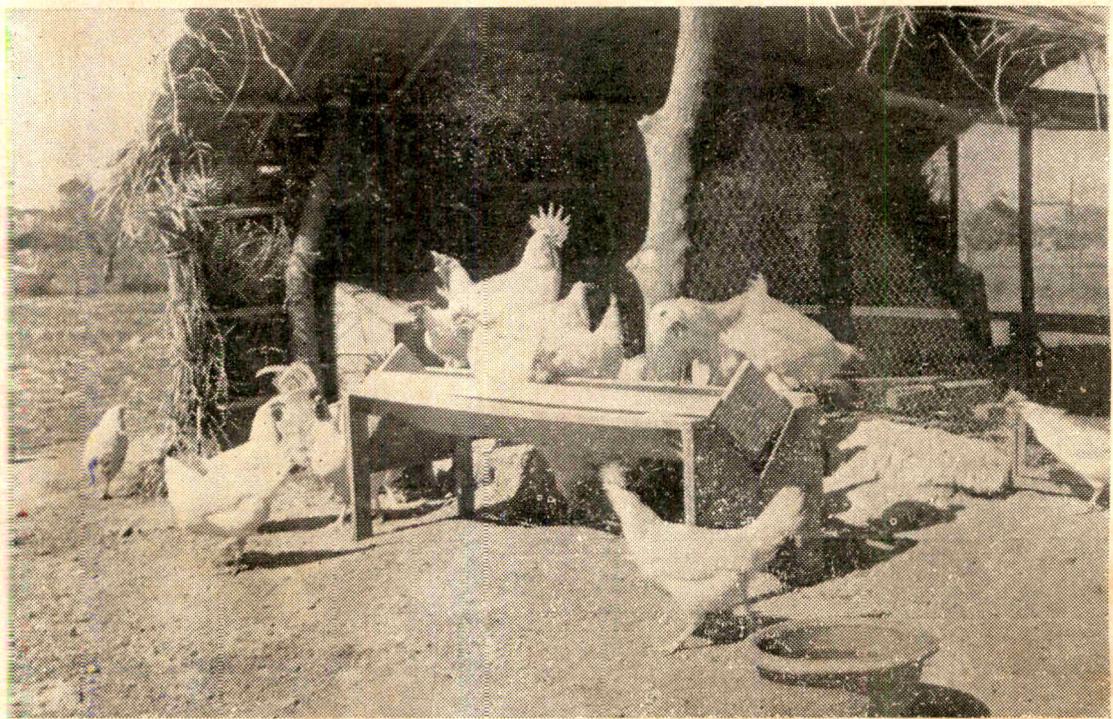
President Dr. Rajendra Prasad with Sri Bhimsen Sachar at Secunderabad



Adivasi boys in Orissa taking a lesson in Geography



Display of Indian goods at the fourth U.S. World Trade Fair in New York



A Poultry Section of the Indian Veterinary Research Institute at Izatnagar

better world. It puts its hope and faith into that land of fond dreams. Whether that vision shall ever be materialised or not, the earth goes on weaving the pattern of a glorious future. Socialism is said to be the half way house to communism. Communism is supposed to be the **summum-bonum** of human aspirations and socialism is the approach to that **El-Dorado**. The object of socialism, therefore, is not just to liquidate capitalism but also to lay the foundation of communism. Of course, it is a fact that in order to have communism, the causes of capitalism have to be uprooted, but socialism is not all complete within its destructive and negative action. It has its markedly positive contents based upon some inviolable axioms and principles' which are too well known to need adumbration. Above all, it has its own way of reaching the universal goal of human happiness.

For lack of proper appreciation of the concept of socialism, external action in uprooting orthodox capitalism only leads to another brand of capitalism. In the name of socialism man has founded the authoritarian form of Government. Only in place of private capitalism man is proceeding towards State capitalism which is likely to prove a greater tragedy and a Frankenstein Monster that may eventually kill its own author. Socialism is not mere nationalisation of the means of production, yet this feature is alone being artificially emphasized to the exclusion of the other essential preconditions necessary for the emergence and establishment of socialism.

Socialism in its purest form is based on a consciousness yet to be born. It anticipates an ideal human nature which is perfect and flawless. It visualizes a society where giving is not conditioned by self-aggrandizement, where people work not for the mere satisfaction of selfish needs but for common welfare, where every individual spontaneously offers the best fruits of his labour as a tree gives its fruits and the river its water.

But such a stage, ideal or even nearer to the ideal, cannot come into being so long as human nature remains what it is. It is not a question of change of the form

of Government, but that of a change of hearts. A nation which seeks to establish socialism **en route** to communism, must first prepare its soil for the reception and germination of the seeds of socialism. It is a pity that this fact is being completely lost sight of in certain underdeveloped countries like India, where prerequisites of socialism have yet to be created. Zealots of communism in such countries propose to short-circuit the natural process which throws up unhealthy pathological symptoms and causes undesirable political upheavals.

It must be conceded that capitalism, notwithstanding the stigma that attaches to it, has yet to perform a useful role in underdeveloped countries where mass initiative has still to appear as the harbinger of socialism and for that matter, of communism. Of course, capitalism has to be reformed and transferred to serve the needs of the interim period. The private profit motive must undergo a process of sublimation, ultimately identifying itself with the total social weal. The capitalists of backward nations would be well-advised to swim with the modern currents and willingly and gracefully submit to this metamorphosis not only in the interest of the starving and naked millions but also that of their own.

India is at the cross-road of her social and political destiny. We are passing through hectic times. We have to be extremely cautious and circumspect in choosing the path to be traversed by rejuvenated and resurgent India. A false step at this critical juncture will hurl the nation into an abyss. We shall thereby only invite another form of servitude in lieu of the one we have overthrown at such great costs. India has rightly decided to establish a socialistic pattern of society to suit the requirements of her teeming millions, steeped in ignorance, squalor and poverty. But are we really and sincerely doing our best to prepare our soil for the sprouting of the mighty banian tree of socialism? This is a question to be candidly answered by those who happen to be at the helm of India's affairs today.

## UNDERSTANDING THE MIDDLE EAST

By LAXMI NARAIN

The Middle East,\* which in recent times has lution" which ascribes the Egyptian revolution as the most discussed and talked of tionary movement to corruption, party strife, areas of the world, was to its inhabitants for and royal interference rather than to a desire to many millennia the civilized world itself. Of get rid of democratic institutions. the surviving world religions three—Judaism, Christianity and Islam, have their geographical sources in the Middle East. It would, therefore, be desirable and interesting to understand this area. The scope of this essay is confined to discussing the following two important aspects of the problem :

- (A) Rise of military dictatorships; and
- (B) Causes of instability in the area.

### I

During the last few years there have been six revolutions in Middle Eastern states—in Lebanon, Iraq, Syria, Egypt (now United Arab Republic), Sudan, Cyprus, and a near-revolution in Jordan. Besides, there have been a number of interventions. The United States intervened in Lebanon and Great Britain in Jordan last summer, and Great Britain and France intervened in Egypt a couple of years earlier. Then there are also the chronic hostilities between Israel and its Arab neighbours.

The revolt against democracy has a pragmatic basis. It does not imply a repudiation of the ideals of democratic government. None of the new "strong men" in the Middle East is talking about the "putrid corpse of democracy," as did Mussolini in his balcony heyday. At the same time none has yet come forward with a permanent political alternative to the parliamentary regime he overthrew. The revolt was the outcome of circumstances within different countries in which the operation of parliamentary government has failed. This is given expression by Gamal Abdel Nasser's "Philosophy of the Revo-

Parliamentary democracy in the Middle East was imported from the Western World. It was foreign in most of its concepts to the Middle East traditions. Such abstract concepts as sovereignty, self-determination and democracy were forced upon an unwilling people.

Before World War I parliamentary regimes were established in Iran and Turkey though the motivating force of younger political leaders to curtail the absolute power of the Shah or Sultan. After World War I the mandate system spread parliamentary democracy in Iraq, Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon.

What did the people expect of these parliamentary regimes ? It was hoped that they would become instruments of national independence, that they would provide an opportunity for inclusion in the government of awakened political groups, and that they would become an instrument for social progress.

These hopes were not fulfilled or at best were fulfilled only partially. Parliaments were dominated by a few leaders and did not develop sound foreign policies. Thus in Iraq, before the *coup d' etat* of July 1958, the election that gave the Nuri el-Said Government an overwhelming majority was thoroughly 'controlled,' and repressive measures were taken to preserve the pro-Western orientation. Freedom of Press was strictly controlled, labour union disbanded and dissident officers retired from the Army. In Egypt the Wafd Government appealed to the widespread anti-British feeling. Popular clamour became decisive resulting 'inter alia' in the abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. However, the Wafd could not control the released forces and was discredited.

The parliamentary system was also unable to broaden the base of political life. The experiments of the new generations with parliamentary democracy were not encouraging. Complicated procedural problems of electioneering and parliamentary debates did not appeal to the people.

\*The Middle East, for purposes of this paper, consists of Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Sudan, Turkey, Tunisia, and Yemen.

Elections were hardly honest. People viewed left (socialist and communist) parties and groups parliament and cabinet system as a device for forcing the traditional role of the "old men of politics." Also, in the West, democracy emphasized liberty more than equality. To people in the Middle East, accustomed for centuries to authoritarian regimes, liberty could not possibly be as much appreciated as equality.

However, in the social field parliamentary democracy was somewhat more successful. It was believed that an elected parliament would become an instrument by which the power of the hereditary land-owning group (basis of autocratic government) could be curtailed. Some significant social laws were passed. Great strides were made in such fields as national education, public health services, etc. In Egypt, for example, between 1922 (when the constitutional monarchy was promulgated) and 1950, the state budget for education increased over 1000 per cent and the number of students in schools over 1300 per cent. But the social progress lagged behind growing social discontent. Land-owning system and the privileges of the landlords were not touched. In Egypt, before the Revolution, the parliament enacted rural legislation but did not touch land-ownership and distribution in a country where 97 per cent of the area is infertile desert and only 3 per cent arable land.

In short, the performance of democracy in the Middle East was disappointing when judged against the hopes on it. The forces set in motion since World War I only artificially speeded up the process of Westernization beyond the ability of the people to adopt the imported ideas to their social needs. The basis pre-requisites of Western democratic life were found missing in the Middle East. These were participation of the people in the governmental affairs, sufficient public information on important issues so that the vote could choose wisely, and sufficient economic freedom so that each voter could express his political views without imperilling his livelihood. In the Middle East there is a long tradition of autocratic and centralized government, mass illiteracy, and economic dependence. The revolt against democracy in the Middle East is understandable both in terms of its "fruits and roots" —to quote a favourite Arab phrase.

(a)

Opposition to democracy came from two sources—from the right (religion) and from the them for their mistakes.

The Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimum) best expresses the lay religious revival. It opposed the existing regime and criticized democracy. It accepted Western technological innovations but offered no constructive programme. It advocated re-establishment of theocracy and aroused religious fanaticism. As has been aptly put by Dr. Khadduri, leading authority on the Middle East, "The Brotherhood's program was too Calvinistic in spirit to be tolerated for any length of time. The re-establishment of theocracy would have been incompatible with the new international order."

In contrast, constructive programme was offered by the Communist parties. But even their outcry against exploitation, graft, and corruption proved ineffective. Islam is hardly to be reconciled with Communism. It is opposed to dialectical materialism and recognises the institution of private property and free enterprise. Factors operating against it are Communism's opposition to religion, its disdain for other mores, to say nothing of its affiliation with a foreign power.

The people looked elsewhere for leadership —towards the army.

(b)

The Middle Eastern countries have a long-established tradition of building up strong armed forces. In the modern times also keen interest has been demonstrated in organizing well-disciplined armies along European lines. This is true of both Iraq and Syria after they gained independence. Again, army played an important role in other countries like Turkey and Iran. The Kemalist and Pahlevi regimes owed probably as much to the army for their establishment as to the strength of character and statesmanship of their founders. In Egypt Viceroys spent lavishly for maintaining and enlarging the army.

However, the officers and not the soldiers were interested to involve the army into politics. The younger army officers organized themselves into small groups to discuss national issues. In the Palestine War the army blamed the government for the defeat and a reaction was set in to overthrow the politicians—the best way to punish them for their mistakes.

The chain of coups that occurred in the efficiency. The revolutions are a manifestation of the political unrest in the region. It could be said, in the words of Prof. Quincy Wright, that "the countries have become too advanced for the feudalism and absolutism which have existed there from time immemorial, but they have not advanced enough for democracy." As such the effort to make the transition from this feudal-absolutistic system to a more democratic-liberal system accounts for much of the unrest.

To quote Badeau, ex-President of the American University at Cairo, "In the Middle East the role of Nasser, Kassem and their associates is best explained in terms of the traditional 'strong man,' who has been such an important element in the Middle Eastern life in the past. These 'strong men' are followed, not so much because they are feared, but because they exercise dynamic and popular leadership."

## II

Even the establishment of military regimes did not make the area stable. The frequent coups, interventions, and existing hostilities are an evidence of internal instability. Why? Internal conditions, relations between the countries of the area, and the 'outside' influences—all contribute to instability of the area.

Economic poverty is rampant in most of the countries in this area. The average per capita income would be approximately \$100 per year. On the other hand, there are rulers and people who have amassed vast sums of money in oil-rich kingdoms and shaikhdoms. Due to the shrinkage of the world, people have become more aware of their acute poverty than ever before. It leads to frustration and dissatisfaction. There is a vast difference between the 'effendis' who own land and the 'fallahin' who do not. The prevailing social conditions of quasi-feudalism are not conducive to an improvement in economic levels. The people are constantly pressing for a higher standard of living.

Administrative inefficiency and political unrest also add to internal instability. Civil Services are not highly developed. The frequent revolutions indicate the lack of confidence in the Civil Service. It is also believed by a majority of the population, including the army, that military control is imperative to bring greater degree of

Relations among the states in the region also call for comments. The phenomenon of Arab nationalism needs examination. It emerged as a political force at the time of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and has been progressing since then. It believes in the revival of greatness of the Arab world by reviving the glorious period of the Arabs in the Middle Ages. It also aims to drive out those elements which jeopardize this revival and as such it is anti-Zionism and anti-imperialism.

There is also the question of leadership of the Arabs. Important aspirants for leadership are Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Tunisia. Egypt under Nasser is aiming in the direction of Pan-Arabism. The beginning was made with the establishment of the U.A.R. Iraq has been always a traditional rival for leadership in the area and still is. The recent retaliatory speeches of President Nasser and Premier Kassem are a sufficient indication of that. Recently Kassem has endorsed the idea of a "Fertile Crescent" to unite his country with Syria and Jordan. He told a group of army officers that the Syrians were "spiritually attached to Iraq," and "no frontier exists between us and Syria." By endorsing the "Fertile Crescent" plan, Baghdad has in a sense thrown down the gauntlet to Cairo.

Oil-rich Saudi Arabia is another contender. Its people regard themselves as the purest breed of Arabs. They are advocates of the Wahhabi reform religion. Tunisia under Bourguiba could become another rival.

These rivalries militate against the establishment of a pan-Arab state. Most of the countries may not think of union into a single state. But some sort of loose confederation or some sort of "spiritual union" among the Arab states could work amicably.

Another important—rather very important—cause of instability is the Arab-Israel discord. The Arabs cannot reconcile to the establishment

of Israel—an encroachment upon natural Arab with a strong hand and usher in an era of land. They remember the defeat of 1948. They democracy. However, as in Turkey, the alter-fear Israel's expansion. They look upon Zionism native between politics and army has to be as a necessarily imperialistic and expansive force chosen. Social reforms have to be initiated and The invasion of the Sinai Peninsula in 1956 is executed by democratic methods. Repressive an evidence of that, they say.

Influences and pressures from 'outside' also contribute to the instability in the area. The location (a bridge between the Indian ocean, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic) and the natural resources (oil reserves) of the Middle East need not be over-emphasized here. They have attracted rivalry among the Great Powers. It has become a centre of the "cold war." In the debates of the General Assembly of the United Nations one listens to the continuous recriminations between the United States and the Soviet Union, each of which accuses the other of stirring up troubled conditions in the area. The Iran-United States military pact of March 5, 1959 has evoked severe criticism from the Soviet Union. In view of the traditional Russian threat "Iran dare not remain neutral or isolated," said the Foreign Minister Hekmat.

All these conditions contribute to instability in the area, whether arising from internal conditions within the countries themselves, from rivalries among the states in the area, or from outside influences and pressures.

### III

The return to democracy seems to be the safest way towards ultimate stability and progress of the area. It is said that each Arab country needs its own Kemal Ataturk to execute reforms

measures have to be eschewed (Kemal took repressive measures only in 1925 in the Kurdish rebellion). By truly understanding the spirit of Kemalism can only the Arab countries be benefited. The people have to be cured from within—politically, socially and economically—before they can be expected to live in a salutary democratic way of life.

Sincere efforts would have to be made to settle the Arab-Israel dispute. Economic development would be greatly assisted by settlement of this quarrel. In the interests of their own progress and prosperity, both parties have to be realistic about it.

The West is also responsible for the ferment existing in the area. Western education and techniques have loosened the old bonds and foundations. The West, therefore, has a moral duty to help the area for finding a wholesome formula. Economic and political co-operation of the Great Powers can further the stability of the area. The Great Powers can seek co-operation of the United Nations for economic development of the region. Technical assistance in administration and education, as well as in economic development, will be essential. But needless to say that the basic moral decisions will have to be taken and the basic work will have to be done by the people themselves if the newly-devised forms are to endure. Time and understanding are required to establish stability in the area.



## PUNDIT ISVARCHANDRA VIDYASAGAR

### A Snap-Study

By JOGES C. BOSE

#### I

If the imagery God creates man has any appeal, it has an added significance in contemplating that, at rare intervals, He creates one or other much above and beyond the pattern in content and richness. Such a man, without question, is Pundit Isvarchandra Vidyasagar. He is unique in the leadership of Bengal—Raja Rammohun Roy to Netajee Subhas Bose.

Isvarchandra was born on 26th September, 1820, at village Beersingha, district Midnapur. His father, Thakurdas Banerjea, was very very poor. Despite an ardent desire for learning, he could create no scope for it and had to accept a humble job in Calcutta, when he was barely fifteen. Isvar's mother, Bhagabati Devi, never crossed the doorstep of even the apology of a school, but was highly educated in the tradition of values, fostered by the **Ramayana** and the **Mahabharata**. She delighted to recall that she was brought up by her maternal uncle,<sup>1</sup> noted for his erudition, large heart and strong principles; and that the family under his stewardship was never chary of succouring people in distress. A vital feeling of appreciation reared up Bhagabati to a noble height and she was a great influence in the making of Isvarchandra. In the twilight of understanding, the boy used to hear that his grandfather had left home as a recluse, but came back as he dreamt that a truly great man was about to be born in his line. Bhagabati Devi harped upon this fact to inspire her son to live down the squalor and hardships of life and be great. The teacher of the village **pathsala** was all-praise for his razor-sharp intellect, his tenacity and application. With the forecast of a high destiny, he prevailed upon

his father to bring him down to Calcutta for education.

An interesting story is told how Isvarchandra, as he was coming to Calcutta with his father on foot, learnt English numerals from the figures on road-side milestones. Thakurdas felt encouraged to spend a large part of his small income for his son and got him admitted into the Sanskrit College. The boy of nine by the stark simplicity of his coarse **dhootty** and **chadar** and by his sharpness and, what may be called, a determined bid attracted the attention of all and sundry. In the strange surroundings of Calcutta too, he came to be accosted by his teachers in the same old manner in respect of his future.

Within six months, he was awarded, on the result of an examination, a scholarship of Rs. 5/- a month.<sup>2</sup> He did not spare himself and since now captured all scholarships and prizes save one in the long twelve years, he was a student in the Sanskrit College. Finally, the Governing body and the teaching staff conferred on him at the age of twentyone the title of **Vidyasagar**. It means that his learning is only comparable in depth and vastness to the sea.

The hard struggle of Isvarchandra's student life is pathetic, instructive and has the glamour of a legend. Each morning he did the marketing, cooking, cleansing and other odd jobs for a family of four to five people, relations and other guests not infrequently adding to the number. In between these daily toils he clutched at his lessons, the hospitable street lamp giving him the necessary aid at night. A square meal was out of the question and the details of frugality are distressing to read. What, however, reads surprising is that even in

1. Isvarchandar made provision for his two destitute daughters and one grandson.

2. Rice in those days used to sell at eight to ten annas a maund and other essential commodities in corresponding proportion.

this life of harrowing meagreness, Isvar-chandra helped poor class-mates in trouble.

Principal Marshall made him a teacher of Bengali and Sanskrit in the Fort William College on Rs. 50/- a month. Immediately on appointment, he had his father released from the obligations of service and sent him home. Each month now, the first thing he would do on receipt of salary was to remit Rs. 20/- to his father. With the balance he used to maintain his Calcutta establishment of two brothers and four cousins to help them get a start in life. The man, who had hitherto lived in the rigours of denial, did not bestow a moment's thought on his personal comforts.

In closer association, Marshall's love for his erstwhile pupil Vidyasagar ripened into esteem. In those days the Fort William College counted much in influencing the educational policy of the Government. In every important consultation, Marshall pushed Vidyasagar to prominence. It was at his suggestion that Lord Hardinge established in 1846 one hundred and one vernacular schools in Bengal.

Except a scholarship of a very high order, what was there in Vidyasagar to give him the weight and standing he enjoyed even then? The following two are typical illustrations to justify the respect he commanded. The post of a Grammar-teacher in the Sanskrit College fell vacant. Vidyasagar was the inevitable choice. He, however, stepped back and pointed out that Pundit Taranath Tarkabachaspati, so well-qualified and so much his senior, was sitting idle. Principal Marshall was struck mute with admiration to note this spirit of sacrifice—the post carried a salary of Rs. 90 a month. As the matter was urgent and if delayed so many things might come in between, Vidyasagar himself went to Kalna, where Taranath was then living and brought his application and testimonials. A trip by boat taking a much longer time, Vidyasagar covered the distance, 60 miles each way, on foot. The other incident is that Vidyasagar was in charge of the vernacular examination, the English Civilians were due to pass before

joining service. One year, the number of failures was very large and Marshall asked Vidyasagar to revise the papers with an eye that those, who failed, would have to go back home disappointed, having lost a precious year of their life. 'Would Indian students', posed Vidyasagar, 'have such a consideration in their examinations in England?' 'Moreover those who came to serve in this country,' added Vidyasagar with a cold emphasis, 'needed first of all to learn the language of the people, otherwise, they would be failures for the very reason thereof.' Marshall was no sun-dried bureaucrat and did not push the matter any further.

Promotions came to him as a matter of course; and he was the Principal of the Sanskrit College at the age of thirty. Later on, he was, in addition, appointed Inspector of Schools on a consolidated salary of Rs. 500/- a month. For any of these preferments—from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 500/- in ten years—he never bent his knees or sought anybody, even by implication, to do this or that for him. In fact, his sense of self-respect passed into history. It was, as though, an obligation he owed to himself.

On one occasion, when he was the Assistant Secretary of the Sanskrit College, he went to Principal Kerr of the Hindu College. Kerr did not ask Vidyasagar to take his seat and remained reclined on his chair with feet stretched outright on the table in front. It so happened that a few days after, Kerr came to the Sanskrit College to see Vidyasagar. Vidyasagar, as he got scent of it, had his room emptied of chairs, except his own, on which he sat likewise reclined on the back-rest and legs spread out full length on the table. Kerr reported the matter to Dr. Moet, the Secretary of the Education Council, the same as Director of Public Instruction in later days. He called for an explanation. Vidyasagar, in explanation, narrated his experience. At the intervention of Dr. Moet, Kerr saw Vidyasagar and they shook hands over the affair. It is proper, we refrain from gloating on the incident even if it merits mention to mark off Vidyasagar from others. It was, however, a lesson to

the subject people in dazed awe of an Englishman representing the ruling race.

Service is a shackle. But it was impossible to coerce Vidyasagar into the iron jacket of 'Yes Sir'. As Inspector of Schools he was having sharp differences with the authority over matters of policy. With regard to an annual report, he refused to do the window-dressing as suggested by W. G. Young, the Director of Public Instruction. He would not budge an inch from the position he had taken up, nor would Civilian Young, naturally enough, take it lying down. Young had not forgotten that Vidyasagar had gone up to the Lieutenant-Governor Halliday to bring home to the Government the unwisdom of appointing this young Civilian in place of the level-headed Dr. Moet. Did Civilians, as a class, nurse a feeling that he had nipped so many of them in the bud? But Halliday was head over ears in love and respect for Vidyasagar and they had, therefore, to put up with him. Young only bidden his opportunity. It came when Vidyasagar attacked the policy of the Government, making room, in progressively large numbers, for Englishmen in the Education Department. The point, he sought to make out was that money, saved by appointing competent Indians, would go a long way to spread education in the country. Young refused pointblank to sanction any money for the fifty girl schools, Vidyasagar had founded without his sanction. Vidyasagar resigned. A friend of his asked him, in utter dismay, how he would carry on without service. 'I shall,' roared Vidyasagar, 'sell potatoes in the streets of Calcutta rather than bow down to an insulting dictation'. Halliday suggested that since Vidyasagar had discussed the subject with him and had his approval, he would better sue the Lieutenant Governor. But Vidyasagar would not compromise the position of the well-intentioned Halliday. Rather, he faced the financial burden of these schools, where no tuition fees were charged and the students were otherwise assisted by books and other implements. It is, by the way, fair to state that Halliday, Beadon, Bethune and

a few other English high officials came forward to pay subscription for these schools.

It looks queer on the face of it, but nothing to surprise at, that he who commanded the loyal admiration, of men like Halliday, Beadon<sup>3</sup> and Bethune,<sup>4</sup> the man whom Lord Canning, the Governor General, would have by his side with Lord Bishop, while presiding over the First Convocation of Calcutta University, was no better than a piece of waste paper, fit to be twisted and thrown away by a few Civil servants acting in concert. This resignation of Vidyasagar all but confirms what Sir Thomas Munro<sup>5</sup> wrote to Governor General Lord Hastings that what advantages—honours and positions of profit—the Indians enjoyed were purchased by the sacrifice of independence and what other things render a people respectable.

## II

The most solid, notable contribution of Vidyasagar in the making of a new India is that he laid the foundation of Female Education truly and well. In fact, he translated into action the lesson, Raja Rammohun Roy sought to inculcate, that without imbuing our womanhood with a sense of their rights and dignity alongside their duties and obligations, India would as surely relapse into feudalism. Vidyasagar's efforts and sacrifice in the direction are without a parallel. Closely associated with him in spade-work was J. D. Bethune. They first of all founded a school for girls in Calcutta. Bethune left a large bequest for it, which, on his death, was named after him and subsequently developed into a college.

Like a lump of leaven that levens the whole lump, Vidyasagar's attitude to womanhood is exemplified by one small incident, when he was yet a student of the Sanskrit College. His teacher Shambhu-

3. Succeeded Halliday Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

4. Secretary to the Governor General's Council.

5. Governor of Madras.

nath Vachaspati, a widower long past the seemly age of marriage, married a tiny young girl. It was so very distasteful to Isvarchandra that he washed his hands clean of his teacher, save what could not be helped, as in the class room. Shambhu-nath, who treated Isvar with affection, felt deeply hurt. One day, he could not contain himself any longer and caught hold of his pupil's hand, saying imploringly, 'Even if, I am in the wrong, how has my wife offended you? Should not you have gone to pay her your respects?' The ice broke; and Isvar went to his teacher's house. Immediately, however, as he saw the slip of a girl and visualised for her a widowhood of standing negation, he burst into tears and cleared out of the house, refusing to partake of even a glass of water there. This is Vidyasagar out and out, strong and headlong as a thunderbolt and soft as a lily, unfolding its petals.

He used to notice in his boyhood how visibly was his mother affected, whenever any girl in their known circle became a widow. The story goes, that on one such occasion when, by the time, his was a household name in Bengal, his mother asked him, if it could ever be true that Hinduism denied a widow the right to marry. As she was told 'no', she wished her son to do what he could to set things right by amending the law in force. The son stretched himself to the full length of his being to settle the question.

Each day, after college hours, he sat up far into the night for months together studying authorities on Hindu *Sastras* in order to justify widow-marriage. He then published a treatise on the subject. This was, as it were, a block of stone thrown into hornet's nest. Those who felt that the sanctity of Hindu homes was being invaded ransacked *Sastras* as much for counter arguments. They, as well, searched vocabulary for abuse to besmear the dear name of Vidyasagar. Not content with this, they threatened him with such dire consequences that Thakurdas felt called upon to send from his home a trusted servant, capable of wielding *lathi*, to keep guard his son's person.

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It must not be understood that before Vidyasagar launched his move, there was no thought bestowed upon it. The truculent Raghunandan Bhattacharjea, as the grim irony of fate would have it, tried to have his widowed daughter married. So did Raja Rajballav Sen. They, however, lacked the fibre and determination of Vidyasagar. And yet it is fair to note that by the time Vidyasagar took up the question, there had grown up in Calcutta—thanks to English education and the Hindu College influence—a number of associations debating Literature, Science, Philosophy and Sociology, etc. They began to question the existing order of things and break the tradition of the authoritarian mandate of customs.

Vidyasagar was so thorough-going that he suffered no idleness or loopholes in his efforts. He moved about door to door to collect the support of men of light and leading. A petition was then presented to the Legislative Council of India 'to take into early consideration the propriety of passing a Law to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows.' The Law came into force in July 1856.

It was now a peculiar position with Vidyasagar. Every widow-marriage was his personal concern and, gradually as other people's enthusiasm fizzled away, his financial responsibility. On this account he incurred, according to one estimate, a debt of Rs. 50 thousand. To add to the load of complications, he resigned his service, as we have seen, within two years. Many an enthusiast, who gave Vidyasagar money in connection with widow marriage, now turned round and debited it to him as a loan. On the other hand, those who owed him money—and they were a legion—made themselves scarce. In fact, to cheat him like this became a common practice. There is an amusing story, that once, when a gentleman came to pay off a loan, Vidyasagar was literally at his wit's end and took some time to understand the position. As he understood it, he broke into a laughter of pleased surprise and would not let the

gentleman go without being treated to sweets.

There are good many anecdotes to illustrate how he offered to help people unsought. One evening, as he was having his daily stroll round about the site of the now Azad Hind Bagh, Calcutta, he noticed a gentleman struggling visibly to restrain his tears, as he plodded his way. Vidyasagar coaxed him to speak out what affected him like that and gathered that the High Court had decreed his eviction from the ancestral house. He took the details, but in a manner as to disarm suspicion. The next day, he sent to the aforesaid gentleman's Solicitor the full amount of satisfaction.

One day at Chandannagar, where he had gone to repair his health, he found a boy with one foot abnormally thin. He heard with a meticulous care from the boy's attendant how it was gradually thinning down and did not yield to any treatment. Vidyasagar saw the boy's parents. And as he learnt that they had exhausted themselves and were unable to go in for further treatment, he offered to house them at his in Calcutta and arrange for his treatment in the Medical College. The boy got fairly well and lived a useful life.

In days when there was no talk of classless society, his kind offices knew no bounds of class. One early morning at Karmatar, his methor came running to him to say that his wife was attacked with cholera. He lost no time to go to the methor's house in their colony and took up her treatment according to Homeopathy, in which he had acquired a considerable proficiency. He sat by her side till late hours of the night, when she showed definite signs of rally.

A word with regard to Vidyasagar's contribution to the growth of Bengali literature is called for. If to Raja Ram-mohun Roy goes the credit of creating modern Bengali prose, to Vidyasagar must be assigned the palm of combining for it, vigour and grace, even though, it may not be grudged saying, that he could not completely free himself from the cramps of highbrow Sanskrit. Bankimchandra Chat-

terji says that 'nobody before or after him has written such sweet Bengali'. Rabindranath Tagore says that 'he split up compound words of learned length into simple components and gave our language a natural stateliness, such as is possible, only of a great artist.'—(Translation mine).

Pressed so many times to be a member of the Text Book Committee, Vidyasagar declined the offer, lest the weight of membership influenced the selection of his books. Sashibhusan Chatterjea presented him a copy of his **Ramer Rajyabhishek**, intended to be a school text. He found it was quite all right and in order to make room for it, he cancelled the publishing of his book on the selfsame subject, even if its printing had gone more than half the way. He rescued Michael Madhusudan Dutt, stuck up in debts in distant France. He helped Akshoy Kumar Dutt grow up into a literary figure of great note. To simplify the labours involved in learning sanskrit he wrote grammars like **Upakramanika** and **Vyakaran Koumudi**.

The first college under non-official Indian initiative is the Metropolitan College, he founded, and now named after him. To what extent he merged himself into its upbringing is borne out by the fact, that as in the very first year, a student stood second in the First Arts Examination, he hastened back to Calcutta from Karmatar, on receipt of the information, and went straight to the house of the student to bless him. He brought the boy to his house and presented him a set of very costly-bound Waverly novels.

Broken down in health and finance, Vidyasagar had at one time some discussions with Sir Cecil Beadon, about his re-entry into the Government service. But what he stated and stood by as his basic condition was again a challenge to what had been the basic principle of British rule in India. "I must say candidly," he wrote, "that notwithstanding the serious difficulties I am in, my vanity would not permit me to serve unless the salary, which European professors of that Institution (The Presidency College, Calcutta) draw, is allowed to me." It is possibly im-

possible to find any other to fit in into his mould. From a very humble position he rose to the pinnacle of greatness. Never, however, for a day he forsook his old simple way of life. For himself he indulged in nothing costly except that his library was well-kept and books were bound at a high cost. When, however, it was a question of making gifts to others he took good care to select the best possible articles of the market. He lived on spare diet, but was fastidious in preparing menu, when he invited anybody to dine at his place and felt particularly delighted to cook special dishes for his guests.

On 29th July, 1891, Isvarchandra Vidyasagar breathed the last drop of benediction. It was truly a 'benediction,' as at the Church, when the congregation disperses. A type by himself, he realised the solemnity of life by multiplying his obligations. At times they taxed him and even soured him. At times he looked wearing out under the load of ungrateful returns. They did not, however, deter him, even in desolation, emptying himself for others with the inwardness of a heart that never tired.

A man's correct obituary note is his testament. It is revealing how he disposed of his earthly possessions in contemplation of death. Vidyasagar by his will left Rs. 461 a month for his various relations; Rs. 100 and Rs. 50 a month for the hospital and the school respectively, he had founded in his village; and Rs. 100 a month for the Widow Marriage Committee, besides, a one-time donation to many a man and cause. On the top of all, he left for his countrymen the priceless legacy of a name to conjure with for generations to come.

Great as he was in learning, manliness and charity, he was greater still in identifying himself heart and soul, with every

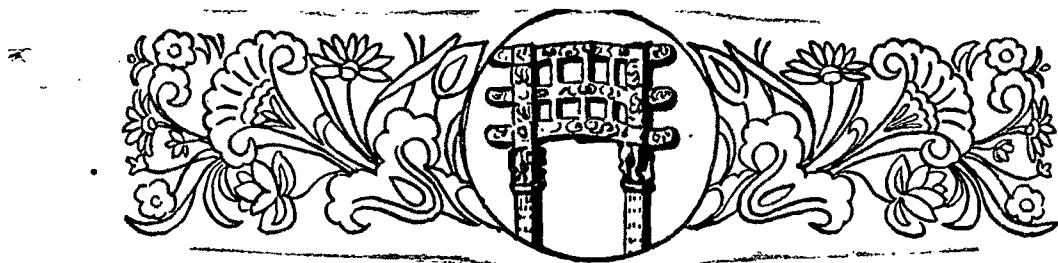
cause that would make his country great. No one has exerted himself to the extent he did to bring home to India, emerging out of medievalism, that no country can ever forge ahead by leaving her women-folk in the rear. He belonged to a subject-peopple, cowed down by a virile race, stringently organising their rule, but never under any circumstance he hesitated to look them straight in the face. In fact, he imparted a high moral tone to our national character, evolving under the new auspices. Rabindranath speaks of Vidyasagar as a class by himself, such as to make his difference with others not one of degree but of kind. And yet some of Vidyasagar's contemporaries, including Rabindranath's father Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, were giants of men. I delight to think that Pundit Isvarchandra Vidyasagar is, to all intents and purposes, visualised in the following lines of *Naivedya*, Rabindranath wrote some three years after Vidyasagar died :

*Karona karona lajjah hey bharatbashi  
Shakti madamatta oi banik bilashi  
Dhandripta paschimmer katashhya sammukhey  
Shubhra uttariya pari, santo shamahita mukhey  
Saral jeebon khani karite bahan.*

Thou must not;

And why at all shouldst Thou Oh India  
shy at the West, which by trade  
to the summit of affluence risen, is  
purse-proud and power-intoxicated.  
Have faith in thy own self to face her fair  
and square, attired as thou art, in thy  
clean, simple habits, and with thy com-  
posed, tranquil smile and resolve un-  
flinching to stand by thy own.

—(Translation mine).



## SUDHIRKUMAR SEN (1888-1959)

By MONI BAGCHEE

Sudhirkumar Sen, or Mr. S. K. Sen as he was more popularly known all over India and abroad, was "an almost legendary figure in the annals of the Bicycle trade and industry in the Indian sub-continent. He entered the Bicycle Trade at the turn of the century when the bicycle was considered a luxury and after devoting his whole life to the pursuit of popularising the bicycle as the only means of personal transport for the people of this country, he left the world satisfied in the knowledge that his efforts had not been in vain and independent India had recognised the need for bringing cycling to the masses. It was not for nothing that he was acknowledged as the father of the Indian Bicycle trade and industry by the admiring trade of the country."

Mr. Sen started his career as an indenting agent and founded the House of Sen and Pandit in 1910. He did not simply buy and sell cycles, he did more than that. He brought about a revolution in this sphere and his was the shaping influence, acknowledged both by the dealers and the manufacturers. Any assessment of his magnificent achievements will be incomplete without a brief reference to the background of the period in which he lived and worked. What were the conditions prevailing in the country when young Sudhirkumar—an Honours Graduate in English from the Presidency College—entered into a field, then almost monopolised by some well-known British buying houses. No Indian before him had thought of taking up indenting business in competition with the foreigners who had the backing of the British Exchange Banks. The success of Sen and Pandit during the early years was by no means easy. He had to carve out his path almost unaided and against heavy odds. To make the long story short, it will be enough to say that since his association with E.A. Levetus & Co., one of the well-known shippers of those days, Mr. Sen was able to establish himself as the foremost indenting agent. The interest of the cycle dealers throughout India was always uppermost in his mind and so completely he identified himself with them that he considered himself always happy when he knew that his dealers were earning. He served the trade as no

indenting agent had done before him and thus he was instrumental in effecting a new outlook in this trade. To the dealers he would always say : "I regard each and everyone of you as a member of the Sen & Pandit family, that is my attitude towards you."

Hundreds of instances can be cited to show the greatness of Sudhirkumar in so far as his relations with the dealers were concerned. "From the very beginning of my business career I took it for granted that genuine human relationship is essential for healthy growth of life in any business organisation," so he once said to a dealer. Indeed, his kindest impulses remained strong and active and compassion if not magnanimity was rarely missing from the scale of his feelings. A dealer told me that "he could inspire devotion ; all those who worked with him remember him with pride and affection."

From an indenting agent when he shot into more prominence as an industrialist, following the foundation of the Sen-Raleigh Industries, Sudhirkumar remained much the same man—the same sweet, sympathetic and considerate man and his affection for his dealers underwent least change. On the eve of his last journey to Europe in 1959, Mr. Sen visited Bombay in the month of March of that year, and the trade seized the opportunity to felicitate him. A party was given in his honour at the Radio Club and Mr. Sen also entertained the trade at Golmohr. There was a large gathering on that night. Mr. Babubhai B. Shah tells me in this connection: "Mr. Sen spoke to the dealers in such a feelingly manner that I shall never forget his touching words:" "Consider Sen-Raleigh as your own Company: you are its real owner, I again repeat I am one of you." Who but Sudhirkumar could say this? It was no mechanical gesture or a stage performance, it was spontaneous, generous and considerate; out and out sanctified with his genuine feelings, seldom found in the life of an industrialist.

His last visit to the South at the end of 1957, was memorable in Mr. Sen's life on account of the spontaneous felicitations accorded to him at Rajahmundry, Madras and Bangalore. The following extract from a letter dated 6.1.1958, written by Mr. Sen himself to the Committee of

Hosts, Madras Cycle dealers, after he returned to Calcutta, is worth remembering :—

"I hope the family of Sen-Raleigh and Sen & Pandit Private Ltd., dealers will prosper and grow from more to more and that this united family will do a great deal towards the growth of cycle trade and industry and continue in the same spirit of co-operation and that our levels and that of my sons, will grow stronger in a spirit of fairness mutual and profitable expansion for the benefit of the trade and industry with a code of conduct which will inspire other traders and industries as an example to emulate."

As far as I have been able to judge from the numerous anecdotes I have heard from his closest friends and numerous admirers, Mr. Sen could easily impart a moving quality of tenderness to his kindness perhaps because the guiding principle of his life seemed to be universal love which suffused his being. Perhaps this was the reason that his dominating personality drew admiration from all quarters. It is not for nothing that an eminent person like Mr. George Wilson, Chairman, Raleigh Industries, England, while paying his tribute to the memory of Mr. Sen, remarked that "he was greatly loved and respected in all business circle, particularly by the many dealers in the cycle trade to whom he was a good friend and in whom they had the greatest confidence."

Sudhirkumar was a man of exceptional force of character. He was uncompromising in his standard of rectitude and conduct. The association and the environment in which the young Sudhirkumar grew up, certainly contributed greatly towards it. Man truly reveals himself through his character. "It is character that pays everywhere," Mr. Sen used to say very often; "Give up jealousy and conceit. Be perfectly pure and straightforward in money-dealings. So long as you have faith and honesty and devotion to your work, everything will prosper." That gives a clue to the study of the mind and face of Sudhirkumar. It must be borne in mind that during the formative period of his life, he had the rare advantage of coming in close association with some of the best teachers in the Presidency College, both European and Indian, who inspired their students with the lofty ideals and higher values in life. It is said that Mr. Sen won many a battle by sheer force of his character. To

the present generation, the life of Mr. Sen offers many things of sterling value. He changed the common notion that honesty and business success are uneasy bed-fellows. It is known to all that Mr. Sen spent most of his time abroad, particularly in the U.K. and the Continent and he was privileged to gather inside informations, relating to the manufacturing progress in those countries. Any shrewd businessman would have



Sudhirkumar Sen

kept these informations with him, but it was just the opposite with Mr. Sen. Immediately on his return to India, Mr. Sen would freely pass on those informations to all his dealers. When one day Mrs. Sen asked her husband, "Why don't you keep those valuable informations with you?", Mr. Sen at once replied, saying, "I regard the universe as an open book, printed in the language of universal love, of which, in our rare moments of grace, we are able to decipher a small fragment. This universe, you see, is so wide that anybody working honestly, is not destined to starve." This attitude clearly reflects the mind of the man. From this it is not difficult to trace the influence of the thoughts of Raja Rammohan Roy on the mind of Sudhirkumar.

Once a dealer came to Mr. Sen and asked him what he thought was the most important thing in the world. He got this answer from him: "Minding your own business with friendliness, humility and authority." Anyone acquainted with life and activities of Mr. Sen, will admit that in him was found a combination of these fine qualities—friendliness, humility and authority—not often found in one personality. At sixty years of age Mr. Sen was the most prominent man in the cycle world—both in India and abroad. He had wealth, place and power. He had shown to the world the stuff of which he was made. By sheer force of character he had converted his modest capital into considerable wealth. Riches give power and he could have been an autocrat industrialist. But he was not a money-maker in the ordinary sense of the term. There in the background of his life one would always find something which transcends the lure of wealth." During the Second World War the conditions in the Indian bicycle market afforded an excellent opportunity to the indenting agents to make money. Any cycle would be then sold at Rs. 300 per piece and even leaving out the dealers' margin of profit there was ample scope on the part of the indenting agent to earn extra profit. Wilson & Co., actually proposed to Sen & Pandit in Madras to put up their entire stock in a godown and sell the cycles to the dealers. That was against the principle of Mr. Sen and even Mr. Levetus could not prevail upon him to agree to this idea. "I am a man of strict principle and I hate to earn a penny beyond my legitimate share. I must follow the ethics of an indenting agent and I must remain satisfied with what I earn legitimately." This shows the metal of his character and this, I think, imparted a special hallow in the personality of the man. It was this combination of character and personality that paved the way to his eminence.

Sudhirkumar was essentially a man of action, and not of words. Perhaps he believed with Clemenceau that: "Words are enemies to action . . . . we wonder passing among them as men without knowledge. Where you find the most words you find the least action . . . . Action, not words, enlarges the soul, and makes for harmony and contentment." And this perhaps was one of the reasons why Mr. Sen never made himself (or even attempted to make him-

self) prominent as a public man, leaving public affairs and speech-making to others. His forethought travelled in many directions, expressing itself in a rare excellence of tact. He never indulged in tall talking. When on the occasion of his 70th birthday, he was given a reception by his office staff, Mr. Sen is said to have remarked to one of his assistants who had drafted the Address in the following manner: "Why can't you be more brief and less verbose in your adulations? You see, one of the drawbacks of the Bengalis is this that we love to make tall talks and this has been going on since the days of Bankimchandra, and again, this accounts for our deplorable position in the field of commerce and industry. Let us cultivate the art of talking less and doing more work. Work, work, work—that should be the guiding motto of the present-day Bengali youth." Even when Mr. Sen used to visit his dealers either in Calcutta or elsewhere, his talks to them would be invariably brief. A Bombay dealer told me: "Whenever Mr. Sen would visit us, he had only three things to ask us, viz : Are you satisfied ? Are you earning ? Any difficulty ? And after that he would talk about the new items brought by him." "Work is the greatest blessing in human life," Mr. Sen is reported to have once said to a Delhi dealer when the latter came to seek his advice, just at the starting of his career: "You must work hard if you want to reap the harvest. All we need is the spirit of working hard and sincerely at the same time."

Sudhirkumar was a born Journalist and a born writer. He was a prolific writer and could write with ease. Those who have read his articles will find that his journalistic gift was remarkable. He had, in fact, a great desire to shine in this vocation and would have become a distinguished journalist had he devoted himself solely to this profession. The root of the matter was in him. At sixteen he was called upon to edit the College Magazine. This showed clearly, that he had a flair for writing. Most of his published articles bristle with originality and clarity of thought. Mr. Sen was the first man to realise the need of a journal to serve the Trade in which he was now fully engaged. India had then not yet developed the cycling journalism and he was destined to show the path. The *Indian Cycle and Motor Journal* was

born in the year 1917 with Mr. Sen as its editor and he remained as such till the time of his death.

Speaking about his aptitude for writing, one cannot help but recalling his love for books. At all times books supplied his most satisfying mental relaxation. There were always books by his side, wherever he happened to be. He could make many apt quotations from poets and authors. He had read widely and retentively but his reading was not always of a serious character. It was only in latter days of his life that he took pleasure in reading scientific and technical books. The cadences of Rabindranath's music and poetry also pleased his ears. Mr. Sen, it may be noted, was a life-member of the *Visva-Bharati* since its inception. His refinement of character can be traced to his inherent love of reading. Constant reading had also helped him to develop his power of sarcasm, which was sharp but not malicious, for his caustic wit was tempered by a kindly soul, and a genius for friendship. All who heard him, in his hours of relaxation, were impressed by his great versatility.

Sudhirkumar was a man of principle. Even those outside the cycle trade have expressed to me the same view. He set up a high standard of business ethics and the dealers had a great confidence in him. Here was a man who never compromised with principle. It is interesting to recall in this connection the following incident in the life of Mr. Sen. He was then handling the Hercules Cycles and at the same time Philips Cycle components—both with great success. The rest of the story has been told by his trusted lieutenant, Shri R. N. Das Gupta, in the following words :

"It so happened once that when the sales figure of the Hercules Cycle showed an upward trend, the manufacturers gave us an ultimatum to choose between Philips and Hercules. Perhaps it was their idea that with the sales going up, the commission earning had also gone up and Sen & Pandit might hesitate to give up this lucrative agency. But they were wrong in their calculation, for Mr. Sen was a man of strict principle and he was the last man to be cowed down or threatened by such ultimatum. So he told the Hercules people straight on their face, "If I am to leave either of you, I prefer to

leave you" and so he did. Then when he returned to India, one day I told him (showing to him the sales figure of the Hercules), "We should have retained the agency. To this Mr. Sen at once replied, "Why worry? If one brand goes out of our hands, another will follow; but if I sacrifice my principles, I shall never be able to recover it. I stand on principle and nothing else."

Mr. Sen knew that principle is more eternal than expediency, just as truth is more powerful than error.

Sudhirkumar was a product of the age in which he was born and educated. Nationalism was in the air when young Sudhirkumar came out of the Presidency College. Those were the days of the great Swadeshi movement and though he was not inclined to politics, yet nationalism had its deep root in his thoughts and actions and this remained with him all through his business career. And out of this love for nationalism there grew up in him a formidable spirit of independence which he maintained till the last day of his life. His leading position in the cycle trade is no doubt a glowing testimony of his imagination and his organising powers, but it owes no less to his spirit of independence. So successful had been his career that it is well to recall the difficulties which Mr. Sen had to overcome. There were times when Sen & Pandit was in low waters, and Mr. Sen himself had to experience heavy odds. These early difficulties only served to develop his character, and to exhibit his determination, his energy, and his integrity—all born of a keen spirit of independence. It was characteristic of Mr. Sen that he could hit hard when it was necessary and was not afraid of giving and taking blows in business deals as they came, but he never knowingly indulged in a malicious manoeuvre to outwit the other party.

Coupled with his spirit of independence there was his charming personality and business sagacity which contributed largely towards his phenomenal success. Mr. Sen preferred to remove all and every shade of association with the man who had proved to be false, but vindictiveness was not in his nature and he never went out of his way to harm any one. He practised a sort of self-abnegation and by virtue of this

admirable trait had turned many a foe into man, he was equally unique as an idealist and respectable admirers, and even admirer in matters of commercial policies.

Sudhirkumar possessed a growing and adaptable mind; his aim was success in business. There is such a thing as personal magnetism and we feel sure that he possessed the undefinable power which he exercised over his associates at any gathering. It was a common experience for people who came into intimate contact with him to realise within a few moments that they were in the presence of a forceful personality, which emanates a power that cannot exactly be defined, but which exercises slowly and surely and influence over their sundry wills. On countless occasions where personal contacts had been established it had been only a question of time when the opposing will came into line with Mr. Sen's own. Combine this inexplicable and enviable magnetism with the elements of superior reasonableness, industry and patience, and we will be very near an understanding of the secret of Sudhirkumar's success as a businessman. At the same time he never let sentiment sway over reason. His strong personality, as far as I have understood, was responsible for the enviable bulldog tenacity which Mr. Sen very often displayed in his long business life.

It is interesting to recall Sudhirkumar's passionate love for truth. In this connection I have heard from Mr. Jagadishkumar Lahiri the following: "Once Mr. Sen told me in course of discussion about the necessity of truth in our everyday life, 'I will give you a golden tip, Jagadish. Never budge an inch from the side of truth, it may not be helpful to your service career, your promotion may be delayed but mind it nobody can do any inherent wrong to a truthful man. Inherently dishonest people seldom shine or prosper. Money is not the criterion of a man, it is his character that ultimately counts and what is character without adherence to truthfulness and justice?'"

This love for truth was the very basis of Sudhirkumar's existence. It was born out of his abiding religious faith. It is equally interesting to note that the mind of the man who had seen half of the world and who had mixed freely with all sorts of men both in India and abroad and who had outlived two world wars—was fully saturated with deep and abiding religious faith. If Sudhirkumar was unique as a business-

man, he was equally unique as an idealist and philanthropist.

Never had his way of life been otherwise. He remained all through his life and till the last moment, the same truth-loving honest man adhering to principle and straightforward manners in his business-dealings. He never deviated from them—never thought of deviating. In fact he never went out of the path he had chalked out at the beginning of his career. Clear thinking and cool reasoning were his notable characteristics and they contributed largely to the success he attained. Methodical in his habits, his powers of observation were often striking. He was rarely doubtful about the results of his endeavours. He had an energy of mind that animated the lives of innumerable people who came within the orbit of his life.

Speaking about his own success, Mr. Sen once said :

"With honest and straightforward business principles, close and careful attention to details, and ability to take advantage of favourable opportunities and circumstances, there is always a scope for success."

He never alluded to his self-devotion, and even self-abnegation, which he exercised on all occasions in the matter of the development of the House of Sen & Pandit. He was never influenced by family or friendly recommendations, and did not choose any employee unless he was satisfied that he would lead to the Company's advantage. Sen & Pandit was the work of his own hands, although he never forgot to acknowledge the services of his able lieutenants.

Sudhirkumar impressed upon all those who served him that the relation between master and man should be regulated with due regard to mutual interest. The half a century old House of Sen & Pandit, the flourishing Sen-Raleigh Industries, the re-organised National Tannery Co., these remain his noblest monuments and set an example of achievement to his countrymen. The mental grasp, the power of will, and the habit of industry which enabled him to do all these things, gave him the unmistakable character of a man fashioned in a large mould. There was nothing small about him. He stood high in the companies of leading men, both in India and abroad. The impression he made wherever he went was of a great personal force with a hollow of charm. He exhibited a mind habitually taking

broad views and working for fine ends. His great experience, his tenacity of purpose and strength of conviction, as also his firm belief in the ultimate triumph of truth, are facts that might well serve as an example and inspiration to the younger generation of India. His resolute character, his kindness of heart, his quiet and dominating personality, and the great services

he had rendered to the trade with which he was chiefly associated will never fade away. His singular destiny had helped to make an epoch in the sphere of Indian bicycle trade and industry, and many who had known him in the years of his ascendancy felt that his death marked its close. More certainly they were assured of never seeing his like again.

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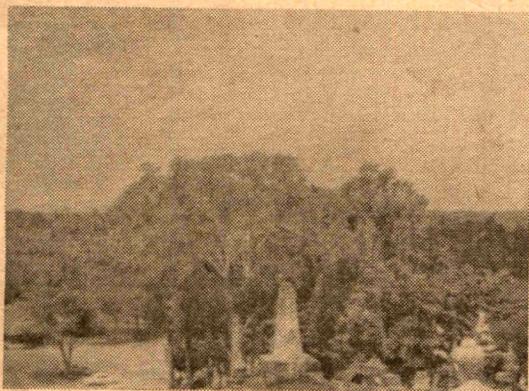
## BOROBUDUR

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

INDIAN civilization is ageless in the sense that its beginnings cannot be assigned to any definite epoch of history. Not many years ago it was believed that the Vedic Aryans laid the first founda-

India thus became a vast ocean of humanity par excellence.

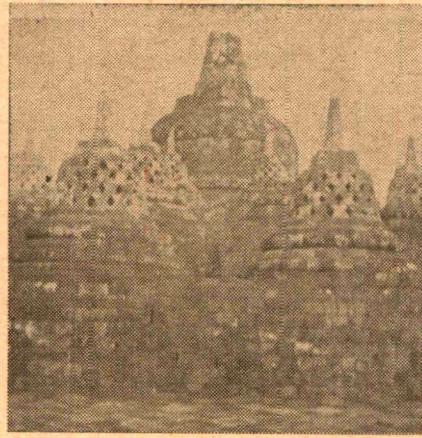
The mills of the gods went on grinding at leisure till we reach the era of the Imperial



Surroundings of the Stupa

tions of civilization in India more than a thousand years before Jesus of Nazareth was born. The belief has since been abandoned. Far be it from us to suggest that the Indian civilization has existed from the beginning of times. All we mean to emphasize is that none can say definitely when the first seeds of culture and civilization were sown in this holy land of ours.

The picture of Indian civilization, however, becomes progressively more and more clear from the *Vedic* period. Water flowed down the rivers and Indian civilization scaled greater and greater heights. Invaders of different races and creeds poured into the fertile plains of Aryavarta. They were all absorbed into the body-politic of India.

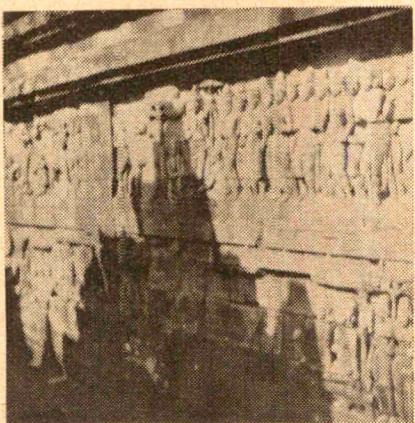


The Central Stupa (Marked X)

Guptas, which is really a period of harvest-gathering, a period when Indian genius in all fields of human activity blossomed out like a thousand-petalled golden lotus. Like a mighty stream at the height of flood-tide it burst the barriers of the natural frontiers of its land of origin and enriched the life and culture of many a strange people in distant lands. India initiated not a few in the mysteries of civilized existence.

"From Persia to the Chinese Sea," writes Sylvain Levi, "from the icy regions of Siberia to the islands of Java and Borneo, from Oceania to Solobra, India has propagated her beliefs, her tales and her civilization. She has left indelible

imprints on one-fourth of the human race in the course of a long succession of centuries. She has the right to reclaim in universal history the rank that ignorance has refused her for a long time and to hold her amongst the great nations summarising and symbolising the spirit of Humanity."\*



Panel in Relief on the Wall

The island of Java in the Indian Ocean was once ruled by princes of Indian origin. Indian religions—Hinduism and Buddhism—spread over the island and Indian cultural influences are still discernible in the lives of the Javanese people. The period covered by the rule of the Buddhist Sailendra princes and the Hindu princes of Majapahit constitutes the most glorious epoch in the history of Java.

The 'stupa' at Borobudur built over the relics of Gautama, the Buddha, rightly regarded as the "Eighth Wonder of the World," is a deathless monument to the glory of the mighty Sailendras. "My first impression on seeing the whole ('stupa') was," writes F. C. (Frank Clune), "I don't believe it. It seemed incredible that human beings could possibly have erected such a structure, so huge, yet delicate and elaborate. Reared on the tradition that the Pyramids of Egypt are the most wonderful examples of masonry, I had to admit immediately that the Borobodur far surpasses the plain-sided Pyramids of Pharaoh. . . . the Pyramid is a flop after you have seen the Stupa at Borobudur."†

\**Progress of Greater Indian Research—1917-1942*—Dr. U. N. Ghosal (Quoted).

†*To The Isles of Spice with Frank Clune*, p. 189.

Borobudur is an hour's drive from Jogjakarta, an important university town in Central Java. The distance is 45 kilometres or 27 miles (1 kilometre =  $\frac{5}{6}$  mile). A fine asphalt road links Borobudur with Jogjakarta. The riot of greenery—paddy fields and groves of coconut palms and bamboos—soothes the eyes. The landscape but for the undulations of the road and hills in the background is very much like the landscape of rural Bengal. The tiny hamlet of Mendut is 42 kilometres from Jogjakarta on the road to Borobudur. There is a Buddhist temple at Mendut known as the Chandi Mendut. Chandi in Javanese means a temple and 'Mendut' is the Javanese equivalent of a bamboo grove. The village might have been a bamboo grove when the temple was built. Chandi Mendut is a stone-structure facing the West. A large stone image of the Buddha in the meditative mood (*Dhyani Buddha*) is installed in the temple. There is a statue of a 'Bodhisattva' (Buddha in the making) on either side of Buddha's image. Visitors place flowers before the deity. We purchased some flowers from the keeper of the temple and placed our humble offerings before the Buddha. There are stone statues of Buddha in sitting posture in some of the niches in the interior walls. Six niches are, however, empty, the statues having been removed to the museum at Djakarta.

The Chandi Mendut is traditionally attributed to Maharaja Pancapana Sailendra of Central Java (C.760—C.780). Some historians, however, do not accept the Sailendra Origin of Pancapana. He was, according to them, a vassal of Vishnu Dharmatunga Sailendra, who is believed to have ruled before 775-782 A.D.

Islam arrived in Java in the 14th century and the whole island was overrun by the "followers of the faith" in the 16th century. The Mendut temple was badly damaged by them. The spire was pulled down. Statues of Buddha in the niches of exterior walls did not escape the fanatic's fury. The heads of many were chiselled off. The temple denuded of its spire and with a large number of broken images bear a mute yet eloquent testimony to Muslim vandalism.

Borobudur, a mere 3 kilometres from Mendut, came in view almost immediately after we had turned our backs on the Chandi Mendut. The grand 'Stupa' at Borobudur is built on a square pediment 350 feet each way and rises to a height of 150 ft. The monument with gates on all sides—East, West, North and South—rises in

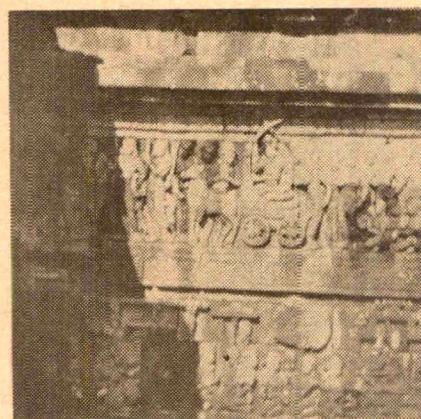
nine terraces, each successive terrace being Buddha in the 'Stupa'. The number is smaller today. Some have been souvenired. Many of the remaining statues are mutilated and disfigured. The fury of Nature and Muslim fanaticism has each played a part in this sacrilegious iconoclasm.

We entered into the monument by the northern gate flanked by two stone elephants. Centuries of sun and rain have left their marks upon the elephants. The first six terraces of the monument are all square in shape whereas the last three are circular. There were in all 72 stone cupolas on the latter—32 on the seventh terrace, 24 on the eighth and 16 on the ninth. They look like gigantic hand-bells. Each cupola contains a stone statue of Buddha in a squatting posture, which may be glimpsed through evenly spaced square diamond-shaped holes<sup>‡</sup> in the cupola. One of the cupolas is, however, empty and the heads of the statues in some others have been chiselled off. One of the cupolas has been demolished and another, damaged.

About 2,000 bas-reliefs on the six lowest terraces tell the story of Buddha's life in progressive pictures "like the Stations of the Cross in the Catholic Churches." We see Maya Devi, the Buddha's mother, dreaming of an elephant of extreme beauty. The dream is an omen that Maya Devi will mother a godly child. The next panel describes the birth of the Buddha. Other panels describe various other scenes from the Buddha's life, such as, his first acquaintance—he had not yet become a Buddha—with old age, sickness and death, the Great Renunciation, Buddha's wanderings, the self-mortification and austerities practised by him, his conquest of Mar (the Tempter), dreams preceding Enlightenment, the Enlightenment, 'Nirvana' and the like. The sculptures become more and more serene as one ascends the terraces higher and higher. The Buddha also rises in spirituality to higher planes of existence. Besides the bas-reliefs where each picture tells a story, the walls are lavishly decorated with wreaths, scrolls, flowers, birds, beasts, trees, lions, elephants and sheep, all in stone, of course.

There was originally a stone statue of a meditating Buddha (*Dhyani* Buddha) in each of the countless niches on all sides of the terraces. It is said that there were in all 505 statues of

A 'Pepul' tree in the north-east corner of the monument precincts is said to be an offshoot of the sapling of the Bo Tree from Buddha Gaya. A stone Buddha sits below the tree with a mysterious smile on its face.



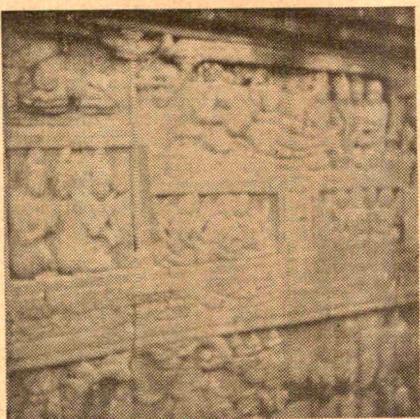
Panel in Relief on the Wall

There are at least three different opinions as to the genesis of the name of Borobudur. According to some, the word is a derivative of "Bahu Buddha", i.e., (the place) with many Buddhas, which was the original name of the monument. It was so-called because there were a large number of Buddha's statues in it. Some again contend that Borobudur is derived from "Bhumisambara Bhudhara", the name given to the monument. There is yet another view—and this is the most widely accepted one—according to which the monument was at first called "Vihara Bhudhara" (lit. "monastery on the mountain") which has been changed into Borobudur. The 'Stupa' is actually built on a levelled hillock at the foot of the currently erupting Volcano Merapi. It is almost certain that a monastery ('Vihara') for Buddhist monks was built here. It, therefore, seems quite possible that the monument with the attached monastery was given the name "Vihara Bhudhara".

The 'stupa' of Borobudur was built by Javanese King Indra (Sangrama Dhananjaya) of the Sailendra dynasty. He probably ruled from 782

<sup>‡</sup>Some of the cupolas have diamond-shaped holes, while others have round ones.

to 812 A.D. The dynasty was founded in the 8th century A.D. The Sailendras, who were the followers of the Mahayana School of Buddhism held sway over the Malayan Peninsula and almost the whole of the Indonesian archipelago including Sumatra, Java, Bali and Borneo. The Sailendras ruled with full vigour and in undiminished glory till the 11th century A.D. When



Panel in Relief on the Wall

King Rajendra Chola I (1012-1044 A.D.) from Southern India inflicted a crushing naval defeat on the ruling Sailendra and conquered Malaya and much of Indonesia. The Sailendra glory was retrieved about the middle of the 12th century when the Cholas were driven out from Malaya and Indonesia. The restored Sailendra glory was, however, short-lived. The Sailendra power finally

came to an end in the 13th century following a disastrous naval expedition to Ceylon. The Sailendras maintained diplomatic relations with both China and India. King Balaputra Deva Sailendra built a Buddhist monastery at Nalanda in the 9th century A.D. He sent an embassy to King Devapala Deva of Bengal requesting the grant of five villages for the maintenance of the said monastery. Deva Pala Deva acceded to the request of his brother monarch from across the seas.\*\*

Borobudur was abandoned about 915 A.D. The reason may be surmised only—plague or natural decadence. Jungles covered the deserted monument. The great work of art fell into ruins and was forgotten in course of time. Sir Stamford Raffles, the English Governor of Java in 1812, brought experts from India, who declared in one voice that the ruins of Borobudur were an “architectural treasure-trove without peer.” The jungles were cleared and the ruins, repaired.

Borobudur enjoys an international reputation today and attracts visitors—tourists and pilgrims—from far and near.

\*\*According to Coedes and Vogel, Balaputra Deva, son of Samaratunga Sailendra (? 812—? 832 A.D.), was the first Sailendra King of Sri Vijaya in Sumatra. He perhaps came to power through his marriage with a Sri Vijaya princess. Balaputra Deva according to Coedes and Vogel, did not rule over the Sailendra dominions in Java.

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## EXHIBITION OF SOVIET PAINTINGS

By M. K. PANDEY

THE sultry and sweltering afternoon of typical north Indian summer was suddenly enlivened on the 14th of this month when the Hon'ble Minister Shri Gopal Reddy declared the exhibition of Soviet paintings open at the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society Building, New Delhi, and visitors trooped into the four large-halls where the exhibits were displayed. Praise must go to the Lalita Kala Akademi for sponsoring this fine exhibition.

In all there were 160 paintings including oil-paintings, gouaches, water-colours, pastels and graphic works. There is also one very fine marble

sculpture. These are the handiwork of 24 Soviet artists who visited India as members of various Cultural delegations during 1952-1959.

The exhibits were arranged with meticulous care. Even hurriedly going round the galleries one gets an impression of living, throbbing panorama of Indian life put on a canvas with a skill of a connoisseur and deftness of an adept. The colourful pageantry of Rajasthan, the bustling streets of Delhi and Calcutta, the unforgettable evening scenes of Bombay and Varanasi and the enchanting beauty of the sandal-scented Mysore have been caught with an unerring in-

stinct by master Soviet artists and made to live on their canvas.

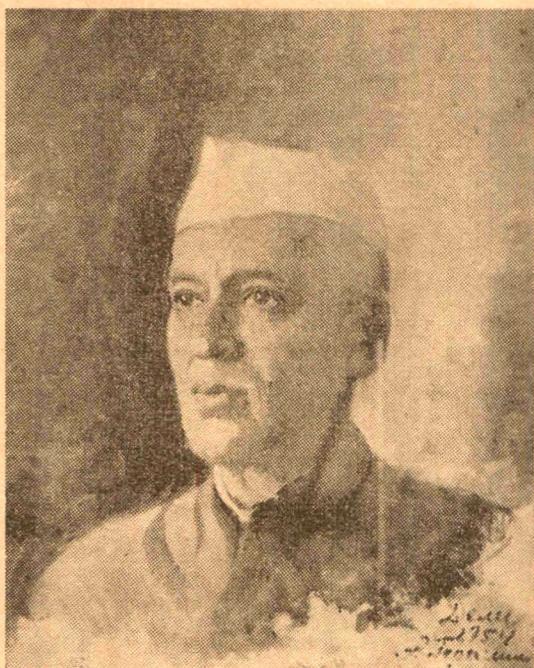


A Girl Student from Calcutta  
A. Chuikov

The hundred and sixty works of paintings were as varied and variegated as the Indian life itself. The artists have tried to portray not only the shifting scenes of landscapes, the age-old historical monuments, but also various types of Indian people. The night scenes of Delhi, Bombay and Varanasi, the Taj, the Old and Red Forts and the temples of Varanasi, the Indian coolie, student, the Railway worker, the snake charmers to name only a few is enough to indicate the wide range of their canvas. What is it that attracts a visitor to the galleries? What is it that fills him with a sense of the sublime? What is it that he takes back with him when he goes home after looking round the exhibition?

The thing that immediately attracts a visitor to the galleries is the generous and judicious use of the palette by the Soviet artists. The sym-

pathy and love for the Indian people have made their palette more delicate, more delightfully charming than the chemical composition of dyes and colour. A picture, however, technically perfect cannot attract if it lacks in this fundamental thing which imparts life, light and colour to a painting. All the paintings from a life-size painting portrait of Jawaharlal Nehru down to



Prime Minister of India  
A. Gerasimov

snake charmers are permeated with profound love and sympathy for India and her people. It is this love which makes the palette more lovely and colour more colourful.

It is the portrayal of spiritual and physical beauty, the inward nobility and human dignity of the men and women of India that seems to fill the visitor with a sense of sublime. A panorama of the vast sea of Indian humanity and vaster scenes of Indian landscapes is bound to overwhelm even an incurable cynic.

One of the visitors to the galleries when casually asked by the writer of these lines to give his impressions said that it was like going on a tour of the vast Indian sub-continent from Delhi to Mysore and far down to Cochin and from Bombay to Calcutta.

The impressions of the visitors to the galleries are bound to be diverse. '*De gustibus non est disputandum*'. Exponents of art and paint-

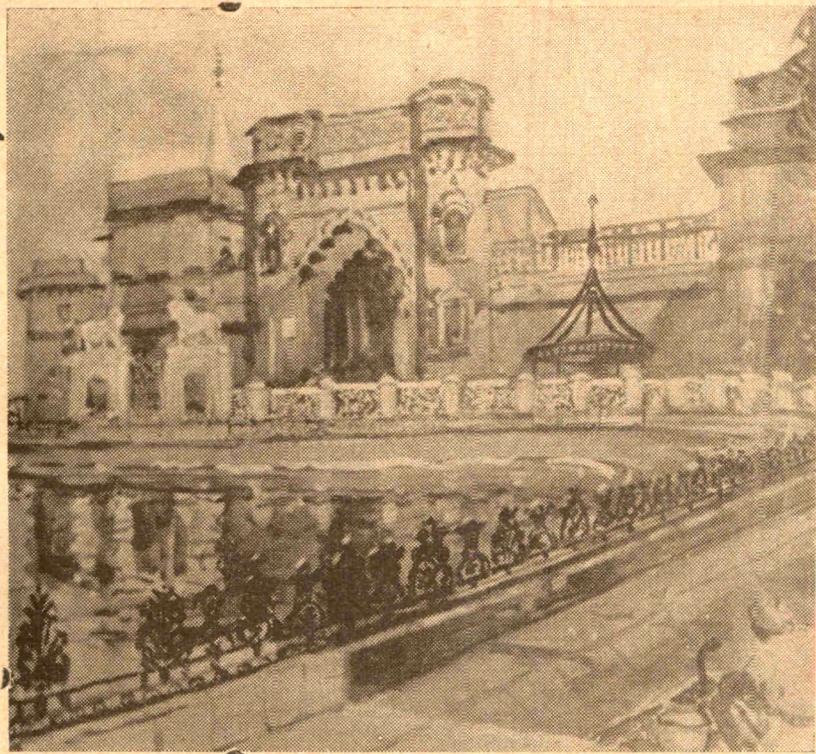
ings prone to thinking in terms of 'ultras' and 'supers' might feel that their favourite dish is not here but there is plenty of fare for the average



Street Scene of Jaipur



Evening in Bombay



Red Fort



Parade Camels



Snake-charmers



"Song of Koolie"  
S. Chuikov

common people. And, I may add that even for self-styled connoisseurs there is plenty of food for thought !

What goes by the name of 'ultra' in the present-day western world is not an art but a distortion of art. It is sheer daubing and blotching. It is pale, anaemic, lifeless and colourless. For real art, as Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru observed once, "springs up from the strength of a nation. If it has no connection with the problems and realities of life it is useless and dead like the pictures of women in Ajanta Caves."

Feeling utterly fed up with the lackey-like imitators of the west he observed with a sigh of despair: "The great artists in our nation had gone and only imitators had remained." There cannot be a better answer to the blind imitators of *Parisien Salon de peinture*, to a conceited art critic and to a doubting Thomas than this. What Pandit Nehru said years ago about Indian artists equally applies on an international scale even today. And judged in this context it would be found that it is the Soviet Union that is following a healthy line in art and paintings. It is because as late Prof. Harold Laski once

observed, "In the Soviet Union real renaissance is flowering in art and literature".

It is quite understandable that the exponents of a decadent art feel uncomfortable in the glare of the resurgent renaissance. Their mewling and squeaking tell its own tale of exasperation. . . .

As I am half closing my eyes in an afternoon siesta 'Parade Camels', 'Evening in Borobudur', 'Square in Jaipur', 'Morning in an Indian Village', 'Road to Mysore', etc., etc., seem to pass in a kaleidoscopic manner before my mind's eye. Sometimes they all get blended into one and look like a riot of colour, a never-ceasing pageantry of light and colour, life and beauty. Sometimes I find myself on the bank of the Ganges at Varanasi and peals of temple bells mingle with the sounds of the dipping of oars of boatmen in the Ganges produce a soporific effect but slowly and slowly the last echoes of the temple bells die down, the Ganges is wrapped in black silhouette of the tropical night. . . . The din of the day gives place to the stillness of the night ('Night at Banaras') and things seen during wakeful moments re-appear in dream in the same never-ceasing succession. And thus the cycle continues. . . . .

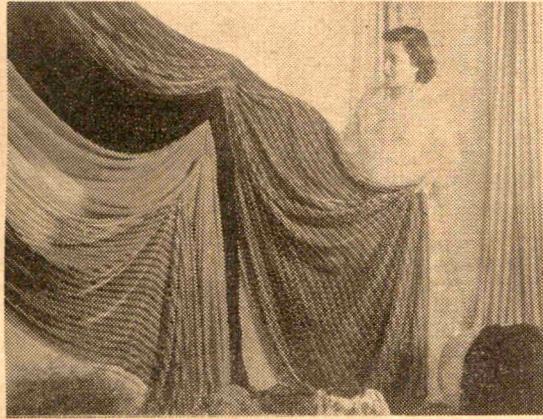
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## INDIA'S EXPORTS IN 1959-60

INDIA'S exports in 1959-60 hit the record figure of Rs. 641 crores. Marking an increase of 15 per cent over the previous year, this figure of foreign exchange earnings has not been equalled ever before. (Only during the Korean War boom in

1951-52, when prices had rocketed and many countries were stock-piling goods, a higher export figure had been achieved).

While major traditional exports like jute goods, cotton textiles, leather and leather manufactures, spices and ores showed considera-



Some of the latest Cotton Fabrics Made in India



India-made Bicycles for different age groups

increases, the new products of Indian engineering industries also made a significant contribution.

time since Independence raw jute (value : Rs. 3 crores) was exported. There was, however, a slight decline in the export of tea, from 479



Jute Carpets (left), Gunny Bags (right)



A Variety of Footware on Display

Over 840 million yards of mill-made cotton cloth was exported, nearly 50 per cent more than in the previous year. With the improvement in handloom exports, cotton fabrics as a whole fetched Rs. 17 crores more in 1959-60 than in the preceding year. Jute goods exports were higher by about Rs. 40 crores and for the first

million pounds to 477 million pounds. Exports of iron ore have shown a distinct rise although there was some fall in the export of manganese ore.

For the first time Indian bicycles were exported in sizeable numbers (value : Rs. 11 lakhs). Sewing machines of Indian make are now being



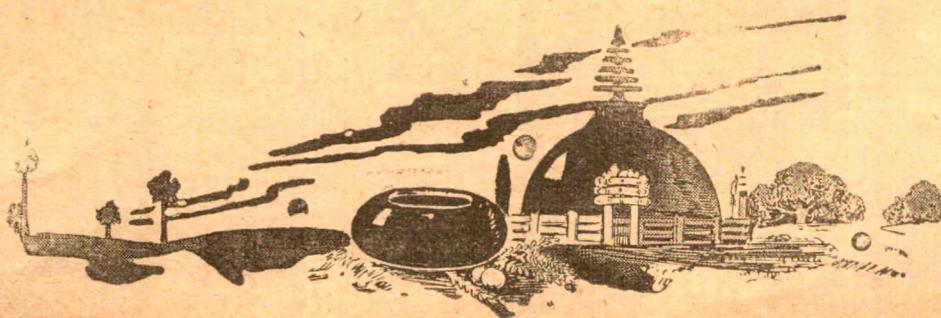
A woman worker picking Tea leaves in a tea garden in Kerala

exported even to industrially advanced countries, including the United States.

Indian products are reaching all corners of the globe. Trade agreements have been entered into with many countries, with some of which there is an arrangement for rupee payments and annual balancing of trade. A number of measures have been adopted by the Government to provide a fillip to exports. These include rebate of excise duties, provision of raw materials, including import quotas where necessary, railway freight concessions, insurance against export risks, organisational assistance to small and

medium exporters and information and guidance on market conditions abroad.

Great emphasis has been laid on export promotion in the past few years. During the Third Plan a target of export earnings amounting to Rs. 3,450 crores (for the Plan period) has been suggested but it is stressed that, with sustained effort, this target can be considerably exceeded. To meet the growing requirements of a developing economy exports have to be increased so that at no distant date imports are paid for by current export earnings.—PIB



## EXPORT PROMOTION IN INDIA

By D. V. SAWHNEY

ADVERSE balance of trade has been one of the normal features of India's economy in the post-war years. This has not been due to a decrease in exports but an extraordinary increase in imports. Before partition, there was an increased import of consumer goods and machinery in order that the people could satisfy their pent-up demands on the one hand and the worn-out machinery due to heavy work during the War on the other. But in this process of liberal imports, there was an injudicious depletion of our Sterling Reserves and an unfavourable balance created. The partition had worsened the position as we lost most of the rice, wheat, jute and cotton producing areas which was always the reason of our foodgrains deficit and the scarcity of long-staple cotton and jute. The Government of India, alive of this alarming position, appointed an Export Promotion Committee, under the Chairmanship of Shri A. D. Gorwala whose main recommendation was that the Government should shift the emphasis from the Export Control Policy, as was practised by it during and after the War, to the Exports Promotions. Ever since then, export promotion coupled with restricted imports has become the guiding principle of our commercial policy.

The implementation of the First and the Second Five-Year Plans which involved the heavy imports of foodgrains, industrial raw-materials, capital goods and machinery demanding precious foreign exchange which our exports could not ordinarily compensate, has further increased the importance of the Export Drive, making both the Government and the business associations to take a keen interest in this respect.

But we should be reminded at the outset that the increase in exports has to remain within certain serious limitations. The partition of the country, the development of synthetic substitutes for some of our products, the slow recovery of German and Japanese industry and the growth of industries within India leading to an increased internal demand for raw materials (lest we may not invite the spiral of inflation within the country)—all these have affected adversely our ability to export. Nevertheless, every effort has to be made, within the limits set by these factors, to increase the volume of our exports. The shining

example of the United Kingdom should serve as a guide, which has increased exports to 62 per cent above the pre-war level.

The Government of India has tackled the problem from all sides—institutional, fiscal and destination. At the top, the Foreign Trade Board established since the year 1957, chalks out the export policy which is revised every six-monthly, in consultation with the Exports and Imports Advisory Councils and the trade associations. For the execution of its policies, there is a Directorate of Export Promotion. This Directorate, not only executes the policies framed by the Foreign Trade Board but also supervises the working of the Export Promotion Councils and Commodity Boards, besides attending to and guiding the Indian exporters and foreign importers. For the encouragement of exports of individual industries, we have eleven Export Promotion Councils in Cotton Textiles, Silk and Rayon, Plastics, Shellac, Engineering goods, Chemicals and allied products, Sports goods, Tobacco, Leather, Mica, Cashew nuts and Spices, in addition to six Commodity Boards, in tea, coffee, jute, handlooms, coir and rubber. These Export Promotion Councils and Commodity Boards undertake market studies, send out trade missions abroad, supply and procure information, arrange for the inspection of goods for effecting quality control, attend to complaints and act as arbitrators in disputes or make suitable arrangements for arbitration.

The importance of widest publicity has been equally realised by the Government and a Directorate of Exhibitions and Publicity has been permanently established, which arranges for the organisation of exhibitions within the country and our participation in international exhibitions abroad. The Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Calcutta, provides up-to-date statistical information on trade. Besides, the Trade Missions and Commercial Representatives abroad, are always absorbed in propagating the exports of India. The Ministry of Commerce and Industry reaches the educated masses through its publications—"The Journal of Industry and Trade" and the "Vyapar Patrika".

In order to encourage India's trade with countries following controlled economy like Russia, and in order to promote trade in un-

productive but new lines of exports (where the private sector hesitates to come forward), a State Trading Corporation with an authorised capital of Rs. 1 crore has been established since May, 1956. The Corporation even if it lacks the experienced staff, has done useful job in the export of ores, shoes, handlooms, salt, tea, coffee and the import and distribution of cement within the country.

An Exports Risks Insurance Corporation with an authorised capital of Rs. 5 crores has also been established since October, 1957, with the object of insuring the credit-worthiness of the foreign importers and other risks which are not covered by the ordinary insurers under the marine policies. This has filled the long-felt lacuna.

On the Fiscal plane, the Government allows the drawback of import duty, rebate of excise duty on the import and or manufacture of commodities for exports. To help increase production, the Government grants easy and quick permits for the import of raw materials like pig iron for iron and steel manufactures and silk for silk manufactures, etc. The Railways provide cheap and quick wagons to exporters for carrying their goods upto the port towns. The Director General of Shipping, Bombay, ensures timely co-ordination and the availability of shipping space to the exporters. The recent creation of a Freight Investigation Bureau in the office of the Director General of Shipping, Bombay, to investigate the complaints emanating from trade interests regarding the higher ocean freight rates on goods exported from India is a welcome measure.<sup>1</sup>

For developing and canalising exports in a manner most suitable to subserve the exchange needs of the country in view of internal shortages of goods, Export Controls are used, though, in a liberal way. They are enforced through a network of licensing machinery. And finally, in order to provide standardised goods abroad, quality control has been introduced through Agmark grading of agricultural commodities and under the certification marks schemes of the Indian Standards Institution, although they are optional.

The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and other trade associations in the country conduct market research by sending their trade delegations abroad and

make available the results of their research to the trade community. Their timely suggestions to the Government go a long way in achieving the fuller objects of exports planning.

Of late, the grave foreign exchange crisis has been causing a great anxiety in the country. According to the weekly statements of the Reserve Bank, the decline in our sterling reserves since April 1958 has been in the neighbourhood of Rs. 5 crores per week and earlier in the year the rate was only Rs. 2 crores per week. In 1956-57 when the Second Plan was launched, they amounted to Rs. 748 crores. There has been a tremendous rise in imports rather than a fall in exports as is evident from the fact "that while exports totalled Rs. 596.6 crores (1954-55), Rs. 641.1 crores (1955-56) and Rs. 637 crores (1956-57), the imports rose from Rs. 683.8 crores (1954-55) and Rs. 750.6 crores (1955-56) to Rs. 1,076.5 crores in (1956-57). The very heavy imports in 1956-57 were about Rs. 260 crores higher than the average annual rate of Rs. 868 crores assumed in the Second Plan and Rs. 326 crores higher than in 1955-56."<sup>2</sup> And in view of the constant rise of population in geometrical progression leaving foodgrains deficit, the scarcity of industrial raw materials and the inevitable import of capital goods and machinery to effect industrialisation in the country the need of the time is that unless we want to invite national bankruptcy, which no wise nation would like, every effort must be made to cut down non-essential imports and to intensify the Export Drive on the following lines.

Maximization of exportable surplus through increased production in agriculture and industry is the condition precedent to a successful Export Drive. The abolition of zamindari, introduction of other land reforms, extension of improved irrigation and other facilities under the aegis of the Service Co-operatives and adequate credit facilities through the Reserve Bank and above all an export consciousness among the cultivators through government propaganda would go a long way in increasing agricultural production. Industrial production may be augmented by increased replacements and modernisation of old machinery, increased supply of essential raw materials to the factories and through labour welfare.

1. *The Eastern Economist*, Nov. 20, 1959,  
p. 819.

2. *Indian Economics* by K. K. Dewett &  
Singh, p. 506-507.

While placing an emphasis on raising the production of foodgrains, jute, cotton, consumer goods, chemicals, drugs and our other major heads of imports, an element of diversification should be introduced in production, because in the reorganisation of our exports, our trade should be diversified rather than based on lesser number of traditional exports, e.g., tea, jute manufactures, cotton textiles, hides and skins, vegetable oils, mica, manganese, etc. A greater diversification will not only prevent our export trade falling to low levels in case of a depression in one or two industries abroad, but, will also effect a tangible addition to our national wealth. In this context, it may be pointed out that within a comparatively short time of five to six years, Japan accomplished a diversification of her exports.

But the maximization of production will be fruitless unless there is a successful reconciliation of the external and internal needs. There has been a fall in exports in the past chiefly because there is an increase in domestic consumption unaccompanied by an increase in production. Increased domestic consumption should be met by increased production and not by a curtailment of exports. In some cases, we may have to export even at the cost of domestic consumption as the national interests demand some rational discomfort and sacrifice.

A word about the type of production in future. By partition, we have ceased to be an agricultural country predominantly exporting raw materials. The long-term interests of the country's foreign trade will lie in the export of manufactured and semi-manufactured goods in which it may have a comparative advantage. But our export trade can best be expanded by concentrating on comparatively cheaper grade manufactured goods to be best suitable for sale in the Middle East and the Far East markets where they will have the least difficulty in maintaining its hold against competition from other countries. It is very heartening to note that in recent years there has been witnessed, a significant rise in the export of engineering goods as is evident from the fact that "excluding pig iron, the exports of engineering goods amounted to Rs. 4.7 crores during the first ten months of 1959 as against Rs. 3.25 crores during the corresponding period of 1958. Itemwise, export of electric fans in 1959 has increased by 68 per cent, diesel

engines by 98 per cent, sewing machines by 108 per cent and textile machinery by 392 per cent.<sup>23</sup>

The Price problem is the second element which has assumed a very great importance in recent years, with the appearance of a buyers' market. Prices must be commensurate with the quality of goods and sufficiently low to compete effectively with the products of other countries in the market. The present high prices of Indian goods militate against any further expansion of export trade. The Indian manufacturers must realize that their primary markets lie in countries of low standard of living and, therefore, they should do everything in their power to reduce their cost of production, firstly by greater efficiency and secondly, by resisting the temptation to support demand for higher prices of raw materials and stores and by introducing rationalisation in industry. The Government can do well to provide adequate and timely supply of deficient importable industrial raw material where needed, concessional freight rates, enhanced relief in custom and excise duties on materials intended for exports, remission of sales tax and income tax earned through exports and the extension of cheap and adequate credit by the Reserve Bank.

Efforts should also be made to export goods of uniform standard because the retention and expansion of markets is only possible if they are supplied with quality goods. The reports of Indian Trade Commissioners are replete with complaints of malpractices and bad quality of goods supplied. The label "made in India" should be synonymous with quality and value in the mind of the overseas consumers and should not be a hallmark of shoddiness. Before granting an export licence, the licensing authorities should see that the goods intended for export are duly certified by the Agmark or the Indian Standard Institute.

Accompanied by quality, there is a need for better marketing methods to be followed by our businessmen like promptness in attending to queries, delivery of goods according to schedule and specimen and above all a high degree of honest business dealings. Not only that, proper packing and general presentation of the goods should also receive careful attention by our

3. *The Eastern Economist*, Dec. 18, 1959, p. 1001.

businessmen because it should be remembered that a large proportion of the population of our prospective markets in Asia and Africa is illiterate.

One of the important spheres demanding the attention both of the Government and the business community is the market research. The reason for the success of Great Britain in foreign trade is a handy example. It has been said that "Britain keeps one hand on the pulse of the world export markets and the other on production."<sup>4</sup> Constant market research is needed on the types of goods in demand in foreign countries, evolving new uses of our traditional exports, reducing the cost of production, exploring new markets for our goods and above all disseminating the results of such a research amongst the business community. Since this will involve considerable expenditure and the results are to be shared by all, it is suggested that the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry should establish a non-profit making research organisation on the pattern of the British Export Trade Research Organisation, which should also be helped financially by the Government. The said organisation should work in liaison with the Foreign Trade Board and the Directorate of Exports Promotion.

Our Export Drive will not be healthy if a proper thought is not given to the export duties. The export duties levied by the Government are most injudicious at times. They have been relied upon as the sources of revenue whereas the authorities forget the very basic economics of export duties. Export duties should be levied if either there is a complete or partial monopoly of any commodity and for which within a certain range of prices, no substitutes are easily available, or the cost of production of any commodity is much lower than the cost of competing goods or finally in order to discourage the export of any commodity for maintaining its supply in the internal market, though the

objective can be better achieved by imposing quantitative restrictions or by absolute prohibition. During the war where there was a Sellers' market, all was well but the position is not the same with the emergence of a Buyers' market. A judicious and proper review of the exports and imports duties from time to time is essential.

The Government should at the same time simplify the procedure for the refund of import duties on the import of commodities used in the manufacture of exportable goods and the excise duties, under the rules. Justice delayed is justice denied, also applies here though in a modified way.

Encouragement of our re-export trade, insulation of trade from politics, increased import entitlements to the business community to enable them to effect modernisation and to conduct business tours abroad in search for new markets, a wider publicity inside and outside and increased Indianisation of the shipping, banking and insurance services are the other steps requiring immediate attention. Institution of President's Republic Day Awards to distinguished Exporters would be another attractive measure.

Of late, lot of criticism has been levelled against the State Trading Corporation for its overlapping activities against the private sector and the slow disposal and high premiums charged by the Exports Risks Insurance Corporation. A proper vigilance on the working of the various agencies created for Export Promotion is very necessary.

Finally, sustained efforts should be made by all concerned to direct our exports on the one hand, to hard currency areas with whom we have developed balance of payments deficit and on the other, to our neighbouring countries of Asia and Africa who promise us a very bright future. Inspiration should be sought from the fact that in the long run, not only that our exports should pay for imports but that they should earn us surplus foreign exchange. This calls for a vigilant, judicious and uniform export policy to be followed by the Government.)

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4. *India's Foreign Trade During & After the War* by Dr. R. L. Varshney, p. 278.



## **THE DEFECTS OF THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF EXAMINATION AND HOW TO REMEDY THEM**

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

Dominated by examinations as our present system of education is, the results achieved at the examinations have become the sole criterion of pupils' worth or merit, so much so that the real aim and objective of education are gradually being lost sight of. In fact, our whole educational system seems to have been geared almost entirely to the passing of the examinations, which is naturally regarded by students as the **summum bonum** of their life. As a result of this, a "spontaneous and disinterested desire for knowledge" on the part of the young has become very rare. The examinations have thus turned out to be so many 'stepping stones' to higher University education, rather than "a gateway to wisdom." These, therefore, constitute the hurdles to be crossed on the path of students' intellectual progress. This naturally leads them to look upon the examinations as hindrances to their education, and not as an important instrument of it. Success at these examinations, too, depends, to a great extent upon cramming and the pupils' capacity to reproduce at the examination hall the information thus crammed from a few prescribed text-books. The minds of the candidates, well prepared for an examination, become what has been termed "Packed storehouses of unassorted, unconnected, and unapplied knowledge of inert ideas" so to say. Attempts are seldom made to stimulate students' independent thinking and their desire to learn for themselves, as also, to test and apply the knowledge acquired to the new situations of life. Thus their memory is being over-burdened and over-taxed, to the utter neglect of their other mental faculties, such as imagination, thought, reason, judgment and the like. Besides, the present mode of assessment being entirely subjective, it is anything but valid, accurate, and rational. So the present system of examination hardly per-

mits of a correct and valid estimation of a student's worth and personality. There must be some method of elimination, at different stages of education, as well as some reliable and rational mode of assessing the worth of pupils and the standard of teaching. So the necessity and importance of examinations cannot be minimised, inasmuch as these provide an effective means of checking considerable wastage in education, and consequent overcrowding at all stages of education.

### **Efforts to Remove the Defects of the Present System of Examination**

That the present system of examination is faulty and defective is admitted by all. As has been pointed out in the report of the Radhakrishnan Commission, it fails to "measure what it seeks to measure." A good examination, worth the name, must needs fulfil certain essential conditions. It should be "easy to administer, easy to mark and easy to interpret." Both the examiners and the examinees must have a clear conception of the aim and purpose of education as well as of examinations. The aim of the examinations should consist in testing how far the real objective of education has been achieved. It is needless to add that the examiners and the paper-setters should possess a thorough knowledge of the syllabuses. The questions should be carefully framed, keeping the requirements in view, and wordings should be clear, precise and unambiguous. The poor percentage of passes at the School Final and University Examinations is clearly indicative of the fact that the standard of teaching at schools and colleges is deteriorating from year to year. Nothing short of a thorough overhauling of the existing system of examinations will help to bring about any substantial educa-

tional reform. The problem as to how to evolve a more reliable and valid method of assessment, so as to replace the existing one, seems to have baffled all solutions till now. It is gratifying to note, however, that co-ordinated efforts are already being put forth to effect a satisfactory solution of the problem which seems to be in the offing. Under the auspices of the All India Council for Secondary Education, a seminar,—the first of its kind—was held at Bhopal in 1956, with the object of discussing the defects of the present system of examination and devising ways and means of removing the same. One evaluation Unit has also been set up by the said council for the purpose of achieving the desired results. In the wake of, and on the lines of the Bhopal Seminar, a few more seminars have since been organized at different places of India to consider how to improve upon the existing system of examination, and to turn the examinations into a more correct, accurate, and valid mode of assessment. The possibilities of gradually introducing the reforms suggested should be carefully investigated in the light of the defects of the existing system pointed out. It will not do merely to shift the emphasis from the subjective element of the examinations to the objective. Attempts should be made to effect a far more thorough reform by introducing a human element into the present system of examination. The new mode of assessment to be evolved should be a comprehensive and adequate test of not only students' intellectual and academic achievements and attainments, but also of the impact of education in general on their total personality.

#### **Essay-type Examinations**

The main defect of the present essay-type examination is that it is subjective in character. The subjective factor, i.e., the personal bias or opinion, whim, mood and fancy of the examiners predominating in it, the mark is most inaccurate and unreliable. Altogether different marks were sometimes found to have been given to one and the same answerscript marked by different examiners, despite all the efforts

to fix a uniform standard of marking at examiners' meetings. The same examiner, also, happened to have marked one and the same answer differently at different times. So the vagaries of the examinations render the fate of the examinees quite insecure and uncertain, and the examiners thus make or mar the fortunes of the students. Still the essay-type examinations cannot altogether be replaced by the objective attainment and achievement tests. The advocates of the essay-type examinations hold that these are "easy to prepare and administer", and are suited to the needs of all the subjects of the curriculum, although, by themselves, these fail to satisfy some of the most essential requirements of a good and reliable test, due to their subjectivity and the consequent inaccuracy of marking resulting therefrom. So much for the defects of this type of examinations. Barring this defect of subjectivity, much can be said in favour of the essay-type examinations which have some distinct advantages over the objective attainment and achievement tests. In the essay-type examination, pupils are afforded ample scope for the cultivation of such powers of their mind as are brought into play in comparison, analysis, criticism, interpretation, etc. They are required to organize the subject-matters, and express their thoughts and ideas systematically. This power of expression is essential for the soundness of their education also. "No impression without expression," as has been remarked by an eminent psychologist. Indeed, no lasting impression can be made on the minds of students unless and until they can reproduce their ideas in a concrete outward form. So the essay-type examination cannot be totally dispensed with, inasmuch as it is really serving a very useful purpose. But the subjective element of this mode of assessment needs to be eliminated as far as possible. Now the question is how to do away with the subjectivity of this type of examination. Either this should be used in conjunction with the objective tests, as suggested by some of the eminent educationists, or its technique should be revised so as to make it much more objective. Much more attention should also be paid to

the other improvements to be effected in the selection of its contents, the framing of its questions, and the accuracy of marking.

### Objective Tests

The unreliability of the subjective method of assessment underlying the essay-type examination has led some to advocate the entire replacement of this type of examination by objective achievement and attainment tests which are by far more reliable. The main defects of the existing system of examination, viz., its subjectivity and inaccurate marking, resulting therefrom, can certainly be obviated by the introduction of more objective type of tests. In the case of the objective achievement and attainment tests, the marking is quite correct, accurate and valid, there being very little room for variation in this sort of assessment. The examiners are only to find out whether the answers are correct or incorrect. Both the correct and incorrect answers being given, what is required of the examinees is to spot out the right answers therefrom. More time may have to be spent on the planning and preparation of such tests, but the questions can be answered and the answerscripts can be marked in the minimum of time. So in the event of the objective tests replacing the present essay-type examination, a good deal of economy of time, labour, and money can be effected. The administration of the examinations, too, will thus be rendered much simpler, easier and more economical. Bigger number of external examiners is needed for the purpose of conducting the essay-type examinations, as it takes them a fairly long time to go through each of the answerscripts, as carefully as possible, in order to assess each answer by itself. The examinees, also, can be spared the tremendous strain and anxiety on account of prolonged waiting for the results to be out. But it is a pity that the objective tests aim at testing only the memory and the retentive powers of the pupils. The examiners are unable to assess their other intellectual powers with the help of these tests. So the objective tests, if applied by themselves, prove quite an inadequate

measure of pupils' intelligence and other potentialities of their mind, and, as such, these need to be supplemented by the essay-type examinations also, which call for higher mental activity.

### Internal Assessments and School Records

That in the external examinations, conducted by the Boards of Secondary Education and the Universities, the daily-work of the students is not taken into account, is another serious defect of the present system of examination. The external examinations are thus reduced to a big gamble, in which the examinees are called upon to try their luck. Their worth or merit is solely judged on the basis of the answers written by them at the examination hall, to a few sets of questions in the course of a few hours allotted for the purpose. There is no denying the fact that the practice in question involves a big element of chance. So, practically speaking, an examination turns out to be a game of chance. The Mudaliar Commission have aptly observed :

"The final assessment of the pupils should not be based entirely on the results of the external examinations. Internal tests and school records should be taken into consideration, and due credit should be given to them."

That an important place should be assigned to internal assessments and school records admits of no doubt. But a great deal of care and caution should be exercised in the matter. The whole scheme is foredoomed to failure unless the internal tests and the school records prove reliable enough. Every endeavour should be made to maintain the uniformity of standards with regard to these. All teachers and heads of educational institutions cannot be expected to be strictly honest and fair. There is plenty of room for dishonesty, partiality, favouritism, and personal prejudice in such internal tests which are hard to guard against. The internal assessments can, therefore, be hardly relied upon unless these can be conducted on fair and proper lines. The safeguards to be imposed and the precautionary measures to be adopted

to ensure the fairness of these tests should be carefully thought out by the educational authorities, in consultation with the heads of institutions. There must be some uniformity of methods, too, in the maintenance of the school records.

### Cumulative Record Cards

It should be borne in mind that education is not quite synonymous with mere schooling. Today the word "education," connotes a much deeper meaning, and is used in a much wider sense. The aim of modern education is to bring about an all-round development of the pupils' personality, the education of 'the whole man' being its object. The present system of examination is, therefore, no true and adequate measure of the whole of the students' personality, inasmuch as it aims at testing only their academic and intellectual progress and attainments. It does not seek to test their other mental and physical qualities, such as skills, attitudes, understanding, initiative, appreciation, etc. Neither is any attempt made to evaluate the effects of the impact of education on the conduct and behaviour of the pupils in their every-day life. So in every school a cumulative record card should be maintained for each pupil. These cumulative record cards should comprise not only a full history of the intellectual achievements and academic activities of the pupils but also a complete picture of the different stages of their physical, mental and moral development, right from the beginning of their school career. In these the gradual improvement or deterioration, as the case may be, of students' health, the different traits of their character, as indicated in the co-curricular activities, and the part taken by them in those, as also their natural inclinations and propensities, their hobbies, special tests and aptitudes will be clearly recorded. At the beginning, some difficulty is likely to be experienced by the

teachers in maintaining these records on proper lines. They need some training in the methods of keeping these. A course of practical training as to how these records should be maintained may be provided in the training colleges of the States. These cumulative record cards will also be of great help to the teachers in determining the natural bent of their pupils' mind, and will enable them to advise the guardians of students as to the suitability of the careers or vocations to be selected for their wards. Our students are badly in need of sound vocational guidance at the end of their school or college career. Lack of such guidance has much to do with the usual overcrowding at schools and colleges at present. In the new system of education to be introduced these cumulative record cards should be accorded the place they deserve.

### Intensive Psychological Researches

#### Needed

How to reform or overhaul the present system of examination with a view to effecting the reorientation of the entire educational system of the country should be the chief concern of the educationists of the day. Intensive researches should be carried on on these lines in the training colleges of the States, and eminent educationists and psychologists should also be consulted. The results of the experiments should be duly recorded for future guidance. These may be considered and discussed at the meetings of the different seminars arranged by different educational organizations and institutions. The educationists will profit by the mutual exchange of views. Important developments and noteworthy results may also be expected of the Bureau of Examination Researches, appointed by the Ministry of Education, Government of India.



## YASODHARA-GOPA, HOLY CONSORT OF LORD BUDDHA

BY DR. JATINDRA BIMAL CHAUDHURI, PH.D. (London).

Though the Literature on Lord Buddha - his Religion and Philosophy is not meagre, it is unfortunate that nothing much is known about Yasodhara-Gopa, His Holy Consort. On the other hand it is a matter of deep regret that even scholars like Rhys Davids could not recognise the identity of Gopa and Yasodhara and their remark that Lord Buddha married more than once is simply unjustified.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this appears to be that the name Gopa and Yasodhara are found in Sanskrit Buddhist works alone and not her other names such as Suśhadraka, Bhaddakacca, Bhadrakancana,<sup>2</sup> Bimba, Bimbasundari, etc., which are found in Pāli Works only. Not infrequently she is mentioned in some Pāli works only by the name Rahulamata.<sup>3</sup> Further, the name Gopa cannot be traced in Pāli Literature. However, after analysing and closely scrutinising all the information about this noble lady whom her Siamese devotees call "Nag Phimpha" availed of from Chinese, Indian, Burmese and Sinhalese sources,<sup>4</sup> we have come to the definite conclusion that all the above-mentioned names refer to the same noble lady whom we have preferred to call Yasodhara-Gopa in this article and elsewhere, and this conclusion completely corroborates the statements of Lord Buddha himself in the *Dasaratha-Jataka* and other places where he refers to Yasodhara-Gopa as Sita and so on.<sup>5</sup> A thorough analysis of all the facts collected by us leaves no doubt as to the identity of Yasodhara-Gopa-Rahulamata-Bhaddakacca.

Now the reason why Yasodhara was so endearingly given so many designations, appellatives, etc., is that Yasodhara-Gopa completely dedicated herself not only to the cause of Religion her husband stood for but also for her magnetic personality and superhuman quali-

ties that led to the release of the then Indian women from tutelage in many respects.<sup>6</sup>

Though Yasodhara-Gopa was the Consort-Designate of Siddhartha, as will be evident from the list of qualities<sup>7</sup> he demanded from his bride that could possibly be traced only in one individual, viz., Gopa herself, still the Prince had to face many odds in having her as his wife.<sup>8</sup> Her father Sakya Dandapani Mahanama would not even listen to the name of Prince Siddhartha as the husband of her beloved daughter of outstanding qualities.<sup>9</sup> Finally, however, father had to yield.<sup>10</sup>

One of the conditions laid by Siddhartha in connection with the choice of his bride was that she would never wear a veil. After the marriage of Yasodhara-Gopa with Siddhartha, this absence of veil became a sort of gossip amongst the subjects of Father Sudhodana<sup>11</sup> and, therefore, Gopa decided to put an end to this trouble at the very outset.<sup>12</sup> The bride of Siddhartha was also to be a poetess. Now Yasodhara-Gopa, endowed with all poetic gifts, once addressed her countrymen on this very subject and made them understand in its true perspective why she did not wear a veil and why her husband, too, put this particular point forward as an essential condition of her bridehood.

Yasodhara-Gopa lamented not a little that Siddhartha did not awaken her from her sleep when he left the household-life<sup>13</sup> and particularly because he did not send any message for her through Chandaka which he did for his parents.<sup>14</sup> Kanthaka, the Horse, could not get over the

6. See our "Janani Yasodhara" in Bengali for full details. Also acts III-IV of our Sanskrit drama *Niskincana-Yasodharam*.

7. *Lalita-vistara*, *Bibliotheca Indica* ed., pp. 157-158.

8. See the present Author's Bengali work "Janani Yasodhara" for details, pp. 8-19.

9. See *op. cit.*, pp. 19ff *Amara-Jataka*, *Mahavastu Avadana*, Vol. II, pp. 83-89.

10. See *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24.

11. See *Lalita-vistara*, p. 179.

12. For details, see present author's *Janani Yasodhara*, Chap. IV, *Vivaher Par.*

13. Acc. to *Nidana-katha*, Bombay Univ. Press, p. 81.

14. *Mahavastu-Avadana*, p. 166.

1. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 50 seq. "The Buddha's Former Wife", p. 208 of the *Mahavastu*, SBE, Vol. I.

2. Gautama Buddha's Vaursa-varnana in the *Buddha-Vaura*, ed. by Richard Morris, London, 1882, p. 65.

3. *Vinaya-Pitaka*, *Mahavaggo*, I. 54, etc.

4. *Life of Buddha (In the wheel of the Law)* by Henry Alabaster, London, Tribuer & Co., 1871, p. 211.

5. Fausboell's Edition of the *Jataka*, No. 461, Vol. 4, p. 78; also pp. 123-130, etc.

shock of separation from his Lord;<sup>15</sup> his death was only hastened by the rebuke of Yasodhara for not awakening her before her Lord had left her.<sup>16</sup> But all these only went to make this well-determined Lady Gopa far more determined about her future pursuits, *viz.*, leading the life of a real Nun, practising all austere penances, in the palace itself. She fulfilled her mission in this regard so perfectly well that seven years later when Lord Buddha returned to Kapilavastu for the first time after his leaving household-life, kind Suddhodana praised her as the jewel of a lady—practising the penances as Siddhartha did for attaining *Nirvana*.<sup>17</sup>

This broad-minded, self-sacrificing lady went on sacrificing all she had. Thus, she herself arranged for the immediate renunciation of all worldly interests by her only son Rahula at the age of seven only.<sup>18</sup> This she did in spite of the vehement protests of her dear Father-in-law King Suddhodana. Again, on the decease of Suddhodana, when the whole territory under his rule was claiming her as their only rightful heir to the throne, she declined the offer in toto as a result of which somebody else outside the royal family had to be appointed King of her Father-in-law's realm. She was always absolutely determined about her own ways of life, even with regard to her day-to-day activities. Once she refused to leave her own room when her Lord came back to Kapilavastu after the attainment of Salvation. She said—"It is for my husband to come to me if I am worthy of him and not for me to go to him."<sup>19</sup> Lord Buddha appreciated her attitude and himself gladly went to pay her a visit in her own room—her own hermitage in the Palace of Kapilavastu. Only Sariputta and Maudgalayan accompanied him but even then, they were instructed by Lord Buddha not to stand in the way of her consoling herself in any way she liked. So determined she always was:

Yasodhara, ever since the *Maha-abhiniskrama* of Lord Buddha, was very anxious to

restore her mother-in-law Mahaprajapati Gautami's eyesight which she lost on account of constantly weeping for her beloved son—by her services, constant treatment or in any other way she could. Lord Buddha greatly helped her in having her wishes fulfilled in this regard as well.<sup>20</sup>

Yasodhara became herself a nun—an outstandingly great nun—on her own strivings to get herself and other women too enrolled as members of the Sangha.<sup>21</sup> Mahaprajapati Gautami was, no doubt, in the Vanguard of these activities but it was really her spirit that worked miracles.

When practically the whole of Northern India was won over by her husband as his adherent, at the ripe old age of seventy-eight one evening she approached Lord Buddha forbidding him final good-bye. She was a very bold lady but even then—she would not like to face widowhood. The Buddhist Holy Scripture reveal that she very piteously asked for final leave from her dear husband; she said, "For seventy-eight years I have followed you most faithfully—but if there has been any slackening on my part or I have ever taken any false step, unknowingly of course, would you not kindly forgive me?"

"Samsarantaca Samsare skhalitance tavam mayi Aroce ca Mahavira aparadham khamassa me."<sup>22</sup>

Lord Buddha very pleasantly said he would not stand in her way of final release from mortal coil but he would request her to reveal her miraculous and superhuman powers in order that the whole world might know what elements she was composed of, what vitality she possessed and what a potential Force she really was behind her Lord. This she did and finally bid her Lord good-bye for life.

The *Nidanakatha*, *Mahavastu-avadana*, and all other Buddhist works unanimously testify to the fact that Buddha and Yasodhara were born on the same day at the same time.<sup>23</sup> So it is now well-known that Lord Buddha's *Mahaparinirvana* too took place only two years later. This means that, in accordance with the consensus of opinion, Mother Yasodhara breathed her last 2585 years ago from today.

15. *Buddha-carita*, Canto VIII, pp. 36-41.

16. See *Janani Yasodhara* by the present author, pp. 67-70. See also *Mahavastu Avadana*, p. 189.

17. *Nidana-Katha*, etc., *Mahv. Av.*, Part II, p. 234.

18. *Mahavastu Avadana*

19. *Nidana-Katha*

20. See *Mahv. Av.*

21. See *Anguttara-Nikaya*. i. 25; *Attic-Katha*, i. 198; *ibid*, 204f.

22. *Yasodhara-apadana*.

## INDIA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

### Achievements And Future Prospects

By D. K. GHOSE

As the penultimate year of the Second Five-Year Plan draws to a close, we can say with a certain amount of satisfaction that after the anxious days towards the beginning, the Plan has meant another encouraging step towards India's economic development. Although many were the shortcomings, and many were the gaps in the implementation of the Plan, the four years of the five that have already passed showed a marked improvement in the growth of the economy. During the First Plan period investment in the economy was increased from 5 per cent of the national income to about 7 per cent. There has been since then a progressive increase in net investment to a level between 10 and 11 per cent of the national income. Some of the investments undertaken under the two Plans have begun to bear fruit, while several others would be completed in the near future. If this increase in the net investment is steadily maintained, it will not be long when the Indian economy would have reached the "take-off" point from where self-sustained growth would be the natural conclusion.

While the prospects of the economy appears encouraging, we can hardly recline ourselves on a bed of Elysian self-complacency, for, much of our development to-day could be attributed to generous foreign loans and grants. Not that foreign aid by any means weakens the structure of the economy but as a step towards self-sufficiency the foreign exchange component in the development programmes should not go beyond manageable limits. It is well-known in business circles that industrialisation in an under-developed economy like India, necessitates the import of machinery, technical personnel and certain ancillary commodities. Much of these imports have to be met finally in the shape of export of manufactured goods where dynamic raw materials, such as, petroleum, uranium, etc., are not available in quantities to warrant exports. In the initial stages, therefore, the balance sheet would always show a short

fall on the export side, for, more capital goods are imported than we can pay for immediately in the shape of manufactured goods. During the period January-November, 1959, India's exports (including re-exports) of merchandise at Rs. 555.15 crores fell short of imports by Rs. 243.77 crores. And as a specific case we can see that during the same period India's imports from and exports to the U.K. amounted to £157.84 million and £125.19 million respectively, showing an adverse balance of trade of £32.65 million. All this clearly indicates that India will have an adverse balance of trade for sometime to come, particularly with the sterling and dollar areas. Exports from India which have been steadily increasing to the S.E. Asian and W. Asian countries, have not met similar success in the other regions. Much though India would have liked to export her manufactured goods to these countries, restrictive tariff barriers of the advanced nations have often meant a shrinkage in the total exports from India. While the onus of development rests mainly on the under-developed countries, one cannot deny the fact today that economic development is a world liability and since developed nations are better trading partners, the continuance of economically backward areas would only be to the detriment of world trade in the wider sense of the term.

### The Home-Front Today

Recent trends in India's economy reveal a steadily creeping inflationary tendency. In the Economic Survey presented to the Parliament sometime back, agricultural production has increased impressively and industrial production reasonably. But the rise in prices, and consequently in the cost of living, is deemed disturbing. The principal conclusion drawn from the basic and yet paradoxical fact is that a "high degree of monetary and fiscal discipline" would be necessary to curb

inflationary prices. A restriction on imports of necessary consumer goods has meant pressure on the meagre quantities of such goods which the domestic industrial units supply, thereby causing a rise in the internal prices. It is true that foreign exchange—the supply of which is already acute—should be judiciously utilised in the import of important capital goods which help in the industrial growth of India. But in the absence of sufficient supply of goods and a consequent rise in prices the strain on the income of the individual is obviously too much to enable him to accumulate necessary savings. And in the absence of sufficient savings, the economy has to fall back again on the help received from foreign countries to replenish her dwindling resources. This seems to be a vicious circle, extrication from which seems impossible for the economy, unless the fiscal and monetary policies are changed for the better.

Till such time as a new policy could be effectively framed, this paradoxical situation of increased production and a rise in prices could be checked if the rate of production of manufactured goods is raised further and greater restraint is enforced on consumption. The latter course would be necessary to adopt in the first instance. In the final analysis, internal effort in the field of development is essential and curtailment in the domestic consumption would not only inflate the exportable surplus but would also help improve the savings prospect. Today prospects of aid from foreign countries are brighter than before, but this should in no way be a passport to relax the rigid policies in the domestic front. As the Finance Minister has expressed in his Budget speech, ". . . the major factor in the stability of our foreign exchange position has been the larger availability of external assistance . . . these indicate the need in the coming years for active vigilance in regard to domestic price trends and continued austerity in imports backed by accelerated effort to step up exports." Often honest attempts to accelerate development are thwarted in the presence of certain rigidities in the internal economy. Although

economists have often mentioned these obstacles to development, little effort has been made so far to remove them.

In the case of India, the relationship between the rate of flow of food resources and the rate of the growth of population is alarmingly incongruous. Already a good percentage of the foreign exchange reserves are drained off as a result of the import of food from other countries. Import of food-grains during the year 1958-59 were 3.4 million tons. It is true that natural calamities and unforeseen disasters leave the statisticians guessing. India's food production during the past few years has been encouraging. The shortage in food at present is attributed more towards increased consumption than to production. Hence a two-pronged measure to solve this problem would bring about the much-needed self-sufficiency in food production. While the Food and Agriculture Minister has asked the State Governments to take up reclamation of 53 million acres of cultivable waste lands on an emergency basis to give a fillip to the country's food production drive, the Government should at the same time devise a special programme of family planning in the Third Plan thereby reducing the rate of increase of population in the country.

#### **Foreign Trade—the Other Alternative**

Finally, as has been done in the past the export promotion drive should be maintained with full vigour. All foreign loans—unless they are written off as a generous gesture by the countries providing such loans—would have to be paid back either in the form of goods or in the form of currency of the foreign or domestic country. Dwindling reserves of foreign exchange, and the rupee currency not commanding universal acceptance, the most acceptable and, therefore, the most convenient method for the repayment of loans is by way of export of manufactured goods or other raw materials. India's export of raw materials, which had hitherto been the principal foreign exchange earner, would now have a gradually diminishing trend owing to her increasing internal requirements. The export of manufactured goods and the trad-

tional agricultural products like Tea, Jute, Spices and Condiments should find wider foreign markets. It is distressing to note that tea and jute do not enjoy any longer the former monopoly in the foreign market. They are gradually losing ground as more and more rival producer countries are entering the international market. For example, South Africa today competes with India in the exports of tea while Ceylon, China and Indonesia have increased their tea production with a view to capturing foreign markets. Production costs should be kept at a minimum with a view to encouraging exports but this seems to be less probable so long as heavy statutory obligations imposed on it makes it difficult for the industry to lower the cost of production to be able to compete in the international field.

The position of the Jute industry similarly had been equally disturbing. However, 1959 was a good year for jute when the export of jute was the highest during a period of more than ten years. Off-take of sacking last year was only about 22,000 tons more than in 1958. It would have been less but for the unexpectedly larger orders from China, which took about 50,000 tons more than usual. In contrast with sacking, hessian exports improved in 1958 by 50,000 tons. More than half this rise was due to increased buying from the U.S.A., where the consumption was a post-war record. Besides the traditional export commodities, during the Third Plan, when the foreign exchange component would be larger than that of the Second Plan period, boosting up of export trade of other agricultural commodities and light engineering goods would be necessary. It is expected that the outlay of the Third Plan may even exceed Rs. 10,000 crores, and the foreign exchange component may come upto Rs. 3,000

crores so that the Government will have to explore all possible avenues to get foreign assistance to meet the various needs of our expanding economy. Where demand for exportable commodities is not readily forthcoming, and where a decline in certain exports is noticeable, bilateral trade agreements seem to be the obvious answer. And here we are in agreement with Mr. K. B. Lall, Director-General of Foreign Trade, that foreign trade is crucial to the success of India's development Plans and the best method of boosting it is the conclusion of bilateral trade agreements with particular countries. India's commercial policy contained within it the seeds of a self-sustaining process. The building up of exportable surplus, especially with neighbouring countries which supplied raw materials to Western Europe from where India imported much of her machinery, was the primary need, and as an auxiliary measure the conclusion of trade agreements in larger numbers was the need of the day.

Economic development in India has maintained a steady pace not without, however, weathering hard times of scarce resources and rises in the cost structures. While the draft of the Third Plan is on the anvil, the outlook for the future seems satisfactory. With efforts to increase exports and external assistance which is under negotiation, prospects for future development programmes are encouraging. The longer term problem, however, continues to be one of hastening the pace of development without causing excessive stresses and strains in the system both internally and externally. Maximum effort to increase productivity and private savings, a close watch on inflationary pressures and continued vigilance on the foreign exchange front, coupled with a drive to raise exports, will be necessary in the coming year.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

SLAVERY IN INDIA: *By Amal Kumar Chattopadhyay, Calcutta, 1959, Price Rs. 10.*

Written by a young and enthusiastic student of the Post-Graduate Department (in History) of the Jadavpur University of Calcutta, this work claims to survey in successive chapters the whole history of Indian slavery from ancient times down to the promulgation of the Indian Constitution on the 26th January, 1950, guaranteeing among other clauses that no man, woman or child can be sold out, leased, mortgaged or in any way dealt in. There is besides a separate chapter on the emancipation of slavery in the U.S.A. by the heroic efforts of Abraham Lincoln. It is evident that the work makes no claim to original research. In fact it omits all references to its sources. Even so, it would have gained largely in value by a considerable amount of condensation. On the other hand it contains a large amount of interesting and generally accurate historical information couched in a lively attractive style. It must, however, be admitted that the work suffers from an appreciable number of printing mistakes, not to speak of its want of diacritical marks. It is to be hoped that the enthusiastic author will reach a higher standard of scholarship in his future publications.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

SYAMALI: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Translated into English by Sheila Chatterjee. Published by Visva-Bharati. Price Rs. 5.*

A close study of Rabindranath reveals a cyclic development of his poetic life. A period of resplendence and dazzling imagery, of exquisite art-forms, of superb vitality gushing out like a stream, almost invariably alternates with a period of introspection, serenity and mellow-ness. The Poet dives deep into the innermost

recesses of his heart. Poetry, then, no longer remains a clarion-call to the world, nor is it the music of a high-strung lyre, but it becomes the soft whisperings of the soul, the outpouring of one's innermost feeling. The change so remarkably noticeable in *Balaka* after the very deep but very simple poems of *Gitanjali* illustrates the point. In fact it is not too much to say that this cycle runs more or less all through his poetic life, sometimes in a subdued manner, sometimes in a more perceptible fashion. But as the Poet approached the end of his life, this cyclical change gradually gave way to a steady transition towards the more serene, the more elemental and consequently the more 'pure' art-forms, till we reach, in his last four books, almost 'pure poetry'. In other words, life no longer remains a many-coloured dome that stains the white radiance of eternity, but becomes full of that white radiance itself in its pristine purity. The need for the usual art-forms,—for instance, super-rhyming, alliteration, brilliant imagery, is not so urgent in this type of poetry, which draws its strength from elsewhere. *Syamali*, *Seshsaptak* and other books, published a few years before the Poet's death, mark this turning point. The Poet was casting off all outward embellishments and standing more and more close to Life itself—Life in its elemental purity, Life without the meshes of hate or fear, Life which is a serene flow of never-ending joy. *Syamali*, apart from its intrinsic value, is also important from this point of view.

*Syamali* contains twenty-one poems. In another book *Seshsaptak* there is a poem which gives glimpses of the Poet's frame of mind at this period :

"The home of my last days I shall build of earth,  
and call it *Syamali*.  
When it crumbles,

it will be like a falling asleep of earth  
in the lap of earth,  
No broken pillars will be left  
to raise high their plaints in strife with earth,  
nor cracked walls with ribs exposed  
to harbour the ghosts of last days.

(Translation by Somnath Maitra).

It was in this frame of mind that Rabindranath composed the poems collected in *Syamali*. The subjects are wide and varied, but they avoid the traditional 'poetic' subjects and give expression to the Poet's thoughts and feelings provoked by homely incidents or subjects. One must read these poems in order to appreciate to what depths these homely incidents or subjects can lead us. The last poem of this book, called *Syamali*, is a beautiful expression of this attitude, addressing as it does the beauteous earth, dark and green. In another poem the Poet clearly says that he is no longer to be enmeshed in the webs of doubt that twisted and coiled about life. No knots of that web are any longer left. The travellers on their way have left behind no preparation, anxiety or desire. The Poet is full of the rhythm of love.

Mrs. Sheila Chatterjee has produced an excellent English translation of these exquisite Bengali poems. It is a remarkable performance. Translation itself is a difficult work, more so the translation of poetry. Unlike the novel or the short story, poetry depends heavily on fine shades of thoughts, or nuances, on the idioms of the language, on sound-harmony, on word-symbolisms and on various associations of idea that phrases gather around them. All these values are apt to be lost in translation, however fine and beautiful the translation may be by itself. Mrs. Chatterjee has however succeeded in not only making a literal translation, but also in conveying, in the English version, the mood and atmosphere of the original. This is no mean achievement. We quote below a few specimen lines :

You came with the soft grace  
of unripe life,  
You brought the first marvel into my heart,  
Into my blood its first tidal bore,  
Love's sweetness in imperfect acquaintance  
was like the fine gold-work  
On the black veil of dawn,  
The cover under which wedded eyes first meet,  
In our minds till then  
Distinct had not been the song of birds;  
The murmur of the forests sounded at times  
And at times died away.

Lovers of poetry would do well to acquaint themselves with this fine volume. One of the poems included in this volume is a translation by the Poet himself.

Bimal Chandra Sinha

THE PAGEANT OF LIFE : By B. G. Kher.  
*Edited by S. B. Kher and G. K. Rao. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. August, 1959. Rs. 4/-.*

This collection of the speeches and writings of the late Shri Balasaheb Kher has been lovingly edited by his son and private secretary. Balasaheb Kher was a cultured gentleman in the full sense of the term, and his interests were fairly wide, and the responsibilities of his office also prompted him to public utterances on various occasions. Collected, they may give an idea of the comprehensiveness of Balasaheb's mind, and the richness of its content. But it must be noted that these are no routine speeches; each of these utterances is distinguished by the impress of an individuality which has a charm of its own. Even when going through topics which have gone out of date, like the speech on the bill providing for Minister's salaries or that providing for abolition of titles, Balasaheb Kher was the best spokesman of his party, and that was due to his broad and philosophical view of things. One illustrative passage may be well quoted here : "Indeed, there are people who cannot resist the glamour of being treated as something superior. If I may say so, most of us are vain enough, are born with that frailty, with that little feeling behind the back of our minds which makes us want to draw invidious distinctions and wants us to feel that we are superior to others, may be perhaps because they are born in any of the upper castes—those who are considered the Holy of the Holies, the Brahmins or the other castes who look upon themselves as superior by birth, may be on grounds of personal appearance, may be on grounds of the possession of wealth, but we do flatter ourselves, we console our little minds by treating ourselves as a little better than our fellows, and this certainly ought not to be a feeling which ought to be encouraged on grounds other than those of intrinsic merit."

P. R. Sen

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AFTER HEGEL AND MARX : By Dr. Narayani Basu. *Grantha Bhawan, 93, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Calcutta. Price Rupees Five only.*

The book under review is a doctoral dissertation and as such it bears the marks of clear

thinking and sound scholarship. Political thought of the East, particularly of India, has been placed side by side and compared and contrasted with the classic and modern political thought of Europe and the book is commendable in this respect.

The treatise is divided in three books with sixteen chapters wherein Dr. Basu reviews the different trends of the modern political thought against the background of social and economic evolutions. The total philosophy of Hegel and Marx has been clearly presented. Their metaphysical doctrines, interpretations of history and their theories of State have been expounded with clarity and precision. Their criticisms have also been offered. They are included in the First Part of the book under review. The Second Part comprises discussions on the main political systems and thoughts of the West and the U.S.S.R. and China. Amongst the subjects discussed are such topics as collectivist doctrines, Imperialism, National Socialism, Socialism in the U.S.S.R., Democratic Socialism in U.K., smaller co-operative democracies, Sun Yat Sen's Three Principles and the new democracy in China and the People's democracy in Eastern European countries. The third part presents the political theories of Aurobindo, Tagore, Gandhi and Subhas. These theories have been pitted against their Western counterpart and a comparative study has been presented. The authoress rightly points out that these illustrious Indians beat new tracks and opened up new horizons for fresh political thinking. While discussing these theories they have been carefully analysed and compared with the political doctrines and theories of State as propounded by Hegel and Marx. Dr. Basu points out that Hegel is not so much dead as he is thought to be and Marx is not so much living as he is taken to be. The influence of Hegel has been lingering as a dormant force and that of Marx has been more apparent than real. Hegel has been criticised and accused of contradictory statements regarding his concepts of the Absolute and the Dialectics. Again, Hegel's world historical individuals are all conquerors and rulers. He could not correctly assess the value of the prophets, reformers and philosophers born in the Eastern Hemisphere as the cultural achievement of a weak state was not considered to be 'progress' by Hegel. The authoress, while discussing Marx, refuses to see any necessary connection between dialectical and historical materialism and thus takes away much of the wind out of the sails of Karl Marx.

We may or may not agree with many of the views presented in the book but it should be put

on record that her work bears marks of sustained research and a good grasp of the vast number of topics arranged in this book.

We recommend the book to all lovers of philosophy in general and political philosophy in particular.

Sudhir Kumar Nandi

**DISJECTA MEMBRA : STUDIES IN LITERATURE AND LIFE :** By S. V. Mukerjea. The Indian Institute of World Culture, Bangalore. 1959. Pp. 354. Rs. 13.00.

Rajaratna S. V. Mukerjea is to be ranked with the few top-ranking administrators that India has known in recent times. It is surprising that in a lifetime of incessant and difficult official work in several Indian princely states, Mr. Mukerjea could disengage his mind for serious and sustained studies in diverse facets of life and of the world's literature. The present work collects twenty-six select essays, speeches and radio talks from his writing. The essays are marked by a pleasing luminosity of mind and catholicity of taste. Chaitanya, Tagore, Toru Dutt, Andre Gide, the Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre, Chesterton and even Annada Sankar Ray come in for their share of some penetrating analyses. Mr. Mukerjea is never dogmatic about his views as he puts over his case with competence and clarity of purpose. The work should interest all serious students of life and literature.

Ramesh Ghoshal

#### SANSKRIT

**MAHAPRABHU-HARIDASAM** (Sanskrit Drama) : By Dr. Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri. Published by the Pracyavani Mandir, 3, Federation Street, Calcutta-9, as Vol. XXIX of its Sanskrit Series. Also a Bengali version in Bengali Script with a long Introduction in Bengali. Price Rs. 8/-, (Rexin Rs. 4/-).

We hail Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri, one of our eminent Research Scholars, as one of the best Sanskrit Poets as well. People who are prone to consider Sanskrit as a dead language, will suddenly be shocked to learn that a Sanskrit Drama composed only one and a half years ago have been staged in different parts of the country more than twelve times and thousands of the people congregated to see it staged. What is more, all people understand every word of it and clap and cheer appropriately with proper understanding and grasp of the whole subject-matter from the beginning to the end, particularly in

farcical scenes. Sanskrit is rightly called the Language of Amaras or Gods and certainly, it knows no death or decay. It is the eternal language of India and Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri's research works numbering more than a hundred, 12 Sanskrit Dramas, many poetical works including those of Songs and *Stotras*, in their immortal garb of Sanskrit will certainly be a source of joy and inspiration to scholars and connoisseurs for a long time.

The *Mahaprabhu-Haridasam* is based upon the life-story of Sri Haridas Prabhu, one of the foremost Disciples of Lord Srikrishna Chaitanya of Bengal. This Drama together with the *Priti-Vishnupriyam* and *Bhakti-Vishnupriyam* on Sri Vishnupriya, Holy Consort of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu of Bengal and the *Dina-Dasa-Raghuratha*, which is really a companion volume of *Mahaprabhu-Haridasam* presents the *Prema-Bhakti Dharma* of Mahaprabhu, or in other words, the Religion, Philosophy and Culture of Medieval Bengal in its loveliest colour. Haridasa was *Namacharya* who used to count the Name of *Hari* three lakhs of times a day, and not unusually, loudly, because in the opinion of Haridasa, loud utterance of the name of *Hari* removes the sins of all who hear it. He was thirty years older than *Mahaprabhu* and had a voluntary death a few years before the *Mahasamadhi* of the *Mahaprabhu*. He considered himself unclean and wanted to keep himself aloof from the *Mahaprabhu* but the *Mahaprabhu* used to embrace him, openly declaring that the body of his great Disciple Haridasa was purer even than his own self. According to Gaudiya Vaisnava Theology, one of the main reasons of Sri Hari's Incarnation in the form of *Gaurasundara* was Haridasa's continued suffering culminating in his life sentence by the Muslim ruler of Bengal, as Haridasa openly declared that he would not under any circumstances give up the name of *Hari* which was his *Ista-Mantra*. All these marvellous incidents have been beautifully depicted in the Sanskrit Drama *Mahaprabhu-Haridasam* under review.

The long Bengali introduction to the Drama in Bengali Script is in itself an independent book and helps the reader a good deal in rightly understanding the delineation of the character of Haridasa in the Drama, and the true spirit of his religious preaching. Haridasa preached that a real *Vaisnava* would not care for Salvation or *Mukti*; what he cared for was really *Bhakti* or Devotion.

The Verses and Songs of this Drama are marvellously interwoven with the Drama but

even as independent *Stotras* or Songs they would serve as masterpieces for day-to-day use. The farcical portions of the Drama are also equally fascinating and entertaining. The indices also have enhanced the value of the work.

What is most significant about this Drama is intense religious fervour with which, and the very beautiful, lucid Sanskrit in which, this work has been written. It would certainly serve as a model for the whole country to adopt in these days of linguistic differences in the country. Maharashtra, Gujarat—all these great Linguistic Units will sooner or later cause greater and greater troubles for the country until Sanskrit comes in as the real mother—as the saviour among the dissentient children. I do very fervently hope that people will very seriously go through the pages of the Dramatic and other Sanskrit works of Dr. Chaudhuri and see for themselves how Sanskrit may serve as the most fruitful instrument for bringing about a harmony of thought and fraternal bond amongst our countrymen.

Amareswar Thakur

#### BENGALI

**DIGHA** : Sri Kalipada Bhattacharya. Published by Sm. Sobhana Bhattacharya, 16, Amir Ali Avenue, Calcutta-17. Price Rs. 2/-.

*Digha*, the beautiful seaside resort of Bengal, had long been neglected. Now, thanks to the initiative of the West Bengal Government, it has been fast gaining attention and popularity. Sri Bhattacharya has, in this poem, described the scenic beauty and serene atmosphere of the place and the metaphysical yearning that he felt here.

**SARBAJANIN DHARMA** : Sri Haridas De. Prajna-Mandir, 22, Paikpara Row, Calcutta-37. Price not mentioned.

In this brochure the author tries to point out the principles of *Universal Dharma*. Dharma, etymologically meaning that which holds or sustains, is but the inherent power of Self, the Real Self. It is not synonymous with religion. In self-unfolding or self-realisation alone lies true joy. There is food for thought in these few pages of verse. We wonder if prose would not have been a better vehicle for these ideas.

D. N. Mookerjea

**HINDI**

**PADMASINHA SHARMA KE PATRA :**  
*Edited by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Harishankar Sharma. Atmaram and Sons, Delhi-6. Pp. 251. Price Rs. 6/-.*

The late Acharya Padmasinha Sharma whose letters have been collected in this volume wrote books in Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian and Urdu. But above all, he was a prince among men and, therefore, a prince among letter-writers. For, letter-writing is the most intimate and human of all arts and as such, the greater the man the more

his letters mirror forth his radiant and rich humanity, with all its light and shade. The present collection of a number of his letters, addressed to the editors of the publication, under review and several other friends, reveals him, indeed, as a master of the epistolary art. It is, therefore, a very valuable contribution to this branch of Hindi literature which as it is, is rather deficient in this respect. Acharyaji's epistles have, verily, something of the literature, which belongs to all times, in spite of "the intimate trivialities," with which they not seldom deal.

G. M.

## **GREAT WOMEN OF INDIA**

*Editors : Swami Madhavananda & Dr. R. C. Majumdar*

*Introduction : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design : Acharya Nandalal Bose*

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# Indian Periodicals

## Basic Education in Swami Vivekananda

In an article published in *Basic Education*, July-Aug.-Sept., 1960, Bhikshu Isabhodananda writes :

Swami Vivekananda could be studied as an eminent philosopher of Advaita Vedanta interpreted in twentieth century terminology, or as a whirlwind missionary of the gospel of Sri Ramakrishna, or as the Founder and patriarch of the great Ramakrishna Mission Order of monks, as a social and religious reformer, or also as an educationalist. It is in this last aspect that we intend to see Swami Vivekananda with a view to ascertaining his views on Basic Education.

To the youth of this country the message of Vivekananda on education is of practical importance, in that it gives us the philosophy of creative education according to the best of Indian traditions.

Swami Vivekananda, in a letter written to one of his disciples from Chicago, dated 3rd March, 1894, gave a terse definition of Education: comparable to the definition of Yoga by Patanjali, as *Yoga shchittavritti nirodha*, or as Badarayana's definition of God a *Janmadi asya ja-satah*. Swamiji said :

"Education is the manifestation of the perfection already in man, religion is the perfection of the divinity already in man."

"Therefore, the one duty of the teacher in both cases is to remove all obstructions from the way. Hands off ! as I always say, and everything will be all right, that is, our duty is to clear the way, the Lord will do the rest."

Now, creative education aims at removing these obstacles which stand in the way of the manifestation of the perfection already in man, of the divine element already immanent in man. We call this, the Ground, the Basis, because God-element is the source and sustenance of all beings, including human beings. We believe basic education is then only basic when our personality is built on a rock that cannot be shaken by every wind of passion and dust of emotion, but will stand firm on the divine basis of godliness, goodness, knowledge, gnosis, truth, purity, character and all those imponderable elements which must form the bulwark of our educational system. Education must bestow on man that

power to control himself, purify himself and stand firm under all circumstances on his own Self, even when a number of the university graduates and our so-called educated intellectuals would sell their soul, character and ethics for glittering gold, lucrative positions or for material aggrandisement.

Swami Vivekananda asks : "What is education ? Is it book-learning ? No. Is it diverse knowledge ? Not even that. The training by which the current and expression of will are brought under control and become fruitful, is called education."

These words of the Swamiji, being written two years before his passing away, shows how consistently the great prophet of Indian cultural renaissance held that formation of will, moral goodness and ethical imponderables should form the basis of educational system, not cramming up of books, injecting doses of graded courses, but discipline, character, godliness and self-realization. This is the basic education of Swami Vivekananda's conception.

All knowledge is potentially within us; all sanctity and sinfulness are also potentially within us. It is the environment, education, traditions we inherit, society and examples we see around that determine which of the seeds sown by Nature within us should sprout, whether we are going to be gnostics or sinners, saints or downright scoundrels. What teachers, pedagogues, instructors, preceptors, professors, lecturers and masters do is to remove those enveloping sheathes which surround our hidden Self, our Immortal Soul within . . . .

The job of a teacher is to detect the capacities of each child, to till the ground, to plough it and remove all briars and braken and weeds that choke the life of the seed sown in each one of us by God and Nature. Says the Swamiji :

"You cannot make a plant grow in soil unsuited to it. A child teaches itself. But you can help it to go forward in its own way. What you can do is not of the positive nature, but of the negative. You can take away the obstacles, but knowledge comes out of its own nature. Loosen the soil a little, so that it may come out easily. Put a hedge round it; see that it is not killed by anything, and there your work stops. You cannot do anything else. The rest is a manifestation from within its own nature."

For Basic educators, a child or a student *Mokshartham*,<sup>10</sup> *jagat hitayacha*—that we have to is like a marble stone. A wonderful statue is potentially there, if only artists like a Michaelangelo or Raffaello could put their hands to it. The chiselling and polishing and trimming and pruning are all aimed at getting the best statue out of a marble slab or a lump of clay. The strict discipline observed in the ancient Gurukul Ashrams, the stern discipline of students' chastity and *brahmacharya* are all meant to rid ourselves of those opaque dark coverings that hide the Light within. Says Swamiji :

"The old institution of 'living with the Guru' and similar systems of imparting education are needed. What we want are Western science coupled with Vedanta, Brahmacharya as the guiding motto, and also Shradhha and faith in one's own self. . . . The teacher spoils everything by thinking that he is teaching. Thus Vedanta says that within man is all knowledge—even in a boy it is so,— and it requires only an awakening, and that much is the work of the teacher. We have to do only so much for the boys that they may learn to apply their own intellect to the proper use of their hands, legs, ears, eyes, etc., and finally everything will become easy. But the root is religion."

Basic Education, not only in Gandhian sense, but as taught by all pioneers of creative education, must put ethical values before external facts, God-realization before gold-accumulation. It teaches that Self and Values have priority over everything else, and all our economic, social and material needs will be solved if we solved our ethical, spiritual and moral problems. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and righteousness, and all else will be added unto you," said Jesus. That is basic education. Vivekananda paraphrases the same idea when he said :

"To me the very essence of education is concentration of mind, not the collecting of facts. If I had to do my education over again, and had any choice in the matter, I would not study facts at all. I would develop the power of concentration and detachment, and then with a perfect instrument I could collect facts at will. Side by side, in the children, should be developed the power of concentration and detachment."

Vivekananda has given us a dream, an ambition, an enthusiasm which still vibrates in the hearts and minds of all those who have seen and sensed the spirit and ideals of Swami Vivekananda; His educational mission and Upanishadic message is all condensed in that terse aphorism of his saying which says: *Atmano*

*Mokshartham*,<sup>10</sup> *jagat hitayacha*—that we have to train ourselves, discipline ourselves, educate ourselves and work might and main for the emancipation of our soul and for the welfare of mankind. Let that be the motto of our education, our life work, our goal, our dream.

### Nutrition and Health

In course of an article published in *Seminar*, August, 1960, C. Gopalan observes :

Among the nutritional disorders affecting children in India, those attributable to the deficiency of protein and vitamin A in the diet are the most important. The problem of protein malnutrition in children is now recognised to be a global problem common to most under-developed regions of the world, and has been found to be largely responsible for the high morbidity and mortality among poor children in these regions.

The problem of protein deficiency is particularly acute in the age period between 1 and 5 years. In early infancy, breast milk provides the protein requirements adequately. One of the most gratifying features of the nutritional situation of poor Indian communities is that poor mothers in spite of their unsatisfactory nutritional status are able to put forth milk of good quantity and fair quality.

However, even with the most satisfactory lactation, it would be impossible to sustain an infant on breast milk alone after the sixth month. Supplementary foods rich in protein, like cow's milk, become necessary after this period. Unfortunately, such foods are usually beyond the reach of the poor. It is for this reason that the manifestations of protein malnutrition are seen in poor children usually after their first year.

The manifestations of protein deficiency in children are stunting of growth, diarrhoea,, discolouration and sparseness of hair, dis-colouration and peeling off of the skin, anaemia, swelling of the body and fatty liver.

The problem of protein malnutrition in children is thus an urgent public health problem of very serious magnitude.

Recent researches have indicated that though vegetable proteins, taken singly, are inferior to skim milk, judicious combinations of vegetable proteins may prove satisfactory in preventing protein malnutrition. Thus, preparations based on a combination of *Bengal gram flour with sesame flour and ground nut flour* have been used successfully. The answer to the problem of protein malnutrition in our country for some

years to come would seem to lie in the more extended use of such vegetable protein foods suitably processed to serve the needs of infants and young children.

It has been found that the number of blind people in India runs to several thousands. A great majority of these cases are known to be preventable. It is believed that the most common cause of preventable blindness is malnutrition due to the deficiency of vitamin A in the diet. Vitamin A deficiency is essentially a problem of children because the requirement for the vitamin is greatest in the period of growth.

The problem of vitamin A deficiency in children is one of considerable magnitude especially in South India and Bengal, where the number of cases of threatened or actual blindness from vitamin A deficiency runs to several hundreds. The immense social and economic repercussions of such a high incidence of blindness in young children are obvious.

Vitamin A can be obtained in the 'ready made' state from such foods as butter, eggs, liver, etc. These sources are, however, beyond the reach of the poor. Fortunately, there are alternative food sources of vitamin A. Many green vegetables and some fruits contain the substances known as carotene, which can be converted into vitamin A in the body. The average cost of the vegetables needed to provide the requisite quantity of vitamin A to a child would not work out to more than 2 paise daily in a city and probably would be even less in the countryside.

Among the nutritional disorders affecting pregnant women, anaemia is undoubtedly the most important. The great majority of cases of anaemia are due to iron deficiency and can be controlled with the administration of iron and by including in the dietaries, articles of food rich in iron. Pregnancy aggravates anaemia in women, and anaemia in turn may deleteriously affect the course of pregnancy. The control of anaemia should be considered a major challenge in the field of public health in our country.

### *Lathyrism*

Another dietary disorder of serious magnitude is the problem of lathyrism. This is a disease characterised by progressive paralysis of the legs, leading to permanent crippling. As most of the affected persons are young men, the disease has

serious economic repercussions. The disease is widespread in certain parts of Madhya Pradesh and Bihar and the number of affected persons is estimated to run to several thousands. In certain villages in this region, the entire male population has been found stricken with the disease.

The problem of lathyrism has been in recorded existence for over a hundred years in these regions and, till recently, no attempts were made to tackle it or to find a solution. The condition is known to be associated with the excessive consumption of a pulse known as *lathyrus sativus* ('khesari dal'). The actual toxic factor in the pulse has yet to be isolated. Evidently the consumption of small quantities of this pulse is not harmful, but in the areas in which the disease is rampant, the dietaries of the poor segment of the population are almost entirely constituted of the pulse.

### *Question of Banning*

It is agreed that the disease is unknown among populations not subsisting on *lathyrus*.

Attempts to find alternative para-crops which could take the place of *lathyrus* in these regions are being made. In the meanwhile, the poor segments of the population must be educated not to base their dietaries entirely on the pulse alone. Detection of cases in the very early stages and complete avoidance of *lathyrus* in such cases has been shown to abort the attacks.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Exploration of Outer Space

A. C. B. Lovell, Professor of Radio Astronomy, University of Manchester and Director of Jodrell Bank Experimental Station delivered a lecture on the Exploration of Outer Space, which has been published in the *Journal Of The Royal Society of Arts*. A few excerpts from this discourse are given here :

Since the dawn of consciousness man has used his eyes to study the stars in the sky, and for the last 300 years the development of the optical telescope has provided him with increasing powers of penetration into the heavens. In the decade before the Second World War the great optical telescopes on Mts. Wilson and Palomar in America photographed systems of stars and galaxies from which the light had taken a thousand million years to reach us after its journey through space. It seemed then that man was in possession of the ultimate tool for the exploration of space and that he would soon be able to reach a final decision on the processes of evolution and origin of the cosmos.

During those wonderful years of discovery the astronomers were almost intoxicated by the power of the optical telescope combined with the photographic plate and the spectroscope. Man had been blessed with senses of sight which enabled him to see the light emitted by the stars and galaxies, and although our terrestrial atmosphere was opaque to anything but the colours of the rainbow, there was no serious inquiry or anxiety as to the extent of any limitations which this might entail on our knowledge of outer space. However, at the very moment when these telescopes were in the full flood of discovery an American engineer, Karl Jansky, who was investigating thunderstorms with a radio receiver, made a simple observation which was to effect a transformation in the techniques for the investigation of outer space. He found that the background noise in the receiver, which should have remained constant if it was all produced in the components of the receiver, varied systematically throughout the day. Jansky noticed that this daily variation occurred within a period of 23 hours 56 minutes, which is the period of rotation of the earth with respect to the stars. The elegance of the observation lies in its simplicity and in

the unambiguity of the conclusion that whatever was responsible for the daily variation must originate from regions of space outside the solar system. This work encountered all the classic hindrances which nearly always accompany great scientific discoveries, and now it is with incredulity that one reads that Jansky's employers transferred him to other work, and that for nearly ten years interest in the subject was sustained only by the efforts of Grote Reber who built apparatus in his own garden while carrying on full time occupation in an unrelated subject. In fact, Jansky and Reber had shown that the light from the stars and nebulae was not the sole means at man's disposal for investigating the cosmos, but that this so-called 'optical' window in the earth's atmosphere was accompanied by a much more extensive window at longer wavelengths in the radio wave region through which radio waves were reaching the earth from outer space. The work of these pioneers remained almost unknown and the significance of the discovery was certainly not understood until the technical developments of the war stimulated a few scientists to study the heavens in this region of the spectrum. Now radio telescopes are almost as common as optical telescopes, and astronomy is in the throes of a revolution which can reasonably be compared with that which arose from the investigations of Galileo.

As the technical legacies of one war were being woven into astronomical instruments, the fear of another conflict drove the Great Power into the expenditure of unprecedented sums of money for the development of ballistic rockets. After ten years of progress towards purely militaristic ends, both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. found themselves possessed of rockets which could not only throw a hydrogen bomb across the Atlantic, but if otherwise employed might succeed in the almost fictional dream of placing in orbit an artificial earth satellite. The dramatic realization of this feat by the U.S.S.R. in October, 1957, was followed by a conflict for supremacy between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. on a scale which could scarcely be maintained in the interests of fundamental research. Nevertheless, these efforts have provided astronomers with means of conveying their instruments to regions of space where the earth's atmosphere

ceases to influence or absorb the radiations reaching us from the sun and outer space.

During the span of our own lifetime the possibilities for the exploration of outer space have undergone two transformations, one by virtue of the techniques of earth-based radio astronomy, and the other through the opportunities offered by satellites and space probes which can carry the instruments of the astronomer in at least a temporary escape from their earth-bound environment.

After dwelling on different aspects of the exploration of outer space, such as the beginning of outer space, the interplanetary medium, etc., the distinguished Astronomer says about the Moon and the Planets :

A good deal of purely astronomical data about the moon and the planets can be found in the text-books. The distances, masses, sizes and many other facts have been deduced from a study of the motion of the planets by normal, visual and telescopic observations. There are, of course, some important gaps—Venus, for example is cloud-covered and has yielded little reliable information about its period of rotation. Also, the existing errors in the measurement of the fundamental unit of distance in astronomy—the solar parallax—means that we are uncertain of the distance of the nearer planets to about 10,000 miles. Rather a small uncertainty in terms of the distance of a near approach of a planet to earth of about 30,000,000 miles ; but quite critical when plans are made to send a space probe to the vicinity of a planet. On the whole the essentially astronomical data are reasonably complete.

The astrophysical data are far less complete. The constitution of the planetary atmospheres has been inferred from spectroscopic observations but cannot be regarded as conclusive, and the density of the lunar atmosphere is below the limit of detection of any earthbound measurement. Nothing is known about the degree of ionization of these atmospheres. The geophysical information about the planets is fragmentary. The surface of Venus has never been seen, and we do not know whether it is a complete ocean or an arid desert. The largest optical telescope is still inadequate to provide decisive information about the surface of Mars, and the evidence about the lunar surface (of which we had only seen one half until the flight of Lunik III) is insufficient to settle the argument whether its surface features have been determined by volcanic activity or meteoritic impact.

The more detailed study of the moon and

the planets has for sometime appeared as a vital task for all who are interested in the problem of the origin of the solar system, and in the possible existence of organic material elsewhere than on earth. The impasse which the conventional techniques had encountered has now been broken by the tools of radio astronomy and the space probe.

Radio telescopes have now measured the radio emissions from several of the planets in the region of centimetre wavelengths. This is the thermal emission appropriate to the temperature of the body, and useful comparison with the temperatures derived by optical studies are being made. More surprising is the detection of large sporadic outbursts on long wavelengths from Jupiter. The energies involved in the generation of these radio waves must be enormous. There is some evidence that the events occur on the surface of the planet rather than in its atmosphere. Should this be the case the forces at work must be equivalent to the energies involved in several hydrogen bombs, or in giant volcanic eruptions like the explosion of Krakatau.

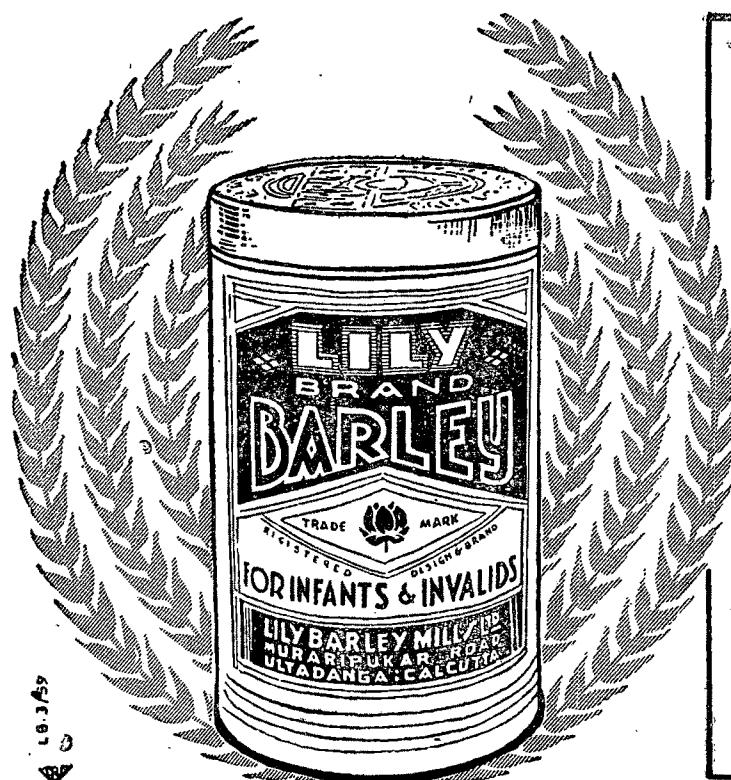
These passive radio astronomical studies are full of interest, but the greatest dividends are coming from the use of the radar or radio echo techniques of radio astronomy when applied to the moon and the planets. After the war the further development of radar to achieve sufficient power and sensitivity in order to send a pulse of radio waves to the moon, and detect them again on earth after reflection from the lunar surface, was soon accomplished. Some people thought this was little more than a stunt, or at most a stage in the technical development of radar. However, those who pursued the problem have been rewarded by a most striking series of results. As soon as large steerable radio telescopes became available the study of the lunar radio echoes was much easier. It was found that although the pulses sent out from earth remained always of the same strength, those that returned  $2\frac{1}{2}$  seconds later exhibited marked fluctuations in intensity. These fluctuations have been found to be caused by two different effects. First, in traversing the ionized regions surrounding the earth the plane of polarization of the radio waves is rotated. This effect has now been turned into an important new technique for measuring the total number of electrons along the line of sight between the earth and moon. Second, the libration, or movement of the lunar surface relative to the earth, causes a rapid fading in the reflected signals. The analysis of this fading revealed an unsuspected feature of the lunar

reflection. It was assumed that the whole hemisphere of the moon presented to earth would take part equally in the scattering of the radio waves. This is not the case. The bulk of the scattering takes place at a portion of the forward hemispheric cap which is only about one-fifth of the depth of the lunar radius. This had an immediate practical reaction because it was realized that if the moon behaved in this way as a reflector on radio wavelengths, then it should be possible to use it as a passive relay station for the transmission of intelligible speech over long distances. The excellent clarity of speech transmitted across the Atlantic in this way has been demonstrated, and since this is a form of long-distance radio communication which can be carried out on wavelengths which are not susceptible to ionospheric or other terrestrial disturbances, there is probably a commercial future in these techniques.

The extension of these lunar radar experiments to the nearer planets presented a major challenge. The moon is 240,000 miles distant and the return journey of the radio waves from earth takes  $2\frac{1}{2}$  seconds. At close approach Venus is nearly 30,000,000 miles and the radar signal would take over 5 minutes on the journey there and back to earth. In terms of sensitivity of apparatus it is ten million times more difficult to

achieve than the lunar echo. However, a beginning has been made. An American team with a transmitter of a very great power on an 80 ft. radio telescope, and a team at Jodrell Bank using a smaller transmitter on the 250 ft. radio telescope, have both achieved initial success in these Venus experiments. Even with these preliminary results a direct measurement of the distance of the planet has been made and the range of uncertainty about the value of the solar parallax has been significantly reduced. It is hoped that in the near future further extension of this work will enable the rate of rotation of the planet to be measured. It is likely, too, that the experiments will give some guidance on the nature of the surface of the planet.

At the moment no one can be sure whether the first determination of the rotation period of Venus will come from these radio astronomical studies, or from instruments carried in a space probe which either orbits or makes a close approach to the planet. There are, however, many aspects of these lunar and planetary studies which can only be achieved by the physical presence of instruments carried in space probes. Lunik II crashed its instruments on to the lunar surface. Soon we may expect control to be exercised in the final stages of flight. Then either a soft land-



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ing can be made and the instruments maintained in working order on the lunar surface, or the probe can be placed in close orbit around the moon. Then we shall have the potential of studying the lunar atmosphere, and magnetic field (if any exists); and of making the detailed measurements on the lunar surface which may well have a decisive influence on many outstanding conflicts of opinion. The history of many eons of time is contained on the lunar surface, which must be almost untouched by erosion. Is there, for example, an identity of material between the meteorites which crash to earth and the surface of the moon? The analysis of certain meteorites made by Urey seems to indicate that at some stage in their history they must have gone through processes of heating which could only occur in the interior of a body of lunar size; and that these meteorites which we handle today are the result of a shattering of these moons in collision. If this is correct there must, at some stage in the evolution of the solar system, have been at least 10 objects the size of the present moon which eventually disintegrated in mutual collisions. It seems that these lunar investigations may well hold the key to a major problem in the evolution of the solar system.

### Riddles of History Solved by an Atom

An article under the above-caption is reproduced here from *Science Bulletin*, July 20, 1960.

Atomic radiations given off by radioactive atoms of carbon-14 are tapping out messages for scientists interested in discovering the dates of archaeological objects made as long ago as 30,000 years. As a result of this dating method amazing new facts have been uncovered, and beliefs long held by scholars have been upset.

Carbon-14 was discovered by two scientists at the University of California at Berkeley in 1941. Seven years later Dr. Willard F. Libby, then a Professor of Chemistry at the University of Chicago, got an idea. He knew that since the beginning of time the earth's atmosphere has been bombarded with cosmic rays from the outer space. Some cosmic rays strike nitrogen atoms about five miles above the earth and create radioactive atoms of carbon-14 which then come into contact with the earth. Carbon-14 in the form of carbon dioxide is absorbed by plants, animals and humans while they are alive. But, the moment they

die, the intake of carbon-14 ceases and begins to disintegrate at an absolute and known rate. Disintegration of carbon-14 proceeds on a half-life of 6,568 years. Roughly, every 6,000 years an object loses half of its carbon-14.

The amount of carbon-14 remaining in an object, an object which absorbed carbon-14 while alive, can be measured. Dr. Libby believed that by developing a sensitive instrument for measuring the amount of carbon-14 in an object he would know how much carbon-14 had been lost and thereby be able to calculate the age of the object.

Dr. Libby developed his idea, prepared the instrument and tested it on a piece of Egyptian wood. The wood was from a funeral boat found in the tomb of an Egyptian king, Sesostris III, believed to have died about 3700 B.C. The radioactive carbon-14 in the wood was measured. Mathematical calculations were made. Radiations from the carbon-14 tapped out the answer—King Sesostris did die about 3700 B.C.

Samples began pouring in from all over the world. Tests were made on them. Wheat and barley seeds from Egypt were found to be 5200 years old. A piece of charcoal from Iraq was 6600 years old. Wood found under stratified sand in Chicago proved to be 8200 years old. Organic matter from Monterey County, California, had been lying there for more than 17,000 years. A sample from Newberry Crater, Oregon, was about 20,000 years of age.

Carbon-14 was responsible for a story which reads like a detective story. Outside the wind-swept village of P'u-la-tien, Manchuria, lies a dried-up lake. No one knew when the waters had receded. Deep in the soil, a Japanese botanist found seeds of aquatic lotus plants which had been mired when the waters withdrew. The seeds were eventually dated by carbon-14 as being 1,000 years old; and thereby gave the date of the drying-up of the lake.

Some of the seeds were germinated. This confused botanists who had previously been certain that seeds over 200 years old would not germinate. Out of the confusion came a new fact—lotus plants 1,000 years old will germinate.

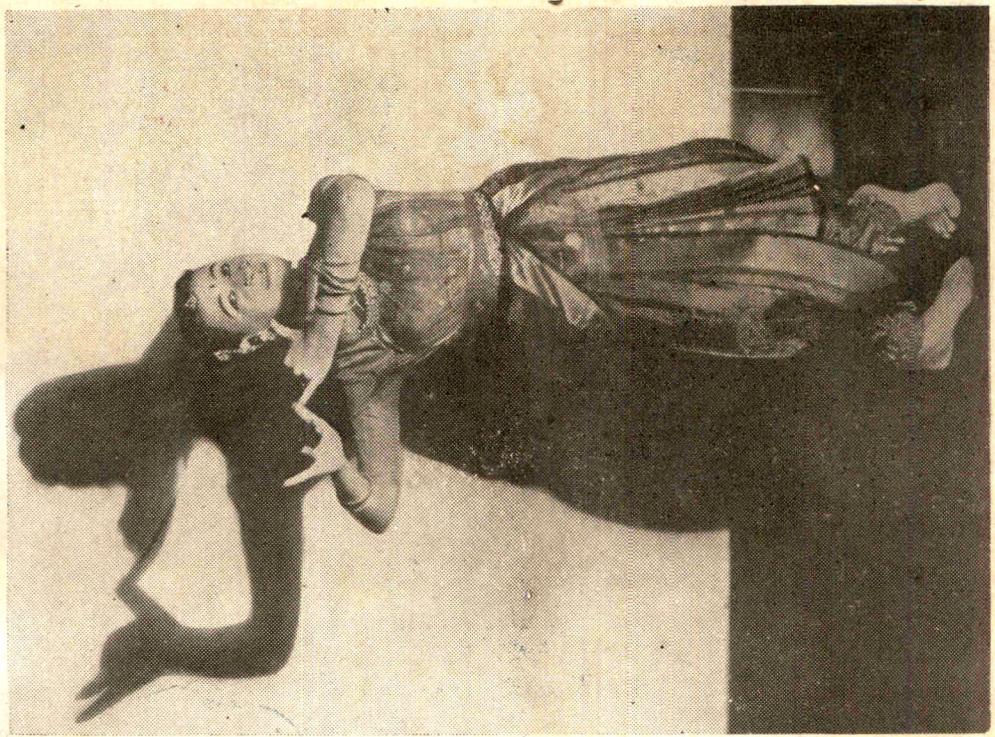
Scientists agree that the discovery of the carbon-14 dating process along with many other scientific research uses of this radioactive atom was the most important scientific instrument developed since the discovery of the microscope.

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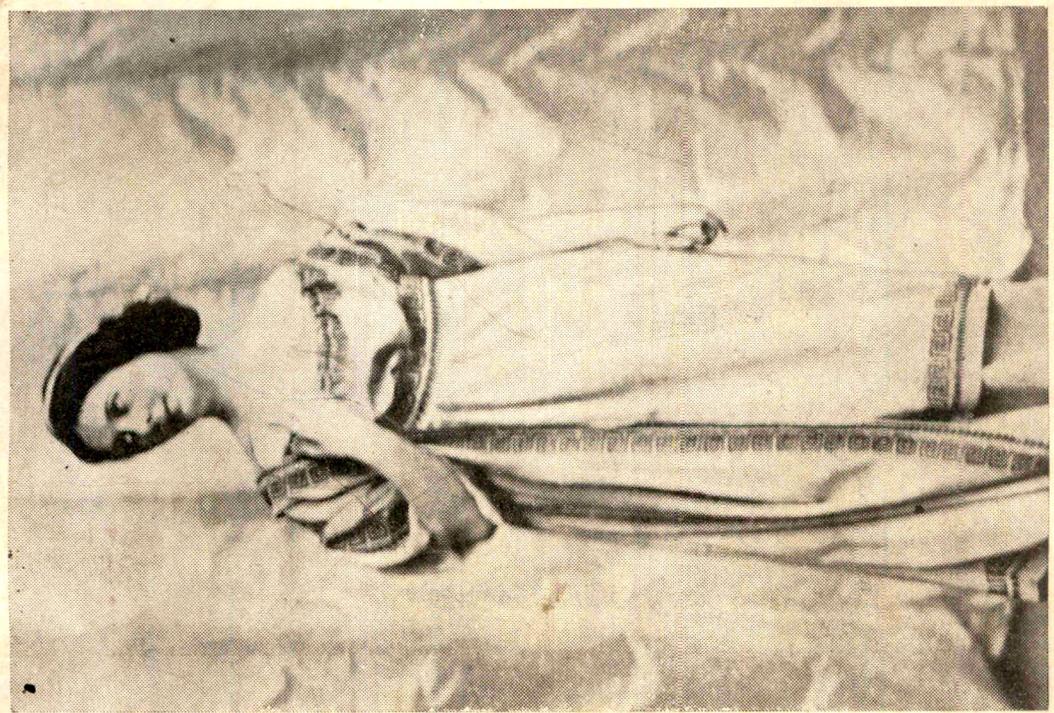
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Editor—KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

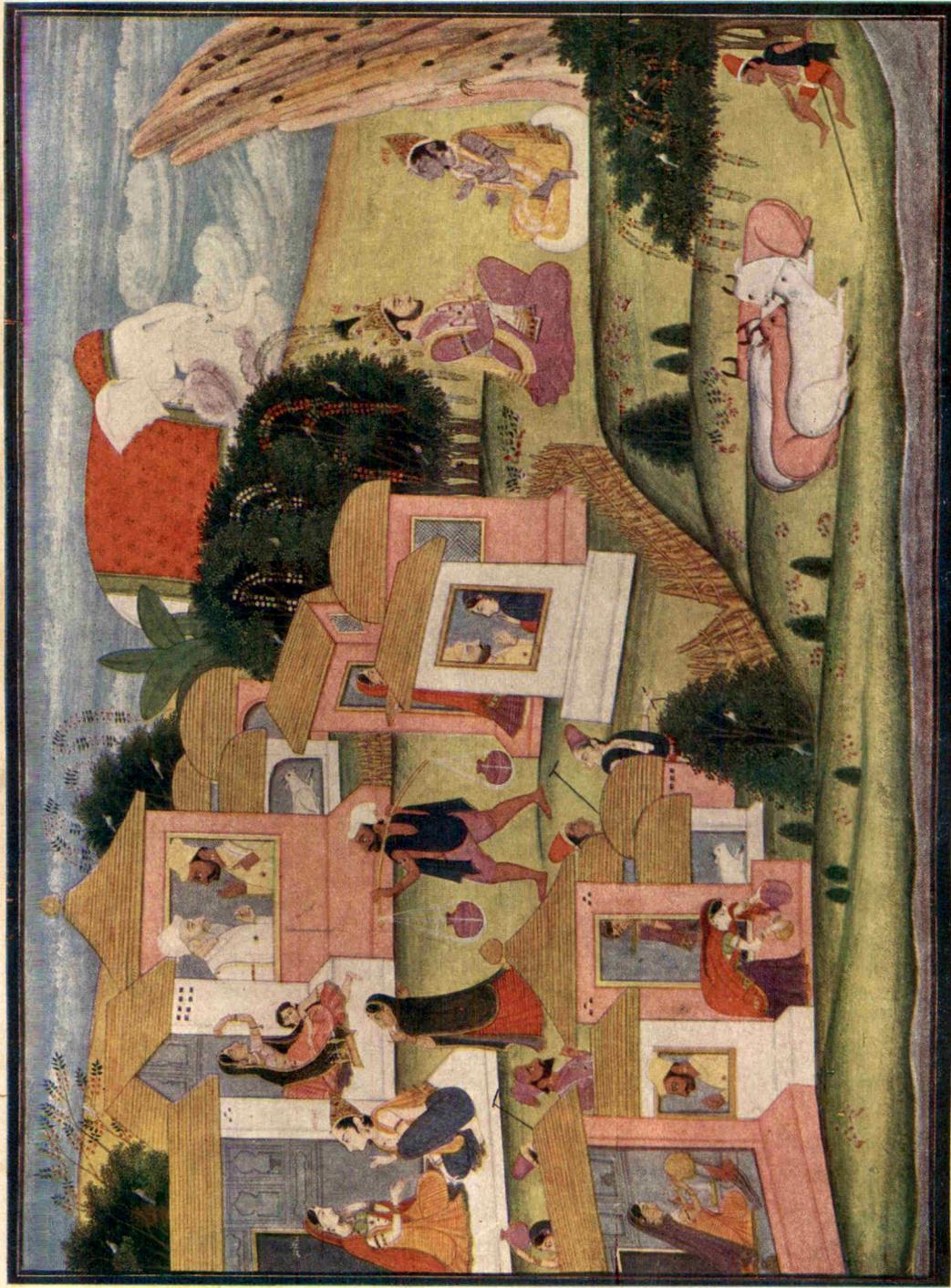
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# THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER

1960



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WHOLE NO. 646

## NOTES

### At Home and Abroad

The news of the moment, at the time of writing, is undoubtedly the visit of the Soviet Premier, Mr. Nikita Khrushchev. The latest news say that as on one hand Pier 73 on the East River is busy with carpenters, painters and the crew of a dredger, feverishly completing a "face-lift" against the arrival of the Soviet liner **Baltika** with Mr. Khrushchev on board, on the other, the Dockers' Union and the International Longshoremen's Association is trying to give him 'as unpleasant an arrival as possible.'

Another unwelcome visitor to the United States, who is coming to join the other heads of States at the U.N., is the Cuban Premier, Dr. Fidel Castro. So far, it is reported, no accommodation has been secured for him as every hotel that has been approached by his agents has refused to provide any room for him.

With Mr. Khrushchev are going three other V. I. personages of the same ilk, namely, Hungary's Janos Kadar, Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov and Rumania's Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. The Russian chiefs aides number about 170. Poland's Wladislaw Gomulka is travelling separately.

The popularity of all these political personages being of a intensely negative nature—to put it mildly—where the U.S. citizens are concerned, the task of the security men and the police forces is complicated in the extreme. The U.S. State Department has handed a curt memorandum to the Soviet's U.N. delegation advising

them that Mr. Khrushchev should not make any plans to leave the island of Manhattan and should find quarters for himself, guests and entourage, as close to the U.N. as possible. The portents for this visit are anything but hopeful at this moment.

Pandit Nehru is going to the U.N. on the 24th September. We do not know whether a visit by him to the U.N. at this crucial stage in World Affairs will be of any positive value. But, of course, nobody really knows what will transpire at that Assembly meeting, with so much tension already generated by the happenings since last May. He will be in Karachi by the time this note appears in print.

In Congo, there is still wild chaos and disorder as shown by the restrained reports of our Shri Rajeswar Dayal, who is acting as the personal representative of Mr. Hammarskjöld, the Secretary-General of the U.N. The entire Congo issue is going before an emergency session of the U.N. General Assembly, the Soviet veto having been exercised against the Ceylon-Tunisia Draft Resolution on Congo, when it came before the Security Council.

In the Middle East, another assassination has taken place in Jordan, the victim being the Premier Hazza Majali. The King of Jordan, Hussein, has openly accused the United Arab Republic of knowledge of the plot beforehand and also of sheltering the plotters and the actual assassins. In Iran, the Shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlevi, has had to order a fresh election to the Majlis in response to the people's indignation over



the recent elections, which were "rigged" according to most informed people.

At home, we have to put on record our felicitations to one of the most distinguished of our fellow citizens, Dr. Visvesvaraya, on the occasion of his hundredth birthday. Few have had the good fortune to live so long, and far fewer still have had the brains, energy and dedication to serve his fellow-men so fruitfully as has this truly great son of India.

We have also to put on record, with great regret, the passing away of Feroze Gandhi on the 8th of September last. He was one of the very small group in the Congress camp, who were always on the alert for the detection of corruption and similar evils that are tarnishing the record of the Congress Government. A fearless champion in the cause of truth, he was outspoken in the extreme when the occasion rose, but in private life he was known as an unassuming and reserved man, of impeccable tastes, and charming manners. By his premature death, at the age of 48 years only, the nation has suffered a loss that it can ill-afford, and the Lok Sabha has lost a shining light in an assembly not particularly remarkable for brilliance, either of intellect or of ideology.

#### **Student Unrest**

In recent years most cities with a large student population have been troubled with disorders—sometimes culminating in serious rioting—in which students have participated with the reckless abandon natural for immature brains and unbalanced emotions. This rising tide of student indiscipline, with its attendant ills of falling standards in the educational equipment of passed-out alumni and the consequent shortcomings in their qualities as good citizens, have made our Heads of State somewhat apprehensive about the future of the nation. Heads of the great universities have met and discussed the problem in all its aspects and some degree of unanimity has been attained in their diagnosis of the academic side of the question. The remedies suggested are, however, as yet purely empirical, as the basic causes have not been analysed down to the fundamentals.

The roots of the evil has been allowed to go down deep, and it would take a painstaking and patient unravelling of the complex issues before anything like a complete survey can be made of all the causative elements. This would mean, likewise, a deep probe into the psychology of the student, individually and collectively, by skilled and tactful persons, who are equipped with the training requisite for such a task and who have still the capacity to feel and to rouse sympathetic impulses when in contact with the young. No dry or dessicated academician will be able to divine the causes that would rouse an average student into a state comparable to that of a frenzied maniac and nor would any amount of theorising provide any panacea for the evils that threaten to convert our nation-building dreams into nightmares.

The problems have been further complicated by the entry of intrusive elements, subversive and disruptive, into the student communities of the universities, colleges, and schools. These elements have been introduced by political organisations, through the medium of teachers, professors and political agitators who keep close touch with all the unruly elements commonly found wherever students congregate, after or between lectures or laboratory work.

Then again there are the "Passing Made Easy" organizations, usually composed of mercenary and nimble-witted teachers and professors with elastic consciences, whose tricks of the trade include the divining of likely questions. This giving out of "sure" questions carries with it the safeguard—for these prophets—of a fine distinction between "fair" questions and "unfair" questions. If the questions tally with those given out as being "sure" then all's well, if not, then there is a hue and cry and the students, who were fooled into seeking the easy paths to success in examinations, are incited into all sorts of excesses.

The picture is sombre, indeed, but it will further darken with the passage of time unless early and effective measures are taken to correct it. If the present policy of laissez-faire is allowed to continue, the effects will be grim indeed.

Student unrest is not exclusively Indian in character. The rioting students of Korea, Turkey and Japan and the rebel students and present-day rulers of Cuba are of the same pattern, more or less with 'bus and tram-burning student rioters of Calcutta.' We reproduce below, in part, a study of the causative factors of the Cuban Revolution, by the highly trained journalist and historian, Theodore Draper, from the *New Leader* of July 4 and 11:

Every member of Castro's Government attended a university, came from middle or upper-class homes and became or intended to become a professional or intellectual. Of the 18 members of the Cuban Government in April, 1960, there were eight lawyers, one professor, one architect, one engineer, one naval captain, one doctor, three ex-university students and two unspecified. Castro's father was a well-to-do farmer who sent his son to Jesuit schools and the University of Havana for a career in law. Castro's most influential lieutenant, Ernesto Guevara, is a doctor whose father was an Argentine architect and builder. Castro will be 34 in August, almost exactly the average age of the entire group.

The Cuban revolution was not a rebellion of the workers and peasants; it was a rebellion by the sons and daughters of the middle class in the name of the workers and peasants. In its present stage, the peasants are benefiting from it the most, the workers very little or not at all, and the middle class as a whole has been marked for destruction.

I have tried elsewhere to define the nature of Castro's revolution and its place in the Communist family of revolutions. In brief, despite important differences in background between Castro's circle and the official Cuban Communists, the former seem to be heading toward a Cuban variety of "socialism in one island" which the latter can unconditionally support as the best available means for fulfilling their own long-range objectives. Yet the two groups have fallen out in the past and it cannot be ruled out that they may fall out again in the future.

In poor, backward countries like Cuba, revolutions still issue out of the middle class but not in behalf of the middle class. The sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie dedicate themselves to the destruction of their own class in the name of nationalism and socialism. In this respect,

Cuba was particularly vulnerable because its middle class was relatively too big as well as too weak. The island's five universities enrolled about 25,000 students, with the University of Havana alone accounting for about two-thirds of the total, all turning out too many lawyers and too few engineers. Only a growing, dynamic economy could have assimilated so many would-be intellectuals and professionals. Middle class fathers provided their sons with education which their society was too constricted and stagnant to utilize.

The social conditions which led to Castro's victory were painfully familiar to every student of Cuban life. Ten years ago, the still unrivalled *Report on Cuba* of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development devastatingly exposed what was wrong with Cuba—dependence on a single crop, sugar; chronic unemployment of the mass of sugar workers for about three-fourths of every year; the appallingly high rate of illiteracy; the habit of rich Cubans of investing their capital abroad, hoarding it or sinking it into non-productive real estate; the "unstable and static nature" of the whole economy.

#### Where has the Money Gone ?

Sometime back the newspapers gave the startling piece of news that Pandit Nehru had suddenly become aware that the First and Second Five-Year Plans had not improved the common citizen's lot in the way that was planned. He was going to institute an enquiry, therefore, as to where all those vast sums of money, which represented the common citizen's life's blood, had gone.

Then came an announcement by Mr. G. L. Nanda, in the Lok Sabha on the 26th of August, which was reported as follows :

The Union Minister for Planning and Labour, Mr. G. L. Nanda, had said in the Lok Sabha that broadly the terms of reference of the expert committee to be set up by the Government to probe into the question of accumulation of wealth under the First and Second Plans will be to enquire into the distribution of additional income and changes in the level of living. What they needed was an enquiry not about honest earnings but wealth obtained by blackmarketing, he added.

Mr. Nanda was replying to the four-day debate on the draft outline of the Third Plan in the House.

This of course clarified issues. Since the enquiry was not about honest earnings, all blackmarketeers on the donors' lists of the major parties were safe. For how could their earnings be termed dishonest, since they had bestowed largesse from the same source on all Parties that had power for good or evil and likewise had "serviced" the palms of officialdom with copious lubrication from the identical channel?

Then came the following bit of news:

New Delhi, Sept. 13.—The Prime Minister made an important announcement at the meeting of the National Development Council today that the Planning Commission would shortly set up an expert committee whose terms of reference would be:—

- (1) To review the changes in the levels of living in the First and Second Five-Year Plans.
- (2) To study the recent trends in the distribution of income and wealth; and in particular
- (3) To ascertain the extent to which the operation of the economic system resulted in concentration of wealth and means of production.

The Committee would be concerned with the collection of necessary statistical and economic data.

Since the proposed committee will only be concerned with the collection of necessary statistical and economic data only, no unnecessary—that is unpleasant and inconvenient—data would be collected. And further if any such nasty details be collected by oversight, there is no proposal for further utilisation of the same. So all honest blackmarketeers and their henchmen are safe—provided they continue to purchase insurance in the usual fashion. The premiums may be increased somewhat during the enquiry, but that would only mean a little more intensive blood-sucking.

On the same day as when he made the enquiry announcement, that is on the 26th of August, Mr. G. L. Nanda further made the following momentous announcement in the Lok Sabha:

To Mr. Kripalani's criticism about heavy backlog of unemployment in spite of the plans, Mr. Nanda said that progressively they were

enlarging the employment opportunities and at the end of the Third Plan, they would be certainly in a better position.

While not dealing in detail with the resources and the size of the Plan for the simple reason that the Finance Minister had already dealt with it in detail, Mr. Nanda contented himself by saying that what was technically feasible could also be financially feasible.

Mr. Nanda declared: "The Third Plan is not going to fail. It cannot fail because of our confidence in the capacity of our people and from what we have seen about the performance in this country. That inspires confidence", he said.

Mr. Nanda said that by his saying that the Third Plan would not fail, he did not mean that every target in the Plan would be achieved. What he meant was that the people of India would march on the lines laid down in the Plan and would make their utmost efforts.

While assuring Mr. Nanda of our acceptance of his emphatic declarations regarding the Third Five-Year Plans we would suggest a motto for the Plans, First, Second, Third and soon, "Riches unto the Rich and Misery for the Poor." It goes against the holy text. "Daridran Bhara Kaunteya" . . . etc., but then ours is a secular State.

### Security of the State

There was a piece of news in the papers to the following effect:

The Government of India will bring forward in the winter session of Parliament a legislation to penalise with two years' imprisonment any person undermining the security of India by questioning the country's territorial integrity or its frontiers.

The Home Minister, Mr. Pant, disclosed this today at an informal meeting of Chief Ministers of States. Mr. Pant said that a Criminal Law Amendment Bill will be brought forward to deal with this as well as to punish persons circulating rumours or reports prejudicial to the maintenance of peaceful conditions in areas adjoining the frontiers of India declared by the Government to be "notified areas".

The Chief Ministers endorsed the move.

Under the proposed legislation "whoever undermines the security of India by questioning by words, either spoken or written or by signs

or by visible representations or otherwise, its territorial integrity or its frontiers shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both."

Another provision in the Bill will provide that "whoever makes public, or circulates any statement, rumour or report with intent to prejudice or which is likely to prejudic maintenance of peaceful conditions in any notified area shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to two years or with fine or with both."

A "notified area" means "any area adjoining the frontiers of India declared by the Central Government to be a notified area." Under the proposed law, the Central Government will have the offences proposed above.

It is a half-hearted measure at the best, but still it shows that the behemoths of New Delhi are at last becoming aware of their responsibilities towards a gullible public, whom they had fed on assurances all this while. There will be very little achieved by the proposed measure unless it be armed with real teeth and claws, as is the case in all countries really aware of the responsibilities of guarding the Liberty of their peoples.

#### The Editor

#### Starve for Plans

Among the various nationally broadcast bits of patriotic thought emanating from the Prime Minister of India at the National Development Council's meeting on September 12, 1960, were the following outstanding pronouncements. First he said that the country should starve itself of even essential commodities in order to augment exports. Other countries, said the Prime Minister, both Communist and non-Communist, had done so in the past and there was no reason why India should not do her best to overcome her foreign exchange crisis. We should like to tell the Prime Minister that we have already starved ourselves of the most essential commodities for a very long time and that our "starvation" has been much more intensive than anything that other countries have experienced. For, other countries were in a much better position to produce their own requirements

and their supply of essential commodities had never gone so low as it did in India. Then the Communist countries had to build up their industries on pain of death; for they were surrounded by foreign enemies who were planning to destroy the Communist countries. The military requirements were not obtainable anywhere else, as all possible suppliers were unfriendly to the Communists. We do not know what non-Communist countries the Prime Minister was referring to, but if any people "starved" themselves of essential commodities the reason must have been of a military nature. The Indian Government do not believe in military preparedness of the type that Russia or China or the N.A.T.O. powers always plan for. In the circumstances the urgency of Pandit Nehru's plans cannot be compared to that of the Communists and non-Communists referred to by him. Judging by all the good Pandit Nehru's plans are doing to people of India and to the military strength of the country, we do not see why people should agree to "starve" themselves of essential commodities. India cannot agree to set fire to her homes in order to provide a background for Pandit Nehru's fiddling. The foreign exchange crisis has been created by Pandit Nehru's unbalanced approach to industrialisation. He and his "experts" never tried to do things in the manner that would have benefited the Indians suitably. His plans were all lop-sided and the foreign experts and collaborators paid more attention to the ease of construction and supply than to any fuller utilisation of Indian resources. The foreign experts, and the Indian planners, too, made use of imported materials, components, machinery, etc., with a lavishness, which was unparalleled in the history of any planning in any other country. Pandit Nehru gave the *carte blanche* to all sorts of people whom he and his trusted assistants chose to depend upon and the foreign exchange crisis was the result of that. The best way to remedy this would be for Pandit Nehru to "starve" his own plans of foreign imports and to build and construct his industrial units out of Indian materials and Indian technical skill as far as possible. We are quite sure that

if Pandit Nehru went about this in the right manner his foreign exchange requirements would be cut down by at least 25%. The next observation made by the Prime Minister was that some sections of the Indian population obviously had a lot of money—as was shown by the heavily over-subscribed market floatations—and the cry of the country being overtaxed was ridiculous. In this case also the Prime Minister has been quite illogical. If there are 10,000 millionaires in a population of 400 millions, who oversubscribe such market floatations as come in their way, that does not prove that the rest of the population of 399990000 are not overtaxed. In fact, when Pandit Nehru always thinks of raising an extra Rs. 5,500,000,000 in taxes on top his usual Rs. 10,000,000,000 in taxes, he cannot possibly raise Rs. 15,500,000,000 by taxing 10,000 persons whose total income will not come up to Rs. 5,000,000,000. In fact if 400 million people earn a total national income of Rs. 13,000,000,000 per annum, the per capita income will not exceed Rs. 325/- p.a. The present system of taxation in India will show that the per capita incidence of taxes is about Rs. 100/- . The millionaires perhaps do not contribute even 10% of the total revenue. Rs. 550 crores would be such a large sum compared to the total income of the millionaires less what they pay already in taxes, that the Government would never realise even a tenth of their requirements by taxing the rich to the breaking point. So, all taxation will eventually rest mainly on the ordinary people. And Pandit Nehru will be taxing the poor almost exclusively, for the reason that the size of his requirements will force him to do so and because the rich will shift the burden of taxes on to the poor to a very large extent. The Indian people are already over-taxed and they will be very heavily overtaxed if our Prime Minister is allowed to do what he liked by a Parliament which is packed by his own party men.

A. C.

#### The Public Sector in Sports

The achievements of India in the 1960 Olympics at Rome have been sufficiently inglorious to draw public attention towards

the encouragement that games and sports receive from the Government of India and their provincial branches and the methods adopted by these Governmental bodies to control Indian participation in the Olympics or other International Tournaments. We have had very close association with sports clubs and sportsmen for nearly half a Century and in our opinion the Government of India or the State Governments do very little for the encouragement, training and support of games and sports in India. They have, no doubt, games and sports in the Defence Services and also in the Railways, but the sportsmen that these services produce are purely incidental and not of the very first class. All big private clubs are run on private donations and that is a good thing; for had the Government aided the private clubs, the interference that would have gone with the aid might easily have destroyed the clubs. The Olympic representation of India was largely influenced by the V.I.P.s of the Indian sports world who were often the proteges of the big shots of Indian politics. Then, all sorts of obstructions were put in the way of good selection and the sending of sportsmen to Rome, by the various Government departments controlling foreign travel and exchange. Notable omissions were in the fields of Boxing, Weight Lifting, Cycling and long distance running. No efforts were made during the four years 1956-1960 to stimulate activities in these fields and what talent developed in spite of the neglect was very casually ignored by the bureaucrats who somehow managed to occupy the key positions in point of control and selection of Indian participants in the Olympics. India not only cut a very poor figure in the general events but also lost the Hockey Championship after holding it for more than 30 years. The whole thing was an extremely unintelligent pattern of mismanagement, control and selection by ill-qualified persons, bureaucratic interference, lack of imagination and knowledge at the top and all those other tit bits of jobbery, favouritism and "royal" benevolence or "we do not like you", which normally make things ugly, useless and ineffective in the Public Sector.

A.C.

## "Trusts" and Trusts

The Banias of India have the ability to twist the law to their own advantage and they had formed many a "Trust" in the past to avoid paying income tax. These "Trusts" had beneficiaries who somehow benefited the Banias after a few subtle turns and twists. These tax evaders probably got their inspiration from the Brahmin **Sevaites** of some of our Temples in which the gods eat food, put on clothing, use scented hair oil and cosmetics and witness floor shows too. The **Sevaites**, no doubt, have to arrange for all these in order to carry out the wishes of their masters, the gods. In the case of the Trusts similar things happen and the vicarious enjoyment of large incomes takes place in order to carry out the aims and objects of the "Trusts". The Government of India have, in a rare fit of right thinking, discovered how the State was being cheated by the Banias, and have ordered that such "Trusts" will have to pay income tax hereafter. It would have been better, if the "Trustees" had been prosecuted and fined heavily in their personal capacity for joining in a conspiracy to cheat the Government and the people of India. Also the "Trusts" might have been assessed with retrospective effect from 1948. But that would be expecting too much. As it is, the Banias must be calling on Messrs. Nehru, Pant and others to arrange to take the edge off this order and to make it inactive as far as possible. In our great Socialist Republic, a man pays income tax on what he spends on his children's education and medical treatment. The Socialist Government neither provides free education nor free medical aid of any use to anybody. But people have to pay tax on their expenditure on these accounts. The "gods", the widowed aunts or the privileged orphans sponsored by Banias, are however allowed large incomes which are allowed to be spent for "godly" or ungodly purposes, and no income tax was paid on such incomes when these came out of "Trusts." We congratulate the Government on their moral awakening.

## The Languages of India

In the Indian Constitution, it is clearly laid down that India is a multilingual country and that at least 15 languages will be acknowledged by the Indian Government as officially recognised languages for all time. This was done with a view to placate popular feelings about their own languages and also to make it clear that though Hindi would eventually be the **Rashtrabhasha** of India, no undue advantage would accrue to Hindi speakers nor disadvantages devolve upon those who did not speak Hindi. The logical conclusion from this statement of the principles guiding languages in India should be that at least these 15 languages will be recognised officially as languages **everywhere** in India. The implication of these constitutional provisions could not have been that though a regional language would have equal status with the national language in its own particular region, it would have no status in a **Sub-regional** area. That is, if Bengali were to be equal to Hindi in West Bengal by virtue of being the regional language, it could not be abolished in a **Sub-region**, viz., Cachar, Dhanbad, Singhbhum, etc., where it had been the local language for a thousand years or more. The idea behind this schedule of languages is that all major languages will continue to be the official languages of their natural zones, irrespective of the fact that there may be a national language or any other officially recognised language used simultaneously within the same area. In this way, just as Bengali cannot be abolished from Bengal or Assamese from Assam; Bengali or Assamese cannot be abolished from an area outside Bengal or Assam either, provided these have been the natural languages of that particular area. This will be so, in spite of the fact that Hindi will be used in Bengal or Assam side by side with the regional language. Now, if it is the intention of the leading politicians of India that Hindi will eventually be the paramount language all over and will reduce the status of the other languages even in their own natural zone; such

intentions will be contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. And all attempts at making Hindi paramount **at the cost of the regional languages** will be resisted. The value of India's English education, in terms of money will be several thousand crores. The intellectual momentum of this education is also very considerable. By replacing English by Hindi, the greatest losers will be the people of Kerala, Madras, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Punjab, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. The people of U.P., M.P. and Bihar will not lose much because they have not much English education. Also they will have an advantage in having their own language as the national language in place of English. It is not unlikely therefore that the Hindi speakers of India will try to push Hindi into the position of national language, by lawful as well as by illicit means. Something like what happened in Assam may slowly become possible in the whole of North India. People may not be killed or beaten up for not accepting Hindi; but they may be slowly thumb-screwed into a position where they will be forced to accept Hindi as THE LANGUAGE. The Assam incident should open our eyes and we should take timely steps to prevent the growth of this super linguism based upon the imposition of Hindi on all North Indian peoples. There have been attempts at imposing Hindi on the peoples of Dhanbad, Singhbhum, etc., by the Biharis. We should try to stop this and develop an Indian Nationalism unsullied by thoughts of pushing up or pulling down particular groups or clans of people.

A. C.

### The Assamese Language

The Assamese language is one of the 15 officially recognised languages of India. The Assamese are less than 1½% of the total population of India. In spite of this very great minority in numbers, the language of the Assamese has been recognised by the Constitution which proves that the fact of minority in numbers does not disallow linguistic claims of even relatively small groups of people like the Assamese. Their idea that they can wipe the Bengali

language off the map of Assam proves that the Assamese do not know the true meaning of those provisions in our Constitution which have given the Assamese language a status among Indian languages. For, if the Assamese could wipe Bengali out, why should not India wipe out Assamese? This is cutting the branch on which they are sitting with a vengeance!

A. C.

### The Language of India

Mr. Humayun Kabir, inaugurating the fourth all-India Punjabi Writers' Conference in Amritsar on September 10, 1960, said that Punjabi was the language of the Hindus and Sikhs from time immemorial. "Punjabi is not the language of the Sikhs only but is older than the Sikh religion," he said. Criticising the exploitation of the language issue by politicians for their own advantage, Mr. Kabir said that persons could change their nationality or religion, but language could never be changed. Language had no relation with religion, caste, creed or any particular script.

In the book *India in 1960*, published by the Government of India, we find Punjabi is bracketted with Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani, in order to inflate the percentage of Hindi speakers in India. In our youth, when science was science and facts were facts without reference to the evil desires of Congress politicians, we used to admire the folk-songs and folk-poetry of the Punjabis. These people who belonged to the outer ring of Aryan races in India, spoke a language which was akin to Bengali, Gujarati, Oriya, Assamese, Marwari, Mewari and was only a very distant cousin of Hindi, which, in its turn, was hardly a language in its own right. The abolition of languages like Maithili, Maghdi, Ardh Maghdi and Bhojpuri by the Biharis in order to prove that they were all a people whose "mother-tongue" was "Hindi", has been as great a political bluff as the two-nation theory propounded by Pakistanis. But, the Indian National Congress appear to be indulging in this lie behind their pretended belief in "Satyameva Jayate."

A. C.

### In Proper Time In Assam

When a murder is committed or criminal arson, rape or robbery with violence perpetrated, the proper time and the suitable occasion for making enquiries into the crimes or for the apprehension of the criminals should be immediately after the incidents occurred. The Indian police, of course, arrive at the scene of the crime considerably later; but they do so, due to their tradition of ponderous movement and clumsy behaviour; or for a consideration at times. But when Pandit Nehru says that the mass murder, looting, rape, arson, assault and chasing out of hearth and home, that the Assamese carried out on their Bengali co-sharers of the State of Assam, should not be enquired into immediately, one cannot harbour any unworthy suspicions about the reasons for his advocacy of delay and procrastination. He did so for saving the face of his followers in Assam. But why did Atulya Ghosh have to go to Delhi to curry favour with Nehru? Is he hoping to succeed Dr. Roy in the **Gaddi?** God help West Bengal!

A.C.

### Hindi

All persons who have studied the linguistic aspects of the population of India without reference to politics know that the importance granted to the so-called Hindi language in independent India, has been much in excess of what the language deserved. The Congress party and the people who were interested in making Hindi into something on which they could build their careers, naturally made much of Hindi and started an all-out propaganda to prove that Hindi was a great language with a long past and that about 140 million people spoke it in India. This propaganda was carried on at the expense of the people of India and no one started any counter-propaganda against it, to establish the truth, for the reason that all Indians thought that a national language would strengthen the nation and reduce differences. But people soon found out their mistake and came to realise that Hindi was

merely a vehicle which certain people in U.P., Bihar and Madhya Pradesh used to move speedily towards the achievement of their own personal ends. Then, it dawned upon people that Hindi was no all-India language at all and that it was being manufactured in order to put certain people in power over certain others who spoke no Hindi. In the process of manufacturing this artificial language, Hindi, which was hardly anybody's mother-tongue, many Hindi-like languages of long standing were just rubbed out of existence, and those who spoke these languages swore that their mother language was Hindi, Maithili, Bhojpuri, etc., were just taken off the list of languages by the Government statisticians in order to make room for an ever increasing multitude whose mother-tongue was Hindi. If the mothers of these new-born "Hindi babies" did not know any Hindi it was their narrow-minded outlook which was responsible for the ignorance of their own language. We do not know whether the ladies of the families of many leading Congressmen of Bihar and the Bhojpuri districts of U.P. speak Hindi; but we have a feeling that many of them do not, which does them credit; for women do not so easily descend to pretension as do men.

Generally speaking, Hindi does not really exist. That language which is used by many North Indians as a Bazar patois is, firstly, not a uniform language and secondly, is not used quite as extensively as is made out by interested people. In the Bazars of Calcutta more Bengali and English is spoken than Hindi. Then they also speak Bhojpuri, Maithili, Marwari, Mewari, Gujarati, Punjabi, etc., in the Bazars of Calcutta. In Patna, very few people understand Hindi. Magahi, Bhojpuri and Maithili are more commonly spoken. In the Punjab as well as in Delhi, the Punjabi language is quite extensively used and this language is no near relation of Hindi. So, this Hindi which is going to be our National language is a big stunt by which certain people expect to eventually rule over India. This language does not exist and 14 crores of Indians do not know

anything about it. May be 3 or 4 crores know most of its words and its grammar and syntax but the other 10 crores speak all kinds of other languages which do not resemble this Hindi to any great extent. Tamil, Telegu, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati and Oriya are more homogeneous languages than Hindi and one might have made any of these our-national language with equal facility. Before 1947 there were about 70 million Bengalis in undivided India. They spoke, read and wrote a language which had been highly developed and had retained a more or less uniform structure and form for nearly 700 years. Forty million people or more speak Bengali in Pakistan and it is jointly the State-language of that country along with Urdu. In India, there are over 30 million Bengalis who constitute a highly educated and cultured community. But the Indian Government have not tried to make the best use of the most highly developed languages of India. They have only one passion, which is Hindi and they think India will become more united and strong by using Hindi, than she had been by using English as her common language. Their idea is that by destroying the other languages of India they will create a new nationalism which will be better than the Indian nationalism of the *Swadeshi* days, and of the Gandhian period. These are eyewash. The real reason for Hindi propaganda is an attempt to make some second-raters the top men in India. The recent eulogium flung by our President upon the "uneducated" who were more educated than the educated gave an indication as to what emotions stir up the souls of Congress leaders. We shall soon hear how much better washed were the unwashed clothes of the same uneducated scholars and philosophers. Also how well-mannered were the ill-mannered and what heights of morality were attainable through immorality. No wonder we are witnessing law-making through law-breaking, self-denial by means of self-indulgence and the establishment of truth by making an almighty stock pile of lies.

A. C.

### Punjabi and Hindi

The following P.T.I news would suggest that Punjabi is a separate language from Hindi. In the Government publication "*India in 1960*." Punjabi has been bracketted with Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. The Punjabis should take action against this sort of travesty of facts.

*Amritsar, Sept. 12.—Mr. Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab announced yesterday that Punjabi would become the official language of the Punjabi region from October, 1. He was addressing a rural Conference at Khandursahib—P.T.I.*

According to the rulers of India, all languages are Hindi if the speakers of such languages can be won over to say that they were a Hindi-speaking people. In this way a host of languages have been merged into Hindi. Has Punjabi been merged into Hindi too? We sincerely hope not.

A. C.

### Nilratan Sircar

The great physician, educationist, industrialist and social reformer Nilratan Sircar was born on the 1st of October, 1831. The centenary of his birthday will fall on the 1st of October, 1961. With a view to celebrate this centenary in a manner befitting the greatness of Nilratan Sircar a committee has recently been formed with Dr. B. C. Roy as president, Dr. Nalini Ranjan Sen Gupta as chairman and the following, among others, as office-bearers or members of the executive committee: Dr. D. M. Bose, Director, Bose Institute; Prof. B. M. Sen, I.E.S. (Retd.); Dr. Kalidas Nag, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, Lt.-Gen. D. N. Chakravarty, Lt.-Col. N. C. Chatterjee, Major H. K Indra, Dr. R. N. Guha Mazumdar, Dr. Amiya K. Sen, Dr. J. N. Dutt and Dr. B. N. Banerji. The office of the Nilratan Sircar Centenary Celebration Committee will be at 93, Acharya Prafulla Chandra Road, Calcutta-9, and a general subscription of Rupees Ten only will be charged for membership of the General Committee. There will be a separate Trust

Fund for the advancement of medical and scientific studies, and research and donations to the Trust Fund will be invested entirely for creating resources for granting scholarships and for making other arrangements for study and research. Nilratan Sircar was the most outstanding medical practitioner of his time and he was very closely associated with the Calcutta University, the University College of Science, the Jadavpur Technical College, the R. G. Kar Medical College, the Jadavpur T. B. Hospital and various other institutions. He was the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University for some years. The British Government conferred the Knighthood upon him for his services to Society. He spent the major portion of his earnings in building up industries in India after the **Swadeshi** movement and never slackened his efforts in spite of very heavy losses. The centenary celebrations will include conferences and the publication of a biography and a Memorial Volume containing original monographs of medical and general scientific importance. All enquiries will be gladly answered by the Hon. Secretaries of the Committee.

A. C

### The 2nd October

At one time, we hoped that Gandhiji had left us the legacy of a band of patriotic men to conduct the administration. They, at least, carried with them the aura of dedication to the ideal of service, which will break the tradition of bureaucracy. In the course of these few years, they have a bit too blatantly belied our expectation. We do not so much mind the priority they have given to promoting their individual gains and privileges—prerequisites, as they are commonly called—nay, luxuries and prodigalities. What, however, rankles in the heart of the rank and file is that they cannot resist the impression that the ruling class have proved more unwilling, rather than incapable of dealing with cheats and swindlers of the commercial world. The observations of Justice Chagla and Justice Bose disclose a state of things, which go deep down into the mind of the ill-clad, ill-fed millions. It reads fantastic that they cannot dis-

cover a tint in order to dye hydrogenated oil to preclude its use in adulterating *ghee*, even if the Union's Health Minister, quite honestly, accepted in Parliament that very large number of cases of coronary thrombosis might be due to it. Nehru's threat to hang the black-marketeers on the nearest lamp post survives as but a joke. People enjoyed it and were saucy and strident in their comments, as they saw his portrait hung on good many lamp posts during the first two general elections.

Stuck up in such unfortunate predicaments, we never bargained for, our thoughts, as of instinct, go to Gandhiji. This day, ninetyone years back, he was born to live a life of complete self-effacement for the nation. He reoriented and reorganised the Congress and it stood upon its feet 'an exceeding great army'. Was it his premonition that as far back as 1931, he desired the Congress to dissolve itself as a political organisation in independent India and convert itself into Lok Sevak Sangh, none of its members accepting a paid job under the State; and that the new organisation was to function as somewhat of a moral warden to whatever party might be forming the Government.

The great architect of our Freedom stole away from the furore of the first Independence celebrations and spent the day in fasting, prayer and meditation. His supreme virtue was his sense of limitations. He might have been stung with an awareness that India was cleft into two, bringing in its trail untold misery for thousands, whom he had most solemnly assured that he would never consent to its division. In any case, the man of boundless resilience must have sustained himself with the thought that at least those who swore by him would set things right by their integrity and steadfast adherence to the basic principles, he thought, he had imbued them with. What he said four months after abides as a lesson of vast, enduring moments—how he felt crushed under the achievement of what he strained every nerve to achieve. He said an emphatic 'No' to the Congress President Mr. Kripalani and few other veterans, waiting upon him to discuss the desirability of the Congress constructive workers' organisation, entering the Government in order to build up a new social order through the machinery of day to day rule. "Today everybody in the Congress", he said, "is running after power. That presages grave danger . . . . Today, politics has become corrupt. Anybody who goes into

it is contaminated". If this is what he felt after four months of the Congress Party's rule, we have reasons to congratulate him that he does not live to see what it is now.

J. B.

### The Nemesis

Assam has been remorselessly revealing. Assam is a portent; but Assam is a pointer, and not without some compensation to India. In the compulsion of extremes, President Rajendra Prasad is driven to the necessity of uttering a note of warning that 'regionalism' and 'linguism' are bars to our unity. There is a piquant, pathetic touch of realism in saying this on the thirteenth Independence Day, when Bengal—we say Bengal advisedly, because, there is no Bengali anywhere who is not cut to the quick over Assam and no less over the attitude of the Central Government—called for a moratorium on the pomp and pageantry of Independence celebration.

Some about fifty years back, Bihar was separated from Bengal and made a new province. To ensure its vivacity and to obviate the necessity of a subvention from the Centre, the preponderantly Bengali-speaking area of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Purnea were made over to her. It was the master device of Lord Hardinge to make the entire Bengal statutory Moslem—precisely, what Lord Curzon intended East Bengal and Assam to be. In other words, the imperialistic rule saw to it, as much as human ingenuity could weave out the pattern, that Bengal majority must not line up with the Congress—'seditious opposition', as Lady Minto has it in her *Journal*. One of the early patriotic acts the Bihar leaders did, was to introduce 'Domicile certificate' for Government service and allied matters. A sense of 'regionalism', it fostered, was translated into action in the day-to-day life of Bihar without any compunction. It was, obviously, aimed at the Bengalis; but it was an insidious blow on India's national solidarity.

With regard to Hindi, possibly, nobody suffers from a sense of demur in developing it and otherwise facilitating its use, so that in the fulness of time, India shall have a language common to all, whether it is state language or not. But the overzealous advocates of Hindi have chosen the short cut of their numerical majority to have it enthroned, no matter how it hits and

handicaps the non-Hindi people. It is not suggested that the President of the Indian Union supports them turning into blinkered fanatics. All the same, there is hardly anything concrete to justify an impression that he or any of those in authority has done worthwhile things to keep them within bounds. This is why we have to behold the not-very-edifying spectacle that the President argues in apologetic terms that they never intended to impose Hindi upon India. In relation to the perspective, the incidents of Assam have been looming large before our eyes.

What of Assam runs the risk of being lost sight of, in the stress and hurry of the situation, is the attitude of Mr. Govind Ballav Pant, the Home Minister of the Indian Union. He was all along assuring us that he was awake to the developments in Assam. By now, it is obvious to the very casual that the Union Government's Intelligence Branch in Assam gave him ample indications of the coming events casting their shadow ahead. The Law Minister says on the floor of the Parliament that in June the Home Minister told him that he had addressed some communications to the Assam Government, which, in retrospect, seemed 'prophetic'. As a matter of fact, some feelings have accumulated over the point. To cut short, we feel constrained to say that the first probe regarding Assam should have been to ascertain what the chief custodian of India's Law and Order did to avert the crisis. It is our misfortune that he is physically incapable, and could not go to Assam to stand up to the malign forces, which were sleeplessly at work for months together. He, certainly, owes the people of India to explain why the machinery of the Government broke down in the manner it did and what proved fatal to its speedy recovery. It is sheer common-sense and, by now, there is evidence galore to conclude that it was the result of a long, sustained, desperate preparation, and that some officials at key positions were tainted out and out. We feel inclined to hold, as well, that if Mr. Pant was not delicately involved. Mr. Nehru would not have given Dr. Roy, who is unemotional and non-agitational to a fault, a go-by on so crucial a matter. Hardly had Dr. Roy been so pronounced; but to have endorsed his view-point was to cast an adverse reflection on the competence of the Home Minister of India.

Mr. Nehru has at long last conceded some of Dr. Roy's points. But he suffered the vital

chances of the moment to slip by. What, in fact, that 'what had happened in Assam was ghastly'. has, psychologically, told upon the lacerated We have to read it in the context of what has heart of Bengal is that they miss an anguished never been disputed that it happened on a mass soul in the vibrant, animated Nehru. Idealism is scale and on a concerted line of action and the his one strong point; but he has woefully be- whole thing was diabolically conceived. The resul trayed his own self. His condemnation of the of all this, according to him, is 'a trouble of ε frigid cold, calculated brutalities—murder, rape, new type in a big way, which rather shook the mass-scale assault, arson and loot—is far too foundation of the country and its unity'. It is short of what the staggering episode calls for. therefore, admitted by the Prime Minister that ε Where is that moral strength, which, in 1946, new sinister force has operated in a ghastly threatened to shoot down *en masse* the Bihar manner and it has shaken the very foundations Hindus, who, driven to desperation over the Cal- of Indian unity—the unity which has been built cutta Killings, attacked the Moslems? Today, he up untiringly in the length of ages and in the is so much a stickler for the niceties of protocol teeth of opposition, that the most puissant race that he would not even give vent to an expression of the world could muster strong through ε of opinion on a possible punitive levy. He would stringently organised rule. And yet, initially not accept that the shameful abdication of the Mr. Nehru opposed the demand for an inquiry Congress Government' in Assam is the crux of The reason he gave for this was that Mr. Chaliha the whole thing; and that Congress leaders of was 'a tremendous cementing factor in the prob-note and standing were up to the neck in the foul lem State of Assam' and, therefore, the prestige conspiracy, some of them being directly in- of his Ministry must be kept high.

volved in acts of savagery. Would he yet have A higher power than Mr. Nehru, we observe the candour to admit that it is factionalism in the with a sense of relief; rules the destiny of men Congress Party, which has a tremendous lot to And this is why we find him amplifying the bring about this nauseating, humiliating pass? Union Government's position in the manner he Nothing, in a nutshell, is so dismaying as to have did the following morning. He has accepted that to face the fact that Mr. Nehru has placed the two types of inquiries are necessary. There is interest of his party above out national solidarity. the great need of an immediate inquiry to bring Is this the culmination Gandhiji foresaw, when, the offenders to book and another inquiry to finc after Independence, he once again desired the out causes of the disturbance and evolve mea-Congress to dissolve itself as a political organi-sures to prevent a recurrence of similar events zation, 'a parliamentary machine' running on The inquiry, besides helping to punish the guilty party lines?

In a whiff of nostalgia, it flashes zigzag over political parties. So far so good; and we have our mind that in the first inauguration ceremony every pleasure to record our sense of apprecia-of Independence, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru said on tion for this dawn of statesmanship. In fact, it the floor of the Constituent Assembly, that they reads like the amazing recuperation of a mobile. had one day 'made a tryst with destiny'. After a long spell of their rule extending over thirteen years, it is time to scan if it is with 'Destiny' or Nemesis that they made the tryst.

J. B.

### Light and Shade

Mr. Nehru in opening the Assam debate on a gigantic scale and as the inevitable result of ε the floor of the Parliament, trotted out his old, long, strenuous preparation deserves to be stereotyped 'larger context'. To eschew the damned in no uncertain terms. Did his Education immediate concrete in preference to the so-called Minister doing atrocious things under his very 'larger context' argues, more often than not, a nose to inflame the inflammable youth escape sc constitutional imbecility that avoids to grapple completely his notice and that of the ubiquitous the stern real. The Prime Minister of India says C.I.D.? It is, by the way, surprising that our

As for Mr. Nehru's compliments to Mr Chaliha, we have no manner of hesitation to say that they are misplaced. The Chief Minister, whc could not scent the danger that burst out on such

Prime Minister, who is subject to fits of righteous indignation, flopped in a matter like this and thought fit to pass over a rather rancid, poststential affair merely as 'hanky-panky'. It is, certainly, true that Mr. Chaliha has earned a name for soft-pedalling the question of state language in Assam. Of what avail, however, are his mealy-mouthed utterances, when he lacked the will to translate his promise into action? From the pontifical height of New Delhi has emanated for him a certificate for 'wisdom'. But history shall have only one verdict that anybody having the brain of a cock at the barn door would not so ingloriously resign himself to be at event's mercy.

The other gentleman who has been given a certificate of honour for wisdom, better still, for good conduct is Mr. Ajit P. Jain, the ex-Food Minister, leading the Parliamentary delegation to Assam. His report, 'a good document and an able and objective survey', prepared as a result of the delegation's survey of the situation in the last week of August is perfectly in line with the Prime Minister's 'thinking' after his return from Assam, which he visited in the second week of August, when hardly fifty per cent of the true colour of the happenings and their perspective was and could, in the nature of things, be revealed to him. Our first impression of the report, as we read it, was and continues to be that if he has not actually infringed, he is perilously near infringing the trade mark of His Master's Voice. But he has to his credit one solid innovation. He has recommended for muzzling the Press and has launched a senseless attack on some leading papers of Calcutta. The Calcutta Press has to the best of our light and conviction, played a noble, manly role. When the Assam Government itself failed to keep intact their Press Note, the Calcutta Press maintained their service, even if there were bonfires of some of their papers and two reporters were done to death and few others assaulted; and when, in fact, nobody's security was worth a moment's purchase. There have, no doubt, been occasions when some of them suffered their emotion to get the better of a balanced presentation. Possibly nobody can escape it. We have it in the late Mr. M. R. Jayakar's autobiography that he and the late Mr. C. R. Das, pinned their faith in some cases, in connection with the Congress Inquiry of the Punjab martial law days, which, to their great annoyance,

Gandhiji rejected. In other words, the stories these two trained lawyers believed in toto were not worth full credence with Gandhiji, who was writing the Report. And the point to remember is that this was after the passion of the fray had, to some extent, cooled down by the efflux of time.

Slanting news in a manner as to rouse the anger and hatred of one community against the other is certainly bad. Any kind of presentation, however, of such enormities is bound to make the blood boil. Cumulatively, they make the mind sore against those, who perpetrated them, no less against those who directly or indirectly helped in their perpetration, as well as against those whose clear duty it was to avert them, failing which to fight them out. The point Dr. Kunzru makes out in the Rajya Sabha in order to have it cleared, why in spite of the presence of adequate military force the disturbances could not be quelled in time, and desiring to know if the troops were properly and timely employed by the Assam Government needs being faced squarely. The proper course—the one thing to restore normalcy, is not philosophizing and a gesture of commiseration at the expense of others, but to help the Law of the land vindicating itself. Mr. Nehru has cited the case of a man, reported as killed, but later on discovered as hale and hearty, falls flat because of its sheer inanity. He places himself truly in line with a Vincent or Maxwell of the British regime in debates on like events, taking precious good care to cite cases like this and then cudgelling the Press for the 'perversity' of their wrong emphasis and presentation. He will, at all events, be making a fatal mistake to initiate any law, curbing the freedom of the Press. In view of a feeling of affection, in which he is still held in the country, it is, however, open to him to call those, who have, according to his information, erred and whose actions are likely to stand in the process of rehabilitation and explain the position and consider what they have got to say. It is religiously incumbent upon him to be very circumspect. One thing is certain: the Bengal Press shall never flinch and cower to any kind of hectoring.

J. B.

#### Self-Sufficiency in Food

Mr. S. K. Patil took a sound view of the food question while discussing it with the

State Ministers on the 26th of August, at New Delhi. He is reported to have stated as follows :

Mr. S. K. Patil, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture, said here today that it should be the "supreme endeavour" of the Central and State Governments to ensure national self-sufficiency in food during the next five years or so.

Mr. Patil, who was inaugurating a two-day conference of State Ministers of Agriculture at Vijnan Bhavan here said that the food imports arranged through the recent P.L. 480 agreement were essentially a "stop-gap measure". It gave them only a "breathing space" during which they had to give their "undivided attention" to attaining a level of production adequate to meet the full requirements of the country in the years to come.

Mr. Patil emphasised that no large programme of agricultural development could make any headway unless the actual cultivator was given his due status and importance in society. "The cultivator has to be made to feel that he gets a fair deal", he said, "No doubt he has come to realise the value of fertilizers and other techniques which will secure for him a much higher return from the land. Even with these developments, I am convinced that unless the farmer feels an active sense of participation and is entrusted to carry out the programmes, the *tempo* of agricultural development will not gain momentum". He was, therefore, contemplating the setting up of the proposed Agricultural Commodities Advisory Committee. It will advise the Government not only on price policy for agricultural commodities but also on the various programmes relating to agricultural production.

### The Chinese Conquest of Everest

Sometime about the end of May last the world was informed that a party of Chinese mountaineers, led by one Shih Chan-chun, a geologist from Peiping, accompanied by Chou Ying-hua a lumber jack from Szchewan and one Gompa a "Tibetan mercenary" had conquered Everest in one go, after performing feats of mountaineering and endurance that could only be described as supernatural, as they surpassed not only all the superlative feats—

described as superhuman by normal scribes —known in the history of mountain climbing—and approached those of mythical heroes. It was received without comments by common folk, who were not equipped with the special knowledge that would allow them to judge about the probabilities or possibilities of such an achievement, and therefore awaited expert analysis.

We have received by sea-mail copies of the **New Leader** of New York for July 4 & 11 and August 1 & 8, and the August bi-weekly issue contains just such an analysis, from the pen of Quentin Pope.

Mr. Pope first of all details the official Chinese story, step by step, as given by the leader of the expedition in the press release, with commentaries on all items of ultra-natural occurrence. The leader of the Chinese Everest expedition, Shih Chan-chun, has, of course, given the standard—almost obligatory, so to say—answer : It was all due to the leadership of the Communist party.

But that answer does not satisfy Mr. Pope, who, being uninitiated, is a doubting Quentin. He thinks it is a hoax, and proceeds to sum up his reasons for coming to that conclusion, which we append below :

Did they do it?

They did not. The Chinese claim that their climbing team lasted for 19 hours at the highest altitudes denies physical possibilities. When Edmund Hillary, a greatly experienced climber of the highest caliber, conquered Mt. Everest along with Tenzing, a man who was climbing the great mountain for the seventh time, it took them five hours to get from their 27,900 feet advanced base to the summit and two and a half hours to get back. When he had descended another 1,900 feet to the South Col, Hillary confesses he was exhausted. Yet the Chinese claim to have been able to send their fledgling team to the summit area (Gomba had made only one big climb before) and stay there almost twice as long as Hillary and Tenzing *during the assault alone*.

When Hillary calculated his oxygen needs for the climb, he set the cylinder flow for himself and Tenzing at three liters a minute. This is one liter a minute less than is desirable but he had to do this to make the oxygen last. Even so he was out of oxygen in seven and a half

hours. Even if the Chinese equipment were 50 per cent superior to that used in the British expedition, this still gives an oxygen supply lasting only about 11 hours which means the Chinese climbed for about eight and a half hours at the highest altitudes without oxygen.

It means, also, as far as one can judge from the Chinese story, that their oxygen would have run out before they were 400 feet above their assault base and with 800 feet of difficult climbing ahead. But what the Chinese claim is that after having used up seven hours of oxygen supply to get up 320 feet *they managed to ascend another 700 feet before their oxygen cylinders ran out* and did this in darkness and over an unknown route. In addition the New China News Agency claims that they climbed all night without oxygen.

The Chinese say that their success was due to their superior physique. But their own reports of the earlier climbs show that they were not equal to Western climbers. One example: The Chinese make a great deal of the fact that one of their acclimatization parties, using a prepared route, climbed from base camp at 16,700 feet to Camp III at 20,387 feet in one day. Yet Hillary and Tenzing running a test of equipment for Hunt, climbed from 17,900 feet to 21,200 feet in five hours, including a 45-minute rest. And in any event the problems of great heights are not merely a matter of muscles. Above 21,000 feet a man's resistance to cold drops, his mental activity flags, the acid-alkali balance of the blood is disturbed, the respiratory center of the brain is affected. There is great loss of water from the lungs due to the increased breathing rate in the thin air. There is also muscular wastage. To counter the fluid loss, from five to seven pints of liquid a day are essential. The Chinese say they just forgot about this.

And now let us look at the three final points which clinch the argument that the Chinese lied about the Everest ascent:

1. The day the Chinese launched their final assault, an Indian climbing team was also moving against the summit. The Indian team was driven off the mountain by conditions of intense

cold, high wind and snow. The Chinese say they had special weather on their side.

2. The Chinese assault team which toiled toward the crest for 19 hours had already been climbing *for seven successive days*. In fact, it had come straight up from the valley floor, from 16,700 feet to 27,790 feet, finishing the ascent the day before the summit thrust was made. And after these eight days of effort it was able to climb down to 27,790 feet on the ninth day and then continue climbing, "with a brief interruption for a snack" on the ninth night. That is not fit even to tell to the Marines.

3. The Chinese have no proof whatever that they were ever near the summit. Their description of scenery could not be more vague. They took no photographs "because it was too dark to do so," though it was light enough for them to collect rock specimens for Mao. They descended to 28,840 feet where they "took a few shots." Now that is interesting, because we know this altitude can be reached. It has been surpassed several times by British expeditions and it is below the spot at which the Chinese say their oxygen ran out.

On March 20, 1954, just one day under six years before the Communists held their planning meeting at the foot of Everest, *The New Yorker* published a cartoon of two mountaineers who had already climbed a long way and are now at the foot of an overwhelming peak. One says: "Hey, George, why can't we just fake the last couple of chapters?"

May be that's where the Chinese got the idea.

#### NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja holidays The Modern Review Office and Press will remain closed from 26th September to 9th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedarnath Chatterjee,  
Editor.

# SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN JUDICIARY<sup>1</sup>

## (1) A General Discussion

BY PROFESSOR D. N. BANERJEE

### I

We now propose to deal with some aspects of our judicial system.<sup>2</sup> Before, however, we do this, we should like to make a few preliminary observations of a general character, having a close bearing on the subject.

### II

The importance of an able, pure, impartial, and independent judiciary in a State—and particularly in a State with a federal, or even a quasi-federal, form of Government,—can hardly be exaggerated. "Every student of history knows", says a former Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Hewart of Bury,<sup>3</sup> "that many of the most significant victories for freedom and justice have been won in the English Law Courts, and that the liberties of Englishmen are closely bound up with the complete independence of the judges. When, for any reason or combination of reasons, it has happened that there has been lack of courage on the Judicial Bench, the enemies of equality before the law have succeeded, and the administration of the law has been brought into disrepute."

Dealing with "the importance of the establishment of a judicial department in the national government" of the United States, Justice Story has said :<sup>4</sup>

"Every government must, in its essence, be unsafe and unfit for a free people where such a department does not exist with powers co-ex-

1. This and the succeeding article in this series should be read along with Chapter XVIII of my book entitled *Our Fundamental Rights : Their Nature and Extent (As Judically Determined)*. Although they have been written in different contexts, these three discourses are in a sense complementary to one another.

2. Also see in this connexion Chapter XVIII of my book entitled *Our Fundamental Rights : Their Nature and Extent (As Judically Determined)*.

3. See Lord Hewart, *The New Despotism*, 1945, p. 102.

4. See Joseph Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States*, Vol. II, 1891, Sections 1574-76.

tensive with those of the legislative department. Where there is no judicial department to interpret, pronounce, and execute the law, to decide controversies, and to enforce rights, the government must either perish by its own imbecility, or the other departments of government must usurp powers, for the purpose of commanding obedience, to the destruction of liberty. The will of those who govern will become, under such circumstances, absolute and despotic; and it is wholly immaterial, whether power is vested in a single tyrant or in an assembly of tyrants. No remark is better founded in human experience than that of Montesquieu, that 'there is no liberty, if the judiciary power be not separated from the legislative and executive powers.' And it is no less true, that personal security and private property rest entirely upon the wisdom, the stability, and the integrity of the courts of justice . . . . In every well-organised government, therefore, with reference to the security both of public rights and private rights, it is indispensable that there should be a judicial department to ascertain and decide rights, to punish crimes, to administer justice and to protect the innocent from injury and usurpation. In the national government the power is equally as important as in the State governments. The laws and treaties, even the Constitution of the United States, would become a dead letter without it. Indeed, in a complicated government like ours, where there is an assemblage of republics, combined under a common head, the necessity of some controlling judicial power, to ascertain and enforce the powers of the Union, is, if possible, still more striking. The laws of the whole would otherwise be in continual danger of being contravened by the laws of the parts. The national government would be reduced to a servile dependence upon the States . . . . Power, without adequate means to enforce it, is like a body in a state of suspended animation. For all practical purposes, it is as if its faculties were extinguished. Even if there were no danger of collision between the laws and powers of the Union and those of the States, it is utterly impossible, that, without some superintending judiciary establishment, there could be any uniform administration or

interpretation of them. . . . . The consequence would necessarily be, that neither the Constitution nor the laws, neither the rights and powers of the Union nor those of the States, would be the same in any two States. And there would be perpetual fluctuations and changes growing out of the diversity of judgement, as well as of local institutions, interests, and habits of thought. Two ends, then, of paramount importance, and fundamental to a free government, are proposed to be attained by the establishment of a national judiciary. The first is a due execution of the powers of the government; and the second is a uniformity in the interpretation and operation of those powers, and of the laws enacted in pursuance of them. The power of interpreting the laws involves necessarily the function to ascertain whether they are conformable to the Constitution or not; and if not so conformable, to declare them void and inoperative. As the Constitution is the supreme law of the land, in a conflict between that and the laws, either of Congress or of the States, it becomes the duty of the judiciary to follow that only which is of paramount obligation. . . . . The function of the judiciary, in deciding on constitutional questions, is not one which it is at liberty to decline. While it is bound not to take jurisdiction if it should not, it is equally true that it must take jurisdiction if it should. It cannot, as the legislature may, avoid a measure. . . . . It cannot pass it by, because it is doubtful. With whatever doubt, with whatever difficulties a case may be attended, it must decide it, when it arises in judgement. It has no more right to decline the exercise of a jurisdiction which is given, than to usurp that which is not given. The one or the other would be treason to the Constitution."

Again, while dealing with the expression "to . . . . establish justice" in the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, Justice Story has observed :<sup>5</sup>

"This must forever be one of the great ends of every wise government; and even in arbitrary governments it must, to a great extent, be practised, at least in respect to private persons, as the only security against rebellion, private vengeance, and popular cruelty.. But in a free government it lies at the very basis of all its institutions.. Without justice being freely, fully, and

impartially administered, neither our persons, nor our rights, nor our property, can be protected. And if these, or either of them, are regulated by no certain laws, and are subject to no certain principles, and are held by no certain tenure, and are redressed, when violated, by no certain remedies, society fails of all its value; and men may as well return to a state of savage and barbarous independence."

Further, "there is", says Viscount Bryce,<sup>6</sup> "no better test of the excellence of a government than the efficiency of its judicial system, for nothing more nearly touches the welfare and security of the average citizen than his sense that he can rely on the certain and prompt administration of justice. Law holds the community together. Law is respected and supported when it is trusted as the shield of innocence and the impartial guardian of every private civil right. . . . . But if the law be dishonestly administered, the salt has lost its savour; if it be weakly or fitfully enforced, the guarantees of order fail, for it is more by the certainty than by the severity of punishment that offences are repressed. If the lamp of justice goes out in darkness, how great is that darkness!"

"In all countries", he continues,<sup>7</sup> "cases, sometimes civil, but more frequently criminal, arise which involve political issues and excite party feeling. It is then that the courage and uprightness of the judges become supremely valuable to the nation, commanding respect for the exposition of the law which they have to deliver."

"Nothing", he concludes,<sup>8</sup> "does more for the welfare of the private citizen, and nothing more conduces to the smooth working of free government, than a general confidence in the pure and efficient administration of justice between the individual and the State as well as between man and man."

And another eminent authority, namely, Henry Sidgwick, has gone so far as to say<sup>9</sup> that "in determining a nation's rank in political civilisation, no test is more decisive than the degree in which justice as defined by the law is actually realised in its judicial administration", both

6. See Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Vol. 11, 1929, p. 421.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 421.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 427.

9. See Sidgwick, *Elements of Politics*, 3rd Ed., 1908, p. 481.

"as between one private citizen and another, and as between private citizens and members of the Government." To attain this result we require, he says,<sup>10</sup> among other things, "legal knowledge and skill, impartiality, incorruptibility, and independence in the persons forming the judicial tribunals."

It may be noted in this connexion that in deciding a case the judiciary cannot act arbitrarily. "The judicial department", rightly said<sup>11</sup> Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court in 1824, in the course of his judgment in *Osborne v. Bank of the United States*, "has no will in any case. Judicial power, as contradistinguished from the power of the laws, has no existence. Courts are the mere instruments of the law, and can will nothing. When they are said to exercise a discretion, it is a mere legal discretion,—a discretion to be exercised in discerning the course prescribed by law; and, when that is discerned, it is the duty of the court to follow it. Judicial power is never exercised for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the judge; but always for the purpose of giving effect to the will of the legislature; or, in other words, to the will of the law."

### III

We have shown above, with reference to the views of some eminent publicists, the importance of the judiciary in a State—and particularly in a State with the federal form of government like the United States. Indeed, Alexander Hamilton was perfectly right when he stated in *The Federalist* (No. 22) "Laws are a dead letter, without courts to expound and to define their true meaning and operation." We shall now refer to some of the factors that contribute to "judicial impartiality and independence" and thus help to ensure a "pure and efficient administration of justice between the individual and the State as well as between man and man". We lay a special stress here on the question of judicial independence as "the independence of the judiciary", rightly says Justice Story,<sup>12</sup> "is indispensable to secure the people against the intentional, as well as unintentional, usurpations of the executive and

legislative departments." Now the question of judicial integrity and independence is closely connected with the questions of the mode of appointment of judges, their tenure of office and the adequacy or inadequacy of their salary.

Of the three modes of appointment of judges generally prevalent, namely, appointment by the Head of the Executive, election by the Legislature, and election by people, the first mode seems to be the best and most conducive to judicial independence as, under it, there will be very little scope for the operation of the forces of "cabal and intrigue" as well as of log-rolling tactics, and the responsibility for the choice of a judge will be upon one person. "The sole and undivided responsibility of one man", says Alexander Hamilton,<sup>13</sup> "will naturally beget a livelier sense of duty, and a more exact regard to reputation. He will, on his account, feel himself under stronger obligations, and more interested to investigate with care the qualities requisite to the stations to be filled, and to prefer with impartiality the persons who may have the fairest pretensions to them. He will have fewer personal attachments to gratify than a body of men who may each be supposed to have an equal number, and will be so much the less liable to be misled by the sentiments of friendship and of affection." As a safeguard against any possible favouritism on the part of the Head of the Executive, there may be a provision in the Constitution of the country concerned that in making an appointment to the office of a judge the choice by the Head should be confined to a panel of eligible persons selected by the judges of the Court of law in which the vacancy has occurred.

It may be noted here incidentally that in the United States the federal judges "are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate", and that in England<sup>13a</sup> the judges of the High Court are appointed by the Crown "on the advice of the Lord Chancellor" and "the Lords Justices of Appeal and the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary are (similarly) appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister."

Secondly, it is essential to judicial purity and independence that a judge should hold office

10. See *Ibid.*

11. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 391, footnote 3.

12. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Section 1613.

13. See *The Federalist* No. 76, Max Beloff's Ed., Oxford, 1948, p. 387.

13a. Berriedale Keith, *Constitutional Law*, 1946, p. 280.

during good behaviour, although, regard being had to climatic factors, a reasonable, maximum age of retirement from the office may be fixed by law. That is to say, subject to good behaviour and to a maximum age-limit, if any, a judge should have permanence of tenure in office. This will enable him to perform his judicial duties honestly and fearlessly. What Alexander Hamilton has said in this connexion is worthy of note here. Referring to the particular provision of the Constitution of the United States as drawn up by the Philadelphia Convention in 1787, which declared that "the judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour", Hamilton observed:<sup>14</sup>

"The standard of good behaviour for the continuance in office of the judicial magistracy is certainly one of the most valuable of the modern improvements in the practice of government. In a monarchy, it is an excellent barrier to the despotism of the prince; in a republic, it is a no less excellent barrier to the encroachments and oppressions of the representative body. And it is the best expedient which can be devised in any government, to secure a steady, upright, and impartial administration of the laws."

Further, maintaining that "nothing can contribute so much" to the firmness and independence of the judiciary as "*permanency in office*", he said, "this quality may therefore be justly regarded as an indispensable ingredient in its Constitution; and, in a great measure, as the *citadel* of the public justice and the public security."<sup>15</sup>

"The complete independence of the courts of justice", he continued,<sup>16</sup> "is peculiarly essential in a limited Constitution. By a limited Constitution, I understand one which contains certain specified exceptions to the legislative authority; such, for instance, as that it shall pass no bills of attainder, no *ex post facto* laws, and the like. Limitations of this kind can be preserved in practice no other way than through the medium of the courts of justice; whose duty it must be to declare all acts contrary to the manifest tenor

of the constitution void. Without this, all the reservations of particular rights or privileges would amount to nothing. . . . . If then the courts of justice are to be considered as the bulwarks of a limited constitution, against legislative encroachments, this consideration will afford a strong argument for the permanent tenure of judicial offices, since nothing will contribute so much as this to that independent spirit in the judges, which must be essential to the faithful performance of so arduous a duty. . . . . That inflexible and uniform adherence to the rights of the constitution, and of individuals, which we perceive to be indispensable in the courts of justice, can certainly not be expected from judges who hold their offices by a temporary commission. Periodical appointments, however regulated, or by whomsoever made, would, in some way or other, be fatal to their necessary independence. If the power of making them was committed either to the executive or legislature, there would be danger of an improper complaisance to the branch which possessed it: if to both, there would be an unwillingness to hazard the displeasure of either; if to the people, or to persons chosen by them for the special purpose, there would be too great a disposition to consult popularity, to justify a reliance that nothing would be consulted but the constitution and the laws."

"There is", said Hamilton in conclusion,<sup>17</sup> "yet a further and a weighty reason for the permanency of judicial offices; which is deducible from the nature of the qualifications they require. It has been frequently remarked, with great propriety, that a voluminous code of laws is one of the inconveniences necessarily connected with the advantages of a free government. To avoid an arbitrary discretion in the courts, it is indispensable that they should be bound down by strict rules and precedents, which serve to define and point out their duty in every particular case that comes before them; and it will readily be conceived, from the variety of controversies which grow out of the folly and wickedness of mankind, that the records of those precedents must unavoidably swell to a very considerable bulk, and must demand long and laborious study to acquire a competent knowledge of them. Hence it is, that there can be but few men

14. See *The Federalist* No. 78—*Ibid.*, pp. 395-402; also Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Sections 1600-1606.

15. See *Ibid.*

16. See *Ibid.*

17. See *Ibid.*

in the society, who will have sufficient skill in the laws to qualify them for the stations of judges. And making the proper deductions for the ordinary depravity of human nature, the number must be still smaller, of those who unite the requisite integrity with the requisite knowledge. . . . . Upon the whole, there can be no room to doubt, that the convention<sup>18</sup> acted wisely in copying from the models of those constitutions which have established *good behaviour* as the tenure of judicial offices, in point of duration; and that, so far from being blameable on this account, their plan would have been inexcusably defective, if it had wanted this important feature of good government. The experience of Great Britain affords an illustrious comment on the excellence of the institution."

The case for a good behaviour tenure can hardly be stated with a greater skill, ability and logic than has been done by Alexander Hamilton. His views are in effect endorsed by Justice Story. "If", says Justice Story,<sup>19</sup> "the judges are appointed at short intervals, either by the legislative or the executive department, they will naturally, and, indeed, almost necessarily, become mere dependents upon the appointing power. If they have any desire to obtain, or to hold office, they will at all times evince a desire to follow and obey the will of the predominant power in the state. Justice will be administered with a faltering and feeble hand. It will secure nothing but its own place, and the approbation of those who value, because they control it. It will decree what best suits the opinions of the day, and it will forget that the precepts of the law rest on eternal foundations. The rulers and the citizens will not stand upon an equal ground in litigations. The favourites of the day will overawe by their power, or seduce by their influence; and thus the fundamental maxim of a republic, that it is a government of laws and not of men, will be silently disproved or openly abandoned. . . . . These considerations acquire . . . . still more cogency and force when applied to questions of constitutional law. . . . No man can deny the necessity of a judiciary to interpret the Constitution and laws, and to pre-

serve the citizens against oppression and usurpation in civil and criminal prosecutions. Does it not follow, that, to enable the judiciary to fulfil its functions, it is indispensable that the judges should not hold their offices at the mere pleasure of those whose acts they are to check, and, if need be, to declare void?"

It may be noted in this connexion that in the United States the federal judges "hold their offices during good behaviour" and are, as Bryce has rightly stated,<sup>20</sup> "irremovable except by impeachment."

Closely connected with the question of tenure of office of judges is another question, namely, whether a judge should, either during his term of office or on his retirement therefrom, be eligible for "appointment to any but a judicial office". It appears to us that in the interests of judicial impartiality and independence he should not be so eligible. The appointment of one judge or ex-judge, say, to an executive office is likely to create expectations in the minds of other judges, and this may produce a deleterious effect on "the pure and upright administration of justice." "For", rightly says<sup>21</sup> the distinguished American publicist Mr. Tucker, "the hope of favour is always more alluring, and generally more dangerous, than the fear of offending."

Before we leave the question of judicial tenure, we may refer to what Maitland and Berriedale Keith have said with regard to the position of judges in England before, and since, the enactment of the Act of Settlement, 1701. "Throughout the Stuart reigns", says Maitland,<sup>22</sup> "judges have been dismissed if they withstand the King;—too often they have been his servile creatures. All along they have held their offices *durant beneplacito*—during the King's good pleasure. At once after the Revolution the question is raised, and William's judges were commissioned *quandiu se bene gesserint*—during good behaviour. He, however, refused his assent to a bill for making this a matter of law—but the point was secured by the Act of Settlement (12 and 13 Will. III, c. 2). So soon as the House of

20. See Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

21. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 432-3\*, foot-note.

22. See Maitland, *The Constitutional History of England*, 1941, pp. 312-13.

18. *I.e.*, the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, 1787.

19. See Story, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Sections 1613-1614.

Hanover comes to the throne judge's commissions are to be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their salaries are to be fixed, but they are to be removable upon an address of both Houses of Parliament. This means that a judge cannot be dismissed except either in consequence of a conviction for some offence, or on the address of both houses."

And we find in Berriedale Keith:<sup>23</sup>

"An essential feature of the law of the (British) Constitution is the security of judicial tenure. Prior to that being granted under the Act of Settlement, 1701, the judiciary was always susceptible of control by the Crown . . . James II dismissed four judges to make him secure of a decision favourable to the dispensing power which he claimed. The solution of the Act of Settlement had the merit of giving tenure during good behaviour but permitting removal by the Crown on address from both Houses of Parliament, as now provided."<sup>24</sup>

The next important factor that tends to contribute to judicial integrity and independence is the question of salary. A judge should, consistently with his social status and the dignity of his office, receive an adequate and, preferably, fixed salary. Besides, he should be entitled to a decent pension on retirement from his office after a specified number of years' service. Alexander Hamilton is perfectly right when he says<sup>25</sup> that "next to permanency in office, nothing can contribute more to the independence of the judges than a fixed provision for their support;" that "in the general course of human

23. See Berriedale Keith, *Constitutional Law*, 1946, p. 279; also p. 12.

24. We also find in Lord Chief Justice Hewart of England :

"There have been, in the long course of English history, periods and occasions when the Executive has endeavoured, not entirely without success, to control and to pervert the course of judicial decision. It was not without good reason that, in 1701, those who were responsible for the Act of Settlement were careful to provide that judges could not be removed except on the address of both Houses of Parliament. For more than two centuries and a quarter that secure position has remained unimpaired, with results which are well known."—See Lord Hewart, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

25. See *The Federalist No. 79.*

nature, a power over a man's subsistence amounts to a power over his will;" and that "we can never hope to see realized in practice the complete separation of the judicial from the legislative power, in any system, which leaves the former dependent for pecuniary resource on the occasional grants of the latter."

#### IV

Closely connected with the question of independence of the judiciary is another question, namely, whether the highest court of law in a country should have or exercise any power of giving any advisory or extra-judicial opinion on any matter. Before we express our own view on this question, we may refer to the position in this respect in the United States and in England. So far as the United States is concerned, we find in Justice Story:<sup>26</sup>

"We have seen that by law the President possesses the right to require the written advice and opinions of his cabinet ministers upon all questions connected with their respective departments. But he does not possess a like authority in regard to the judicial department. That branch of the government can be called upon only to decide controversies brought before them in a legal form; and therefore are bound to abstain from any extra-judicial opinions upon points of law, even though solemnly requested by the executive."

And in a foot-note<sup>27</sup> to this observation Justice Story has stated that "President Washington, in 1793, requested the opinion of the judges of the Supreme Court upon the construction of the treaty with France of 1778", but that "they declined to give any opinion, upon the ground stated" above. Thus the Supreme Court refused to express any advisory or extra-judicial opinion on the question referred to it by the President.

We find a confirmation of what Justice Story has stated in the following extract from the judgment of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Muskrat v. United States* (219 U.S. 346, 1911), delivered by Mr. Justice Day in 1911:<sup>28</sup>

26. See Story *op. cit.*, Volume II, Section 1571.

27. See *Ibid.*, p. 388, foot-note 1.

28. See N. T. Dowling—*Cases on Constitutional Law*, 1950, pp. 109-10.

"In 1793, by direction of the President. Secretary of State, Jefferson addressed to the Justices of the Supreme Court a communication soliciting their views upon the question whether their advice to the executive would be available in the solution of important questions of the construction of treaties, laws of nations and laws of the land, which the Secretary said were often presented under circumstances which '*do not give a cognizance of them to the tribunals of the country.*' The answer to the question was postponed until the subsequent sitting of the Supreme Court, when Chief Justice Jay and his associates answered to President Washington that in consideration of the lines of separation drawn by the Constitution between the three departments of government, and being judges of a court of last resort, afforded strong arguments against the propriety of extra-judicially deciding the questions alluded to, and expressing the view that the power given by the Constitution to the President of calling on heads of departments for opinions 'seems to have been purposely, as well as expressly united to the executive departments'."<sup>29</sup>

So far as England is concerned, we have the authority of a Lord Chief Justice there, we

29. It may be noted here that "advisory opinions on constitutional questions are authorised by the constitutions" of some of the States of the American Union such as Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Florida, Colorado, and South Dakota. Thus we find in Willoughby:

"In a number of the States of the American Union it is constitutionally provided that, upon request by the executive or the legislature, the judges of the highest court of the State shall give their opinion as to the constitutionality of proposed measures or actions submitted to them . . . . In general it may be said that these opinions thus obtained are purely advisory in character, and that they do not constitute judicial precedents to control the future judgements of even the courts that render them."—See W. W. Willoughby, *The Constitutional Law of the United States*, 2nd Ed., 1929, Vol. I, pp. 28-29; also Dowling, *op. cit.*, p. 120 n. 2.

We are, however, concerned here with the question whether the *highest* court of law in a country should have or exercise the power of giving any advisory or extra-judicial opinion on any matter.

mean Lord Hewart of Bury, to state<sup>30</sup> that, whatever might have been the position in the past, an attempt made in 1928, through Clause 4(1) of the Rating and Valuation Bill of that year, a Government measure, to obtain advisory judicial opinion on "doubtful points of law", in advance of actual litigation, was very strongly opposed in the House of Lords and had ultimately to be abandoned. Now the proposed Clause 4(1) wanted to provide as follows:<sup>31</sup>

"If on the representation of the Central Valuation Committee, made after consultation with such associations or bodies as appear to them to be concerned, it is made to appear to the Minister of Health that a substantial question of law has arisen in relation to the valuation of hereditaments or of any class of hereditaments for the purposes of rating and that, unless that question is authoritatively determined, want of uniformity or inequality in valuation may result, the Minister may submit the question to the High Court for its opinion thereon, and the High Court, after hearing such parties as it thinks proper, shall give its opinion on the question."

Thus, through this Clause an attempt was made "to obtain the opinions of His Majesty's judges beforehand" on some "doubtful points of law". This Clause provoked emphatic protests in the House of Lords both in the Committee stage of the Rating and Valuation Bill and on the floor of the House. Briefly speaking, it was argued<sup>32</sup> against it that the proposed Clause was "specious", "mischievous", "objectionable", and "unhealthy", that it would, in effect, "make the Judiciary Act in an ancillary and advisory capacity to the Executive, and confound the working of the judicial system with Executive administration"; that it would establish "a species of auricular relation between His Majesty's Administration and the judges, who had to be impartial in all questions affecting the subject"; that it was "no part of the business of His Majesty's judges", and never had "been part of their business, at any rate since the Act of Settlement, to have any advisory concern in the acts of the Administration, or to take any part in advising the Administration"; that the

30. For details see Lord Hewart, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-42.

31. See *Ibid.*, p. 119.

32. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 120-42.

natural effect of associating the judges "with the Administration and attaching to them the responsibility for conclusions which are put forward by the Administration will be to weaken the authority of the Judiciary"; that there was no reason why the judges should be "brought in by this side-wind to help the Executive to carry on their business, to replace the Law Officers and to relieve the Executive of responsibility as to decisions that they ought to arrive at upon the law"; that the Clause raised "a question of principle" as it was "an attempt to introduce something quite novel", so far as the law of England was concerned—"to introduce the plan of enabling an abstract question, a question not necessarily relating to any concrete case but purely general, to be put before the judges", and the judges were "to be compelled . . . to give an opinion upon that question", that it would "prejudice future suitors"; that it would be "very embarrassing to future litigants" as any advisory opinion once given by the Court on what might be "a purely abstract question" might be "used as an authoritative guide" by it on a subsequent occasion; that it would draw "the judges into the region of administration"; that the Government would be well advised not to press the Clause to which there was a great deal of repugnance felt in the House (of Lords); that the "proposal<sup>33</sup>" is one that does conflict with what has been for generations the principle upon which justice has been administered in His Majesty's Courts—namely, that they decide questions that have actually arisen between subject and subject or subject and the Crown"; that the proposed Clause would introduce "a fundamental and constitutional change in judicial administration" in the country; that it would set up a "very grave and unparalleled system . . . of trying to rope in the Judiciary to the help of the Executive in their administrative capacity", and thus "introduce a novel principle . . . fraught with danger"; and that it would "convert His Majesty's Judges into departmental solicitors".

In view of this strong opposition to the proposed Clause 4(1) in the House of Lords, His Majesty's Government decided to withdraw it. What the then Lord Chancellor (Lord

Hailsham) said<sup>34</sup> in the House, while withdrawing the Clause, is worthy of note here. "Not only", he observed,<sup>35</sup> among other things, "is it important that the Judiciary should be independent of the Executive, but it is also of vital importance that the public should be satisfied that the Judiciary and the Executive are independent. We have thought that the undoubted fact that members of your Lordships' House occupying high judicial positions have seriously and sincerely believed that this principle of independence was being infringed, necessarily must arouse doubt and distrust in the public mind and that it was far better that we should abandon the effort to obtain a power of this kind than that we should run any risk of an impression being created, rightly or wrongly, in the minds of the public that there was any connection being established between the Executive and the Judiciary and any infringement of that independence of the Judiciary which is the palladium of the liberty of the subject".

We have shown above the position in regard to the question of advisory, judicial opinion in the United States and in England. We are on principle opposed to the idea that the highest court in a country should have or exercise any power of giving any advisory opinion on any question either to the Executive or to the Legislature. The expression of such opinion or any issue or issues that may be referred to it means a kind of pre-commitment on the part of the court to a certain point of view, and this may create a difficult and embarrassing situation later on when a concrete case involving more or less similar issue or issues comes before it for adjudication. Moreover, the litigant or litigants concerned may not quite feel confidence in the impartiality of the court in such circumstance. Nor do we think that it is consistent with the dignity and status of the highest court of law in a country that it should play, or be made to play, the role of the super-attorney-general either to its Executive or to its Legislature. It is true that under Section 4 of the Judicial Committee Act, 1833, "the King in Council may refer any matters other than appeals to the Judicial Committee for advice, and the (Privy) Council

34. On 1st May, 1928. See Lord Hewart, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

35. See *Ibid.*

is bound to advise him".<sup>36</sup> It is also true that, on the analogy of this British law, there is a legal provision in Canada for the offering of advisory opinion by its Supreme Court to the Executive Government.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, we feel

36. See Berriedale Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions*, 2nd Ed., Vol. 11, p. 1106.

37. See *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, pp. 571-72.

It may be noted here that in the Common-

wealth of Australia "it has been ruled that it is not the duty of the High Court to answer abstract questions."—See *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 1108

## SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION IN POST-WAR INDIA

By Dr. J. N. RAY

The Union Public Service Commission and other bodies who are concerned with the selection of administrative and technical personnel have all remarked that there has been an amazing fall in standards of candidates who appear before them. Some suggestions have been made that this is due to poor emoluments that are offered in Government Services. This is not correct. I have been concerned with the selection of candidates both for the public and private sectors and I can say that the salary offered had no material bearing on the quality of candidates who appeared for interview. What then is the reason for this fall in standards that has undoubtedly taken place during the last decade or so? The answer to this question is to be found in the fall in the quality of teaching that has taken place since 1940.

During the last war a large number of university teachers were drafted into the service of the Government for furthering the war effort. Many of these men were unable to return to the universities for various reasons. Some who were anxious to resume their academic duties could not do so. Their places were taken up by younger people who were not quite mature enough to lead. Many such men were tempted to consolidate their position by seeking elections to different elective academic bodies. This introduced a certain amount of unhealthy politics in the universities. Much of the present-day troubles

in the different universities all over India are traceable to this cause.

The fall in the standard of teaching was inevitable. The older teachers who were able to withstand the temptation to leave the teaching profession were swamped by the tide of the growing strength of teacher-politicians. In most cases they had no voice in the things that were happening. Their junior colleagues found themselves called to serve on innumerable committees and sub-committees that were formed after the war by the Government. The students took these to be recognition of merit and whatever prestige the older men had as teachers was soon lost. The stage was set for budding politicians where teaching became a matter of secondary importance. Many new universities were created during the post-war period but the number of people for appointment to higher teaching posts are gradually diminishing.

Owing to the fall in standards the minimum qualification for a good job was set at a first class degree. This also resulted in the universities passing out a large number of men as first class. Since many posts are filled on an all-India basis, the competition to produce as many first class graduates as possible became more evident. I have found on investigation that the present-day students in some universities do not do half the quantitative estimations their predecessors used to do 40 years ago. They do not do any-

thing new that the earlier students did not do. Nobody can deny that there have been phenomenal advances in science. They should have covered much more ground, therefore, than students of 40 years ago. While this is generally true about all universities so far as practical work is concerned, the theoretical syllabus has been greatly expanded. Much of the things that are taught today could have been easily left out. But the eye is on making the question paper look imposing to an outsider. The questions that are set are often taught with great emphasis so that the students can reproduce the answers without difficulty. But if by any chance the expected questions are not set then there is a great deal of trouble. I have discussed this matter with some teachers who entirely agree with the above views. The remedy they suggest is rather drastic. In their opinion the B.Sc. Hons. and M.Sc. papers should be set for all universities by the Inter-University Board. If that were done there would be an automatic improvement in teaching. But in adopting this idea a great deal of opposition would be met from all quarters as the question of academic freedom would be raised.

If the employers continue to give their preference for a first class degree then some attempt at standardisation would have to be made sooner or later. I looked at the "situations vacant" column of a newspaper one day last month. There were nine technical posts advertised, all except one stipulated a first class degree. This was with respect to commercial firms. I understand that the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Manchester and Leeds have now decided that they would admit none but first class degree holders of Indian Universities. This undoubtedly proves that they also feel that the quality of teaching in India has deteriorated a great deal. This attitude of the English Universities can be explained away by saying that this has been done because of great rush of students for whom seats cannot be found. I have spoken to some professors of British Universities who told me that they had also noticed an amazing fall in the quality of students from India.

Another factor that has profoundly affected the quality of education is the fact that English is now taught at a much later stage in schools.

The result has been that when the students join the college they are unable to follow lectures given in English. One Bombay College teaches English in the first year class for six months before they begin regular lectures. A considerable amount of valuable time is lost. Not only that, owing to imperfect grasp of the language the temptation to commit to memory all that is likely to be asked in the examination is great. Those who expected that learning the vernaculars first would help in developing the critical faculties better are clearly mistaken. I can give many examples to illustrate the amazing confused thinking of a present-day M.Sc. but all teachers know it very well. In some universities research work could be taken up as part fulfilment of the requirements of the M.Sc. degree. This system had to be discontinued owing to reasons which are not very creditable to the teachers concerned. I had a talk with some of the senior teachers of a university. They all bitterly complained that not only M.Sc. students who come up for Ph.D. degree are half-baked owing to their not having done enough practical work but their conceptions are so vague that it takes 2-3 years to train them in methods of research. Consequently the average age when a student gets his Ph.D. degree is about 30 years. The average English and American student gets his Ph.D. when he is about 23. Hence in a tropical country where men age quickly we lose seven years. These Ph.D. Students in India are often in receipt of fellowships sponsored by Government departments for furthering investigation in a particular field. These scholarships have a specific object but investigation on such lines may not qualify a student for his Ph.D. degree. Hence these investigations are a cloak to get enough to carry on till he gets his Ph.D. Hence many of these investigations are completely wasted.

This is also happening in the National Laboratories. A person, after his M.Sc., gets appointed as a Junior Assistant. He then concentrates his energies to theoretical problems till he is able to submit a thesis for the Ph.D. degree in one of the accommodating Universities. In one case I know it took about 15 years to do it. If this waste of valuable, time, material and money is to be avoided, the C.S.I.R. should have a clear policy about the work that is to be done in National Laboratories. There should be a ratio fixed for technological researches and

researches in pure science in these laboratories. If that is done the quality of technological investigations would be much improved. There is no gainsaying that enough work in the technological field has not been done in these laboratories. This is the general feeling of every man engaged in industry with whom I have talked. If the craze for their personnel to get the Ph.D. degree could be stopped then we would not have the spectacle of a National Laboratory taking up subjects for investigations with which they are not even remotely concerned. If the National Physical Laboratory did take up the chemical investigation of separation of organic bases, it would indeed be a calamity. In order that proper utilisation of personnel takes place, inter-departmental transfer should be made possible.

I have mentioned that with the honourable exception of a few laboratories the average age of an Indian Ph.D. is about 30 years. He is now thrown on the employment market. He has nothing very much more than his Ph.D. degree to show. This does not bring him any gainful employment easily. He then turns his attention towards obtaining a post-Doctorate fellowship in the U.S.A. The value of these are often as high as Rs. 2,500/- p.m. They cannot expect to get this amount even after a lifetime of service in India. Many are able to secure these fellowships. The reason is that an American student gets a regular job worth much more than the value of these Scholarships, soon after his Ph.D. Therefore, he is not interested in these unless he is the academic type and wants to stay in research. There are not many of these men. Therefore, the American Professor has to cast his net far and wide. The first choice is on European students. Unless the professor is of the top-ranking variety he has to depend on whatever material is handy. Moreover there is a general feeling of sympathy for the Indians who are trying to come up in the world.

After obtaining the post-doctoral fellowship, the Indian student spends 3-4 years in the U.S.A. gaining valuable experience and getting used to a real socialistic pattern of society. Therefore, he is unwilling to return to his country where he will meet with a considerable amount of snobbery from politician-scientists. Some who have established their reputation generally manage to stay

abroad. I asked one of these men who had done most outstanding work, why did he not return? His answer was typical. He said that he would be placed as low in the hierarchy as would be possible to place him, because his reputation would be a source of danger to the boss. Moreover, he would probably get an assistant or two of the type I have mentioned whom it would take ages to train and the best part of his life would thus be wasted. He is now 35 years of age. Those who would return to India after their stay in America with a scholarship would also be about the same age. They also would find it difficult to get suitable emoluments to which they had been used to. There would arise considerable amount of heat in their dealings with men and particularly their superiors. These men who had spent more than half a life-time in pursuit of their vocation cannot but be frustrated.

The example of these men are having a further deteriorating effect on younger men the majority of whom are now convinced that if one has to get on in life, considerable amount of string pulling is necessary. The short-cut to success is through agitation. Hence, there are so many agitators in the field. These thoughts are ugly but to the writer these are matters which must be looked into if we want to avoid disaster. The reformation should, in my opinion, begin from school education. The vernaculars have not yet developed sufficiently to replace English as medium of instruction. Let us do all we can to develop the regional languages but in the meanwhile, let us not be swayed by emotion.

Recently, the Ministry of Education made a statement that in view of the congestion in the universities, higher education should only be open to the fittest. This has given rise to a lot of criticism but the truth has to be faced. Mass scale imparting of higher education has done no tangible good. If we are to get the best out of the material available, some sort of restriction has to be imposed. But the method adopted to weed out the so-called unfit should not be faulty. We know that the examination result is not a very good criterion to adopt. If those desirous of seeking admission are also subjected to a psychological test then some hardships can be avoided.

The real crux of the problem is to find teachers who would regard teaching as their only

occupation. Too much of their time is now occupied with outside activities. These should be curtailed. I know of a professor who is out of town half the days in the month with occasional foreign tours thrown in. He is not an exception. If the National Laboratories are to be really useful to the nation, they should have a clear-cut programme of work. Promotion should not be only based on seniority, merit should also be recognised. The machinery set up for determining merit should itself be such as would inspire confidence. Getting a Ph.D. has now become the be-all and end-all of life. This attitude should be

changed. I have heard teachers boasting that they have produced so many Ph.D.s. If that is the attitude of the teachers, one can understand the attitude of the students.

There are many glaring defects in our present system. One cannot discuss them all in a single article. The object of this article is to draw attention to the fact that all is not well. The writer has no doubts that the more thoughtful men, whose numbers are still many in this country, would be able to rectify the defects. The problem is urgent as it appears that we have slipped back a great deal in recent years.

## INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN SOCIAL WELFARE ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

By SHIRIRAM MAHESHWARI

Government today is the biggest social welfare agency in India. This is as it should be. The assumption of comprehensive social welfare programmes by the Government is not the outcome of certain vague but irresistible fad of those at the helm of governmental affairs at present, but a grave constitutional injunction. The Constitution of India enjoins upon the State to secure to all its citizens :

"Justice, social, economic and political;  
Liberty of thought, expression, belief,  
faith and worship;  
Equality of status and of opportunity"

The State in India is thus irrevocably pledged to the ideal of the Welfare State.

Engaged in the promotion of social welfare programmes are all the three levels of government—federal, state and local. Unlike most of the federal constitutions where the welfare matters are the exclusive concern of the federating units, the Indian Constitution has placed the welfare subjects either in the concurrent list or in the State list. This is easily understandable

in the Constitution with a pronounced emphasis on welfare within the framework of democracy. This system secures the desired elasticity inasmuch as the Union Government has the untrammeled freedom to implement her international commitments in the realm of welfare. Also, this arrangement rules out jurisdictional disputes and facilitates the Union leadership in the welfare field. It, nevertheless, must be conceded that clear-cut relationships and understandings between the several levels of government are basic to the unimpeded development and best utilization of the resources of all.

At the outset, it may be made clear that there is no single ministry at the Union level exclusively looking after the social welfare programmes. Social Welfare activities are distributed among the government organs on a functional basis. The welfare services are organized according to their connexion with Education, Health, etc., as is made evident in the following table :<sup>1</sup>

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1. *Renuka Ray Committee Report*, p. 284, Annexure XI.

Ministry	Subjects dealt with
(1) Ministry of Education :	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) C S W B</li> <li>(b) Youth Welfare and Recreational services</li> <li>(c) Education and Welfare of the Handicapped</li> <li>(d) Social Work Training and Research</li> <li>(e) Social Education</li> </ul>
(2) Ministry of Health :	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Maternity and Child Welfare Services</li> <li>(b) Medico-social Work</li> <li>(c) Rehabilitation of the Physically and Mentally Handicapped and of T.B. and Leprosy Patients</li> <li>(d) Health Services for School-going Children</li> <li>(e) Family Planning</li> </ul>
(3) Ministry of Home Affairs :	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Welfare of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes</li> <li>(b) Beggary or Vagrancy</li> <li>(c) Juvenile Delinquency and Probation</li> <li>(d) Welfare of Prisoners</li> <li>(e) Social &amp; Moral Hygiene</li> <li>(f) Rehabilitation of Persons discharged from Correctional and non-Correctional Institutions</li> <li>(g) Emergency Relief Measures</li> </ul>
(4) Ministry of Community Development :	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Welfare of Women and Children in the Rural Areas</li> <li>(b) Social Education</li> </ul>
(5) Planning Commission :	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>(a) Examination and Processing of Development Programme and formulation of National Policy</li> </ul>

The association of so many Central Ministries with the welfare matters has been conducive to neither economy nor efficiency in the utilization of resources; and constrained the Renuka Ray Committee (July, 1959) to make a plea for the pooling together of the welfare subjects under a separate department under the Ministry of Education. The Committee says: "The social welfare subjects (excluding the welfare of backward classes) should be brought under one administrative agency at the centre. A separate department may be set up immediately for the purpose under the Ministry of Education which may be appropriately redesignated as 'Ministry of Education & Social Welfare'."<sup>2</sup>

The existing constitutional provisions have induced the Union Government to perform a very important role in welfare administration

and, as a consequence, relegated the states to a more or less secondary position. This trend—the centralization process—is being accelerated by some peculiar factors such as the overriding demands of the Five-Year Plans and the same party government at the Union and State levels. Important in this centralization process has been the historical fact that the unitary government was replaced by the federal one with the result that the units are not, either by habit or tradition, sufficiently assertive and resistant to the encroachments by the Union Government. The Union Government is directly responsible for implementing international conventions, co-ordinating inter-governmental activities, providing services in centrally-administered areas and administering the central institutions. The responsibility of the Union Government is of indirect nature in other respects and involves planning, research, direction and grants-in-aid.

2. *Ibid*, p. 209.

It is the states which have the responsibility for the legislation and administration of welfare matters. The United Nations Survey of Methods of Social Welfare Administration calls the functions of planning, research, direction, etc., as performed by the Union Government as "standard-setting, promotion, subsidization and supervision." To quote from the Survey itself, "standard-setting, promotion subsidization and supervision are thus more important than direct administration in the promotion of many forms of social welfare activity."<sup>3</sup> The Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service of the Committee on Plan Projects says that in subjects assigned to the States the activities of the Union Government should be mainly assisting the State Governments with finances, co-ordinating research and evolving in consultation with the States a common national policy. Where the States and Centre exercise concurrent jurisdiction, the State Government should perform alone either in its own right or as agent of the Centre with wide discretion in regard to administrative details. It is the practice even in Unitary States to devolve social administration upon the local authorities. Of interest in this connexion may be the Study Committee Report on "Federal Aid to Welfare," submitted to the U.S. Commission on Inter-governmental Relations (June, 1955). It says :

"The Federal role should be that of research, special studies, compilation of statistical data, development of standards, consultation, advice, audit and reviews."

"The State (and local) role should be the responsibility for day-to-day operation of the Programme, experimentation, development of programmes beyond minimum Federal requirements with State (and local) financing, statistical reporting and programme analysis and review."<sup>4</sup>

The relations between the Union Government and the Governments of the States should be informed by the principle enunciated by John Stuart Mill to regulate the division of functions between central and local authorities in a unitary system of government : "The principal business of the central authority should be to

3. *The U.N. Survey of Methods of Social Welfare Administration*, p. 112.

4. *Report*, p. 8.

give instruction to the local authority to apply it. Power may be localised, but knowledge to be most useful must be centralized."<sup>5</sup> The Union Government should, as a norm, confine itself to standard-setting, recognition, registration, supervision, giving grants-in-aid, and training. It should devote itself to research and place the results of research at the disposal of the State Governments;<sup>6</sup> it may go a step further—it may draft bills on welfare matters for submission to the states on matters in which it (the Union Government) is interested and which it is ready to support financially. The training programme should include a common basic curriculum of elements of social work and welfare and social approach and techniques to prepare the trainees for a co-ordinated approach to the socio-economic development of the country. "The handling of complex problems of social, economic and human relationships requires certain types of knowledge concerning human behaviour, social institutions and economic organization and certain skills for helping troubled people, which can best be communicated through formal training in a full-time course of related theory and practice in a School of Social Work".<sup>7</sup> Training for social welfare must be standardised by the Union Government. The Union funds available to each state should be based upon the principle of equalizing among all States the fiscal burden of maintaining a minimum standard. Fiscal assistance should be extended in such a way as to stimulate states to assume their reasonable share of welfare activities. The system of matching grants, which requires a State Government to provide a matching grant to qualify for central assistance for any scheme, is meant to encourage the states to tax their own resources to the maximum. In practice it has been found that many of the backward states have not been able to raise the necessary funds to take full advantage of this system. Quite often central grants have lapsed for want of the matching grant from the state concerned. On the other hand, the more advanced states have been able

5. "Representative Government," p. 357.

6. Even J. S. Mill held that this was one thing which the Central Government should do for its subordinate units.

7. *Report on Training for Social Work—An International Survey*, 1950, p. 42.

to take advantage of this system, resulting in regional unbalance. It is, therefore, desirable that instead of insisting upon matching grants, the Union Government should announce grants for various items for each state at the beginning of the year. It may, however, be stated that the Union funds could be used only for the defined purposes.

As a number of organizational units are involved in welfare services at the Union level, problem of co-ordination has become an exceedingly crucial one. The Union Government created, in 1953, the Central Social Welfare Board, which performs the co-ordinating functions in addition to having administrative responsibilities. It has been created as an autonomous body responsible administratively to the Ministry of Education. As there is no Central Ministry responsible for social welfare, the C S W B is to fill up that gap. The evaluation section attached to the Community Projects Administration as an independent organ under the Planning Commission also sees that there is no duplication, overlapping or wastage and that programmes of various departments are dovetailed into one another in such a manner as to make for overall economy and efficiency.

As stated previously, the State Governments bear the prime responsibility for the legislation and administration of welfare subjects.<sup>8</sup> Most of the States—with the solitary exception of the State of Bombay—lack a separate department of Social Welfare. There would usually be a dozen of departments dealing with different aspects of welfare. The Education Department, the Home Department, the Legal Department, the Labour Department, the Development Department, the Health Department—all are concerned with

8. It may be interesting to note the following observation of the Study Committee on Federal Aid to Welfare (the U.S.A.) :

"While interest in welfare is shared by the National, State and Local Governments, the primary responsibility for providing an adequate welfare programme clearly lies with the States and their political sub-divisions. For that reason there is a strong national interest in the maintenance and development of vigorous state and local Governments in order that they may discharge more effectively their responsibilities in the welfare field."—(*Study Committee Report on Federal Aid to Welfare*, June, 1955, p. 6.)

various aspects of social welfare. Incidentally, this is the reflection of the piecemeal basis on which the welfare activities have been developed over a series of years, each activity being developed with little relationship to what existed before or elsewhere. The pooling together of these fragmented parts is the first important requirement of a comprehensive integrated approach to the development of social welfare. Under the prevailing 'atomistic' approach to social welfare, the welfare matters are only incidentally attended to by officials whose primary duties lie elsewhere. Inevitably, therefore, welfare is deprived of the expert handling which would otherwise be available if all the experiences of dealing with different facets of social welfare were pooled together. The long and the short of this discussion is that there is an urgent necessity of a separate department of social welfare in the States. It is heartening that the Renuka Ray Committee has also come out with the enthusiastic support for "a unified department in each state dealing with social welfare as also the welfare of Backward Classes."<sup>9</sup>

The second comment one is provoked to make is that social welfare at the state level lacks the sustained, vigorous drive and initiative. Under the prevailing set up States are called upon to administer the schemes, in the planning and financing of which they have had little hand.<sup>10</sup> No wonder, their impulse for initiative gets deadened; and a feeling of utter dependence on the Union Government is generated and strengthened. This, to be sure, is detrimental to the cause of social welfare in the long range perspective.

This lack of integrated approach to social welfare at state level under one department headed by the elected Minister; and of sustained vigour and drive should be a plea for the institution, by the state governments, of a separate Department of Social Welfare. Such a

9. *The Renuka Ray Committee Report*, p. 213.

10. "To be sure, there is a risk that State participation in joint schemes, while bolstering the states as going organizations, may induce habits of subordination and deference to external initiative and guidance."—(*Report of the Commission on Inter-governmental Relation, U.S.A.*, June, 1955, p. 67.)

Department of Social Welfare will, to begin with, thrash out a unified, comprehensive programme of social welfare. The welfare measures will, then, have the benefit of expert handling. This Department would co-ordinate the various aspects of social welfare and effectively supervise and assist the voluntary agencies working in different fields of welfare. It would enrich itself by freely drawing upon the varied experiences of the social workers engaged in different fields. A fear has been expressed that such a department will not have optimum social welfare work to justify the retention of a specially trained staff. This fear betrays an ignorance of the true scope of social welfare. The creation of a department will in itself be a significant step towards injecting the necessary drive and initiative to blow the contents of social welfare to the optimum size.

But the institution of a department of Social Welfare at the state level must be matched with the simultaneous building up of adequate base organizations for the co-ordinated pattern of welfare services.<sup>11</sup> The local self-government should be the base of the administrative structure which should be linked with the state and union levels through a process of co-ordination and devolution of sufficient powers. This implies a clear demarcation of functions and responsibilities between the different levels and bringing about the necessary co-ordination and effective control. There is evidence of a marked trend towards a decentralization of authority and responsibility for the administration of welfare programmes in most countries. The United States Commission on Inter-governmental Relations, in its Report, submitted to the U.S. President in June, 1955 has strongly recommended the strengthening of local governments by entrusting them with activities which can be handled by them together with the financial resources necessary for their support.<sup>12</sup> In India, too, there is a

11. "If decentralization of government is an objective to be attained, then it is not won when decentralized to the State, but only when as many powers and financial resources as possible are returned to the local governments where every citizen has a chance to exercise his will directly."—(*Report of the Advisory Committee on Local Government*, submitted to the Commission On Inter-governmental Relations, U.S.A., p. 29.)

12. Vide *Report*, p. 47.

growing feeling for making the local self-government welfare-biased. For example, the Taxation Enquiry Commission (1953) recognises the potentialities of local self-government—both rural and urban. The Report states :

"Local self-government has now become an integral part of the national administrative machinery playing the same vital role that has been assigned to local self-government in other independent democratic countries. Increasingly, it is coming to be recognised in this country as that branch of administration which must eventually take charge of the expanding social services of the State."

Similarly, the Second Five-Year Plan predicts :

"Eventually, the burden of maintaining social services has to fall in the main on local authorities."<sup>13</sup>

Clearly, the local area is the place where problems of different types and complexities easily make themselves detected. Action and reaction operate in it in an amazing way.<sup>14</sup> In a small community it is comparatively easier to assess needs and render services in a most efficacious way while keeping the organizational structure quite manageable. A welfare state lays the foundation of welfare at the lowest community level.<sup>15</sup> Resources and initiatives are, therefore, vitally needed at the local level to work for the triple welfare of the individual, the family and the local community. Rightly has Dr. B. H. Mehta commented that "the Central and State Governments *organise* a nation; but it is the local self-government in co-operation with the community that *manages* the nation."<sup>16</sup>

It is ironical that these bodies so full of promises and potentialities should be so anaemic

13. *Second Five-Year Plan* (1956), p. 601.

14. "Good ideas are likely to be discovered locally on the firing line of practice, but they do not reach fruition unless means exist to clear them centrally and spread them."—(*The Report of the Commission on Inter-governmental Relations, U.S.A.*, June, 1955, p. 65.)

15. "It must be remembered as a dictum of social policy that it is ultimately the people whose welfare is to be achieved, and that it is not for them but through and by them that people's well-being could be best accomplished."—(*Social Welfare in India, 1955, Planning Commission*, pp. 617-618).

16. *Indian Journal of Social Work*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, p. 247.

at present. The relationship between the State Government and Local Bodies<sup>17</sup> is marked—or, marred—by an astonishing degree of centralization. This situation forced itself upon the Renuka Ray Committee, which observed :

"We feel, however, that in certain aspects, more especially at the district level, decentralization has not been given sufficient attention . . . We are fully convinced that the move to transfer greater responsibility . . . is a step in the right direction."<sup>18</sup>

Evidently, a radical change in the hitherto prevailing attitude is called for. They must be actively and increasingly associated with welfare administration. The local body should have links with the state and the Union on the one hand, and with the neighbourhood and local community on the other. The creation of a social welfare department,<sup>19</sup> in the local body would go a

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17. Compare, for instance, the following observations :

"In emphasizing the interest of the community as a whole and in particular the needs of those sections which are at present handicapped in various ways, village panchayats along with co-operatives, can play a considerable part in bringing about a more just and integrated social structure in rural areas and in developing a new pattern of rural leadership."—*Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 151.

"The question of democratic decentralization in local self-government has a special significance in India in the context of the need for evoking people's co-operation and participation in the execution of the Five-Year Plans and the national objective of a socialist pattern of society in the democratic framework of government."—*The Administrative System of India (IIPA)*, Part IV (B), p. 39.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

19. It may be interesting to note the resolution, adopted by the Indian Conference of Social Work (January, 1958), on the role of Local Government in implementing Welfare Services :

"That the scope of work of the local self-government institutions be adequately expanded so as to include among other functions the implementation of social welfare services with the ultimate aim of bringing the benefits of the welfare state within the reach of every citizen; that in the local self-government institutions like Corporations and District Boards, there should

long way in developing a broad-based social welfare programme. Secondly, these institutions should, as a rule, establish close relations with the voluntary welfare agencies, operating in the area, and co-operate with them in working for the welfare of the people in their respective areas. Thirdly, these local bodies are ideal institutions for research and survey work related to the welfare problems in the region. But the proper discharge of these additional functions necessitates the granting to them of adequate powers and resources in the form of redistribution of funds by the State Government. States should make available to local government a large range of revenue sources consistent with their needs. The growth of private business into larger units has made it necessary to collect a greater percentage of the total revenue at the Union and State levels and a lesser proportion at the local level. This makes it essential to return part of these funds to State and Local Governments.

This part of our discussion would be incomplete without a reference to the Report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service of the Committee on Plan Projects, popularly known as the Balwant-rai Mehta Committee Report. This Report has recommended the establishment of a single representative and vigorous democratic institution to take charge of all aspects of development work in the rural areas. This body—the Panchayat Samiti—should be statutory, elective, comprehensive in its duties and functions, equipped with necessary executive machinery and in possession of adequate resources. The Panchayat Samiti which is to be constituted by indirect elections from village panchayats within the block area, would be in charge of the entire development work of rural areas. All Central and States funds spent in the block area should invariably be assigned to the Panchayat Samiti to be spent by it directly or indirectly. The Report further suggests that, to ensure necessary co-ordination between the Panchayat Samitis, a 'Zila Parishad' be set up, consisting of Presidents

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be departments of social welfare to help them plan and execute their social welfare policies and programmes and to help them undertake necessary research and survey work related to the positive, promotive, preventive and curative aspects of social problems . . ."

of the Samitis concerned, the members of the State and Central Legislatures, representing the area and the district level officers, the Collector being the Chairman.

The Balwantrai Mehta Report envisages a revolutionary change in the outlook, structure and procedures of the local self-government bodies; and endows them with a meaningful purpose.

We should here like to observe that there is nothing sacrosanct about the organizational structure. The framework of welfare is determined by the changes in social welfare goals. Changes in organization and administration should, as a rule, follow the declarations of purposes in social welfare programmes. New

purposes and higher goals are apt to reveal the inadequacies of older administrative structure; and demand the creation of welfare agencies commensurate enough to answer the new challenge, bearing in mind all the time the underlined truth, so nobly propounded by Prof. Leonard D. White :

"Many of the problems that lie ahead may be encountered as well, perhaps better, by the resilience of a self-propelling federation of self-governing states than by a nation in which the parts remain only hollow shells lacking energy or creating power and responsive only to orders received from above."<sup>220</sup>

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20. L. D. White : "*Introduction to Public Administration*," p. 156.

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## PROBLEMS OF JURISDICTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

As Illustrated in the Right of Passage over Indian Territory Case (1960)

By KALYAN KUMAR GHOSH,  
*Lecturer, Jadavpur University.*

"THE Right of Passage over Indian Territory Case"<sup>1</sup> illustrates some of the difficult problems of jurisdiction faced by the International Court of Justice. Questions of jurisdiction are often agitated before national tribunals, but "in Municipal Law, there is always some tribunal which has jurisdiction". In the international sphere, the issue of jurisdiction is of fundamental importance, for if the International Court of Justice (I. C. J.) lacks jurisdiction in a particular case, there is no other Court in the whole world which could try the case. Upto now, the basic principle governing the jurisdiction of the I. C. J. or of any other international tribunal, for the matter of that, is that it is the consent of the parties that gives authority to the Court to try a case. Unlike the position of a citizen in relation to the Courts of Law in his own country,

there is no obligation on the part of sovereign States to appear before the I. C. J. to have their disputes adjudicated, unless they have consented to do so in one or other of the prescribed ways. The rule that "no State can, without its consent, be compelled to submit its disputes with other States to mediation or to arbitration or to any other kind of pacific settlement", stated by the Permanent Court of International Justice (P. C. I. J.) in the Eastern Carelia case, was reaffirmed by the I. C. J. in the Anglo-Iranian Oil case. Both at the time of the establishment of the P. C. I. J. in 1921, and the I. C. J. in 1945, some nations advocated that the Court should have compulsory jurisdiction. On the whole, the Great Powers were opposed to this idea. The result has been that both in the case of the P. C. I. J. and the I. C. J., the Statute itself provides that a State may rely upon a number of "escape clauses". The principle that States may specify in advance the classes of legal disputes in relation to which they would accept the jurisdiction of the Court as compulsory, by means of bilateral or multilateral treaties, or may, by a

1. Judgment of the International Court of Justice delivered on April 12, 1960, I.C.J. Reports, 1960; the quotations here are from the English text of the judgment reprinted by the Ministry of External Affairs to the Government of India.

treaty, refer a dispute after it has actually arisen, has long been a rule of International Law. Article 36 (2) of the Statute of the I.C.J. provides for an optional "declaration" by States for the purpose of conferring upon the Court the right of compulsory jurisdiction over certain disputes, as did the Statute of the P.C.I.J. That clause lays down that "the States parties to the present Statute, may at any time, declare that, they recognise as compulsory, *ipso facto*, and without special agreement, in relation to any other State accepting the same obligation, the jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes concerning: (a) the interpretation of a treaty; (b) any question of international law; (c) the existence of any fact which if established, would constitute a breach of an international obligation; (d) the nature and extent of reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation". The provision made by a resolution of the Security Council on October 15, 1946, for States which were not parties to the Statute, for making "declarations" is exactly similar.

The "optional clause", appears to be wide in scope but is actually of restricted operation. To start with, a "declaration" must be compatible with the Statute. As the P.C.I.J. observed in the Free Zone case, it "cannot, on the proposal of the Parties, depart from the terms of the Statute". Then, the Court is competent to entertain a case only if the "declarations" made by the Parties are in force at that point of time. Lastly, the effect of the "declaration" is limited to "any other State accepting the same obligation". To be more explicit, the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court under the "optional" clause will apply to a particular dispute only when the separately made "declarations" of the Parties to the dispute coincide to cover it. This "optional" clause has been interpreted to permit a State to modify or terminate its own "declaration". At an earlier stage of this very case between Portugal and India, the I.C.J. observed that the obligation assumed by a declarant State under the "optional" clause, should not be "irrevocably defined" at the time of the "declaration" "for the entire period of its duration".<sup>2</sup> From the principle of reciprocity, another corollary

follows—a State may exclude a dispute from the application of the "optional" clause by invoking a reservation in the "declaration" of its opponent State.

The "declarations" of many States are framed in such a way as to leave them largely free to accept or evade the jurisdiction of the Court when a dispute actually arises. The "declarations" of the two parties in this case, Portugal and India, furnish some examples. The "declaration" of Portugal of December 19, 1951, stated that it will remain in force for one year only, and thereafter until notice of its denunciation is given to the Secretary-General of the U.N. Moreover, Portugal reserved the right to exclude from its "declaration" at any time any given category of disputes, simply by sending notice to the Secretary-General. "Declarations" of this type are only formal acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court. Portugal's acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court appears to have been made solely with the object of filing this case which was done three days after the making of the "declaration". So she took care to leave every door open for withdrawing from the Court as soon as her purpose would be served.

India's "declaration" had been made in February, 1940. She accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court over all disputes "arising after February 5, 1930, with regard to situation or facts subsequent to the same date". Then, all "disputes which by international law fall exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of India" are excluded. The Court will not have jurisdiction over disputes in regard to which (a) "the Parties have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other methods of peaceful settlement"; (b) or over disputes "with the Government or any other Member of the League which is a member of the British Commonwealth"; (c) or those which had their "roots in events occurring at a time when the Government of India were involved in hostilities". And the Government of India also reserved the right "to require under certain conditions that the proceedings of the Court shall be suspended in respect to any dispute which has been submitted to and is under the consideration of the League of Nations."

The issues which were raised as to the jurisdiction of the Court in this case were all based upon the reservations of the two parties.

2. *I.C.J. Reports*, 1957, p. 147—judgment on four preliminary objections as to jurisdiction.

The facts of the case are well known, and may be stated very shortly. Dadra and Nagar Haveli (spelt Aveli in the judgment) were two Portuguese enclaves surrounded on all sides by Indian territory. In July and August, 1954, the people of these two enclaves rose in revolt and overthrew the Portuguese rule. Portugal wanted to send troops from Daman which is on the coast, to these two places through Indian territory. This India refused. Then Portugal filed this case and claimed the following reliefs—a declaration that Portugal has a right of passage through the territory of India in respect of transit of persons and goods and of "authorities and armed forces necessary to ensure the full exercise of sovereignty," a declaration that India has prevented her from exercising that right, and an order upon India to put an end to this unlawful state of affairs.

India had raised six preliminary issues as to jurisdiction. Four of these were rejected by the Court by its judgment dated November 26, 1957, and two were reserved for consideration along with merits. In the final judgment of April 12, 1960, these two preliminary objections were also dismissed. As to the merits, the Court held that Portugal had a right of passage in respect of private persons, civil officials and goods in general, but no right as regards armed forces, armed police, and arms and ammunitions. Hence the case of Portugal failed. Here, we shall examine only the nature of the issues concerning jurisdiction. They may be divided into two sets, one being based upon the nature of the "declaration" of Portugal, and the other on the reservations made in India's "declaration."

It has already been stated that Portugal's "declaration" was initially for one year and that Portugal reserved a right to withdraw any type of disputes from the jurisdiction of the Court at any time, simply by sending a notice. The "declaration" was made on 19th December, 1955, the case was filed on the 22nd, and India got a copy of the "declaration" after about a month. India made two points. First, the "declaration" was such "that in spirit, the "compulsory" jurisdiction of the Court was not accepted. Portugal purported to reserve a right to terminate or modify to nothingness its "declaration" at her own sweet will. This, India said, was incompatible with the "optional" clause. Portugal then may withdraw any particular dispute from

the jurisdiction of the Court if she feels that the judgment of the Court is likely to go against her. Reservations of this type introduce elements of uncertainty as to the scope of the "declaration" and other member States can never be sure about their own position. India's second point was connected with the right of "reciprocity" given by the Statute. The "declaration" of Portugal was such that she might refuse at any time to accept the jurisdiction of the Court on any dispute. But the reservations in her "declaration" were disclosed to India only after the case had been filed. India argued that if she knew that Portugal had made such wide reservations, she herself might have altered her position, and given herself the same rights that Portugal had reserved for herself. So India claimed that a State should not be entitled to invoke the jurisdiction of the Court in her aid immediately after the filing of her "declaration" with the Secretary-General, but only after other member States have seen a copy of the "declaration" and have had an opportunity to make any change with regard to their own position in relation to that particular State, in the light of the reservation in the "declaration."

On the first point, the Court held that the "optional clause" gave the States the right of terminating or modifying its "declaration" at any point of time, and so Portugal's "declaration" of 19th December, 1955, did not violate the Statute of the I.C.J. On the second point also the Court gave a clear verdict. It held that the Statute had not laid down that there must be a gap of time between the making of a "declaration" and the filing of a case. A State cannot invoke the aid of the Court till it has made a "declaration," but a "declaration" takes effect as soon as it is filed with the Secretary-General. Other member States may not be aware of its contents, but this does not affect the validity or effectiveness of the "declaration."

Now we shall examine the other two points agitated by India which were based upon her own reservations. First, India claimed that whether or not she allowed any foreigner the right of transit over her territories was a matter exclusively of her own domestic concern. In her "declaration" of 1940, she had excluded such matters from the jurisdiction of the Court, and so she urged that this case did not lie. The Court rejected this contention. The Court

observed that here one Sovereign State was claiming a right of passage over the territory of another Sovereign State, and was alleging that the above right was being denied. "In support . . . (Portugal) invokes a Treaty of 1779, of which India contests both the existence and the interpretation. Portugal relies upon a practice of which India contests not only the substance, but also the binding character as between two States which Portugal seeks to attach to it. Portugal further invokes international custom and the principles of international law as it interprets them. To contend that such a right of passage is one which can be relied upon as against India, to claim that such an obligation is binding upon India, to invoke, whether rightly or wrongly, such principles, is to place oneself on the plane of international law . . . To decide upon the validity of those principles, upon the existence of such a right of Portugal as against India, upon such obligation of India towards Portugal, and upon the alleged failure to fulfil that obligation, does not fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of India."<sup>3</sup>

The final preliminary objection of India related to the reservation as to date of the dispute in her "declaration." In her earlier "declaration" of 1930, India stated that she accepted jurisdiction of the Court "over all disputes arising after February 5, 1930, with regard to situation or facts subsequent to that date." India's point was that "the real dispute is with regard to the obligation of India, not with regard to her violation of that obligation; and the source of that dispute is the conflicting views taken by India and Portugal as to the true legal effect of the events from 1779 onwards. Thus put, it is clear that the situation and facts for the purpose of this objection took place prior to 1930."<sup>4</sup> This objection was also overruled by the Court. Answering the question, "what is the subject of the dispute," the Court said that the dispute was made up of three constituents, "(1) the disputed existence of a right of passage in favour of Portugal; (2) the alleged failure of India in July, 1954, to comply with its obligations concerning that right of passage; and (3) the redress of the

illegal situation flowing from that failure" "The dispute before the Court, having this three-fold subject, could not arise until all its constituent elements had come into existence. Among these are the obstacles which India is alleged to have placed in the way of exercise of passage by Portugal in 1954. The dispute, therefore, could not have originated until 1954. Thus it satisfies the time-condition to which the Declaration of India made its acceptance of the jurisdiction of the Court subject."<sup>5</sup>

The Court added, "even if we consider only the part of the dispute relating to the Portuguese claim, which India contests to a right of passage over Indian territory, the position is the same. It is clear . . . that before 1954, passage was effected in a way recognised as acceptable to both sides." The parties had not adopted, prior to 1930, "any clearly defined legal position as against each other"—there had not been even a "conflict of legal views."<sup>5</sup> All that took place in 1954. "Upto 1954, the situation of those territories may have given rise to a few minor incidents, but passage had been effected without any controversy as to the title under which it was effected. It was only in 1954 that such a controversy arose, and the dispute relates both to the existence of a right . . . and to India's failure to comply with obligations which according to Portugal, were binding upon it . . . It was from all of this that the dispute referred to the Court arose; it is with regard to all of this that the dispute exists. This whole whatever may have been the earlier origin of one of its parts, came into existence after . . . 1930."<sup>5</sup> Thus, India's objection relating to the date of origin of the dispute could not be upheld.

The I.C.J. has not been endowed with compulsory jurisdiction over all international disputes. But the "optional clause" is there to develop under it a system of compulsory jurisdiction. The end of international law is the establishment of the Rule of Law, and the World Court is the instrument to achieve it. So much depends on the effectiveness of the Court. The rulings of the Court on jurisdictional questions in this case constitute a long step in the development of a system of compulsory jurisdiction.

3. Page 30 of the Judgment.

4. Dissenting opinion of Judge Chagla, page 110 of the Judgment.

5. Judgment, pages 31-33.

## SUN-WORSHIP IN ANCIENT WORLD

By AMAL SARKAR, M.A., LL.B.

THE worship of the Sun is an outstanding aspect of Sky and Nature worship. Prof. Atkin says that it is difficult 'to find any primitive religion without some reflection of a Sun-cult.' The Sun, it was believed in the remotest age, was the giver of all desirable gifts. The primitive man knows that all the worlds have their origin in the Sun and only in the Sun the life-giving force rests; the withdrawal of Sun's rays and light means death and destruction. Thus by his inherent power of reasoning man began to adore and worship the mighty Sun and there is every justification in the saying that of all objects of Nature, 'the Sun is the first to be worshipped by man.'

In the classical lore of Greece, we find Helios driving the horses of the chariot of the Sun with glorious mastery. The temple of the Sun at Rome housed the spirit from an older temple of the Sun-god at Palmyra. Shamash, the Sun-god, had his temples at Babylon, the ancient Egyptians had their city at Heliopolis, the land of the Sun. The mingled lights and shadows of Sun-worship still fall across India. The Emperor of Japan thinks himself to be a descendant of the Sun and white-robed Fujiyama is his shrine and altar. The aviator-comrade of the Sun himself looks down upon the ruins of the temple of the Sun in the jungles of Peru. The American Indians try to pacify him by offering incense of tobacco smoke. The Mexicans hailed the rising Sun with offering of their own blood. It has never been easy to disentangle an ancient and general Heaven-worship and assign to the Sun some separate adoration. With the march of time the Sun became a hero like Hercules or Samson of prodigious strength and mighty deeds 'to be said and sung around a thousand camp-fires'. The faith, devotion, the liturgies of many religions have associations with the Summer solstice, the term of the Sun in the sky in late December. 'Death and rebirth and resurrection are woven through all this marvellous and enduring fabric, till the phases of the Sun seem to date the supreme spiritual confidences to humanity.' The Christians of the 20th century sing John of Damascus' hymn :

'Tis the spring of souls to-day  
Christ has burst his prison;  
And from three days' sleep in death  
As a sun has risen:

Such music has a long ancestry; perhaps, John himself did not know how much was re-born in Easter or what far-off voices sounded through his lines (21-22).

In ancient Mexico the Sun was the great Chief and was worshipped in March, the vernal equinox time. The image of Totec or Tonatiuh, the Sun-god was adorned with solar symbols in the festival. In Babylon Enlil was the Sun-god but he was the storm-creating Sun. Ninib was the friendly life-giving Sun and Nergal became the noon and mid-summer Sun. But Shamash was finally taken to be the supreme and beneficent Sun-god. He was the only king of judgment busy in dispensing justice (the Moon-god had that office in Egypt); he was also the creator of prosperity and arbiter of fate.

Japan is called 'Nippon' or 'Nihon' meaning 'the Land of the Rising Sun'. The Nichiren (Sun-lotus) sect in Japan finds a sense of identity between the Buddha-reality in the Sun and the truth revealed in the Lotus of the Tone Law. The most honoured of all State shrines before 1945, was the Grand Imperial Shrine at Ise, dedicated to the Sun-goddess Amate-rasu. Ise is situated in the southern part of the mainland, along the Inland Sea, where the ancient culture of Japan originated. In the shrine are placed the "divine Imperial regalia", the three precious symbols of the Sun-goddess—a mirror, a sword and a string of ancient stone jewels.

In China the Supreme God brings his processes into full and equal action in the Sun. In Peru the temple of the Sun in the 'Town of Gold' was the most glorious, the walls were plated with gold. Behind the great altar was a golden plate encrusted with gems—the symbol of the Sun-god and around were seated many of the mummified Inca kings, each on his own throne with sceptre in his hand. In between Huaca cult and the Virarocha worship there was the official Sun-worship of Inti. The Incas

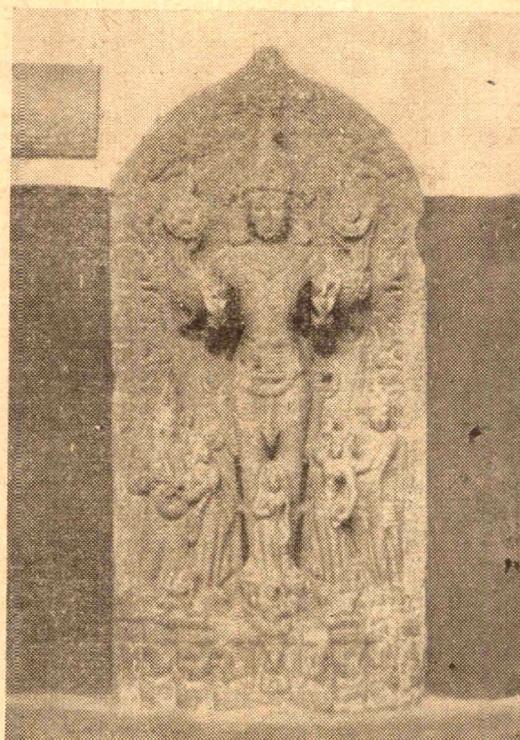
(meaning of the Sun) claimed their divine right of kingship from the all-powerful Sun. Their Sun-god Inti was believed to be a being who suffered and died at each solar eclipse but was re-born each time and was subject to a supreme divinity, the Creator of the universe or Pacha-Kamak whose abode was Hanak-Pachak or heaven. The Incas' Sun-god Inti is usually represented either as a Sun-disc with jaguars' heads or a human-faced Sun-disc with jaguars' heads at each side, and very often with a beard. The greatest and the most sacred of all Incan festivals was the Kapak Raymi or the Birth of the Sun, the Incan New Year. The birth of the Sun ceremonies marked the end of a national holiday of five days' duration. The Inca regarded himself as a 'son of the Sun' and his birthday anniversary was coincident with that of the Sun itself. Architecturally the temple of the Sun is the most remarkable structure in the whole world.

The Mayan Sun-god or Kinich Ahan (Face of the Sun) was also analogous to the Inti of the Incans and was also known as Kinich Kakmo (Fire bird) and was identified with red macaw or Arara (Fire bird). In fact the Mayas were Sun-worshippers and in nearly all of their myths the origin of the race was solar. Different tribes in the Western part of the Plains adopted the Sun-dance which stimulated the Comanche tribe with courage to undertake the annihilation of the Whites.

Among agricultural and gardening peoples Sun, rain and fertility deities are very common. Solstical rites marked the annual crisis of the Sun in the religion of the megalith builders of Neolithic Europe. Mysterious Stonehenge and Avebury in England, and the Cromlechs of Carnac in Brittany are aligned to the rising Sun at the time of the spring solstice, as is the Sun-stone in the famous Sun temple of Mesa Verde National Park, built by Pueblo Indians 700 years ago. In ancient Rome, the solstice rites of the Mithraic cult gave way to the Christian Christmas celebration of the birth of Christ as the new light of the world.

All the religions in the great Central American culture complex are closely connected with the Sun. The Pyramid of the Sun near Mexico city is one of the really great monuments of the people of that locality. The Netchez of Mississippi and the Incas of Peru built theocratic states around the principle of sun divinity.

The all-enveloping power and glory of the Egyptian Sun is a universally admitted fact in the Nile valley. The oldest notion of him goes back to the days when the pre-historic Egyptians were still leading a nomadic life in the Nile valley, when they pictured the Sun-god as a hunter poling or paddling himself across the marshes in a boat made by lashing together two bundles of reeds



Surya with Danda and Pingala  
(Bengal, 11th century A.D.)

'like a catamaran.' Ra or Re was the Sun conceived in human form especially the noon-tide Sun. The rising Sun was Kheperer (represented as a sky-beetle) and the declining Sun was Atum. But the Sun was also a bird (Horus), the high-flying falcon. At Heliopolis (the city of the Sun), in lower Egypt the priests of the Sun-god Atum coalesced him with Ra. He was the power of kings and the Pharaohs of the Pyramid Age (2600-2200 B.C.) assumed the title of 'Son of Ra'. Their obelisks were built as massive symbols of the Sun's rays and the Pharaohs lying in their eternal sleep within the mighty Pyramids (symbols of the Sun), were one with the Sun. The Sun, their father in life, was now their immortal life in death.' In around 1500 B.C. the queen became

The high-priestess of the Sun. By this time Amon, the local god of the Thebes in upper Egypt became one with Ra and the temple of Karnak became the abode of the Sun-god, Amon-Ra (2000 B.C.). 'A divine family was placed around Amon-Ra. Mut, the goddess of Thebes, with vulture head-dress, became his wife and the Moon-god Khonsu, became their son. The ram was his representative among the animals. Before him stood the cobra to signify that he was the king of the gods, and above him was the Sun's winged disc.'

The Sun-god in India was not only the remover of all darkness and gloom but also the stimulator and nourisher of men. He, it is believed, has the "all-seeing eye" witnessing all the good and bad activities of mortals whose daily work starts along with his rise in the morning. The Sun assumes the form of *Brahma* in the morning, *Vishnu* at mid-day and *Siva* in the evening. In the Hindu pantheon the Sun appears under many names: *Surya*, *Savita*, *Vishnu*, *Pusan* and *Mitra*. It may be that at first

these were the names given to the divine Sun by different Nordic tribes but afterwards they seem to have been used to indicate the Sun in different positions and under different aspects. The 'golden-text' of the whole of the *Rigveda* is the famous *Savitri* or *Gayatri* (Sun), the most sacred of all *Vedic* stanzas and the orthodox *Brahmans* repeat the *Gayatri mantram* each day in the morning, at noon and in the evening. *Varahamihira* in the 6th century A.D. refers to the 'spots of the Sun which indicate blessings in the form of good rainfall, or plentiful crop and also foretell evils such as famine, disease, death, war or the loss of a king.' According to some scholars the Sun-god was imported to India from Iran by the Magis, the priestly class of ancient Iran and first worshipped by *Samba* (the grandson of *Krishna*) in Mulasthanpur or Multan and that is why the Sun-god in Northern India wears a northern dress. Now-a-days offering are given to him in association with eight other planets sometimes not represented in images.

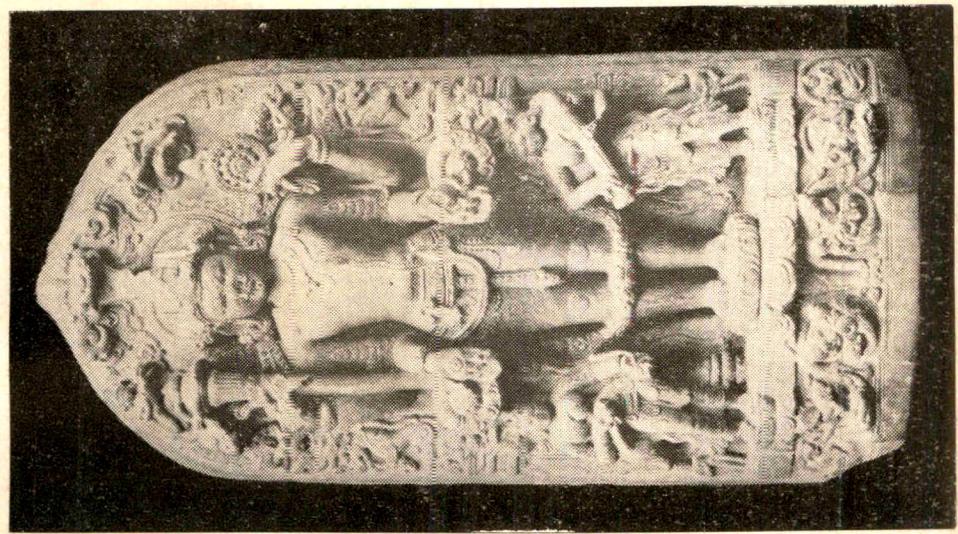
## DISCOVERY OF A DATTATREYA VISHNU IMAGE IN BENGAL

By MRINAL KANTI PAL, M.A.,  
Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University.

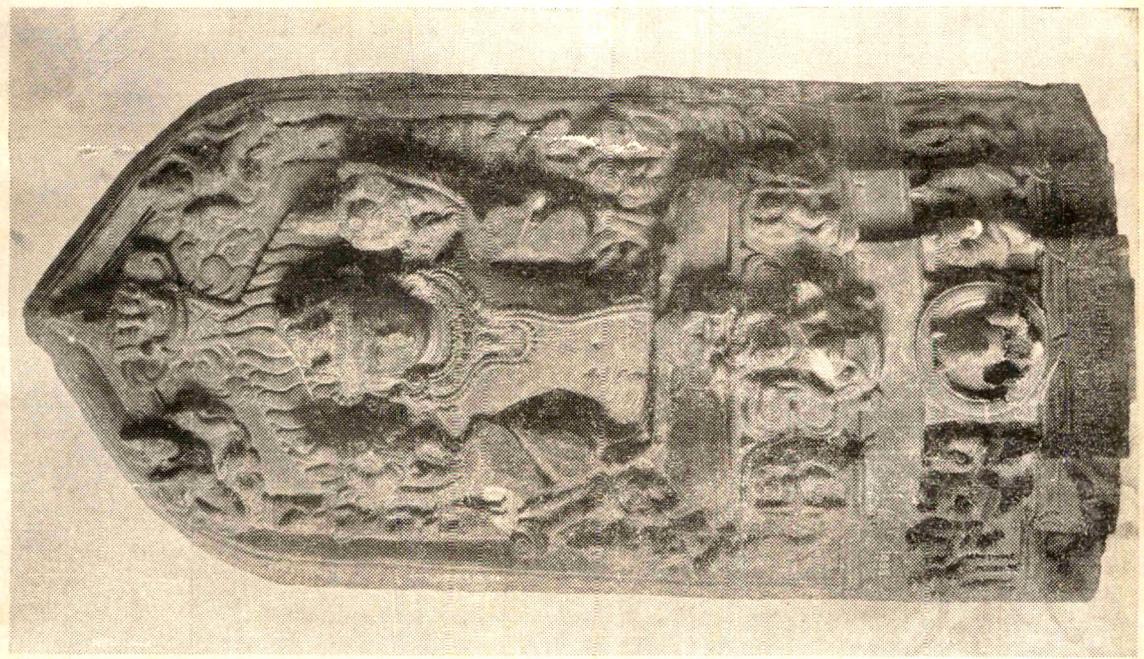
THE Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University has very recently acquired for the first time, a rare and a unique type of *Dattatreya Vishnu* image (2'-10" X 1'-6") from Kaikala in Hooghly district. An enthusiastic local gentleman named Sri Ajit Kumar Sarkar informed the Curator of the Museum that a *Vishnu* image had been found in course of re-excavation of an old tank and subsequently the present writer was sent to the findspot to collect it and carry on systematic exploration in the region of Kaikala. As a result of survey the narrow course of a dried-up river, locally known as *Kausiki* was found out, which, as will be seen may have some connection with the famous *Markandeya Purana* legend concerned with a certain *Brahmana*, a leprous *Kausika*, who was rescued by his chaste, faithful and devoted wife.

The image of *Dattatreya*, finely executed in black stone, is shown standing on a full-bloomed

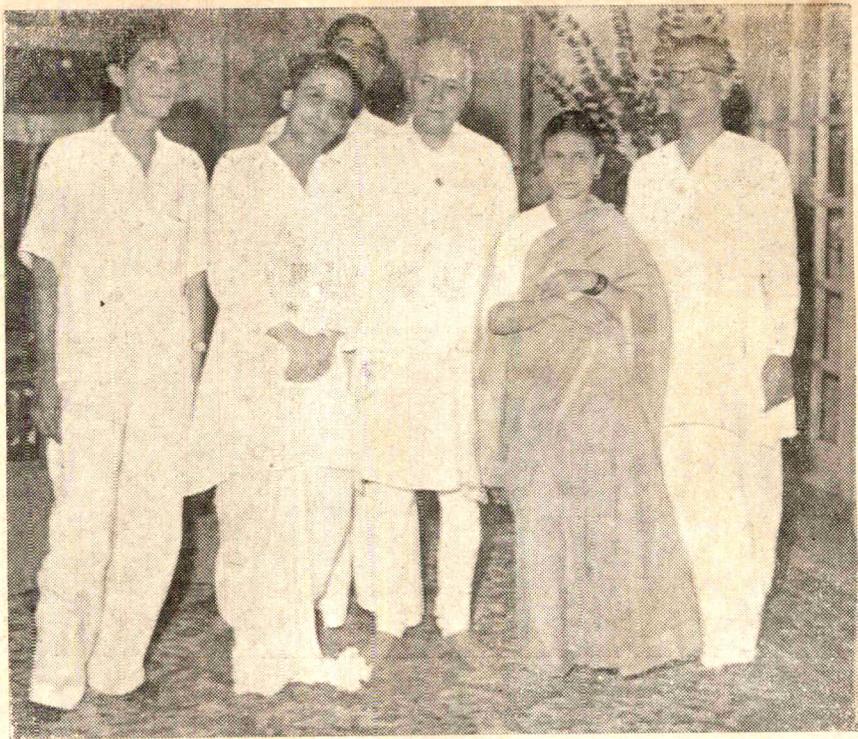
lotus pedestal in *Samapadashthanaka* posture between *Lakshmi* and *Saraswati* posing in beautiful gestures on either side of the main sculpture and at a level with its *Kirita-Mukuta* are shown garland-bearing *Vidyadhara* couples flying among the conventional representation of the clouds. The image is moreover adorned with *Kundalas* (ear-rings) in the ears, with an elaborate *Hara* (necklace) around the neck, with *Yajnopavita* (sacred thread), *Udara-bandhu* (girdle) and *Vanamala* (garland of flowers) around the body and *Keyuras* (armlet) and *Balayas* (bracelet) on the arms, while, the attributes in its lower and upper left and upper and lower right hands are respectively *Sankha* (conch-shell), *Chakra* (wheel), *Gada* (mace) and *Padma* (lotus). On the stele are carved comparatively small figures of *Brahma* (three-headed and bearded) and *Siva* (holding trident by the left hand) seated in *Yoga* postures above the heads-



Vishnu Dattatreya  
(Photo by N. C. Das)



Stone-figure of Surya  
(Bairhatta, Dinajpur, Bengal)



Musicians from Bengal with the Prime Minister at New Delhi



President Eisenhower examines the Discoverer XIII instrument capsule

of *Saraswati* and *Lakshmi* respectively standing to the left and right sides of the central figure. In point of style and execution the image of *Dattatreya Vishnu* may be dated in the 10th-11th century A.D. having a good deal of iconographical similarity with the *Pala* sculptures of the same epoch found in Bengal. Profusion of ornaments and strict simplicity of design coupled with the pointing flame-like halo around the head of the image are typically *Pala* in artistic tradition and tendency.

*Dattatreya* as described in the *Pouranic* texts is one of the minor incarnations of *Vishnu*. "The story of his birth and life is given in details in the *Markandeya Purana*. There was a certain Brahmana, *Kausika*, in the city of *Pratishthana*, who was suffering from leprosy. His wife served him nevertheless as if he was a deity. Once it so happened that the sage *Ani-Mandavya* became annoyed with this leprous *Kausika* and uttered a curse that he should die before the next sunrise. Thereupon his chaste, faithful and devoted wife, relying upon the power of her chastity, ordered the sun not to rise; and for days the sun did not rise. The gods became frightened at this and approached *Anasuya*, the famous wife of *Atri*, and requested her to pacify the wife of the leprous *Kausika* and make the sun rise from day to day as usual. She agreed to do as desired, and went to *Kausika*'s house. There she was received by his wife with all the due rites of hospitality and was asked the purpose of her most welcome visit. On being told that the object of her visit was to allow the sun to rise as before from day to day, she said that she would gladly do so, provided that thereby the threatened death did not befall her lord and master. On being assured of this, she allowed the sun to rise; and he rose. Her husband, however, fell down as if dead, but was immediately revived by *Anasuya* and made healthy, strong and beautiful. The gods became pleased at this, and asked the worthy and honourable wife of the revived and rejuvenated *Kausika* to receive a boon at their hands, to which she readily agreed. And the boon she wanted was that *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Siva*—the gods of the Hindu trinity—should be born as her sons. They were so born; and *Dattatreya* was the incarnation of *Vishnu*. He became in his life famous as an ascetic and great *Yogin*, and is even now considered to be worthy of worship as a god".\* It, is

interesting to point out in this connection that in the *Dattatreya Vishnu* image all of the three gods are shown together, although according to time, place and religious customs prominence is occasionally seen to have been given to one of the gods, with which the devotee is mainly concerned; while the two other deities are found to have been attributed comparatively less importance in their execution. And it is for this reason that in the image of *Dattatreya Vishnu* from Kaikala the figure of *Vishnu* has been shown larger than *Siva* and *Brahma* who are obviously seen to have belonged to the accessory group of deities appearing on the stele. According to Prof. D. P. Ghosh, Curator of the Museum, "the Kaikala find probably indicates that in the 10th-11th Century A.D. there had been prevalence of *Dattatreya Vishnu* worship in the Hooghly region and it is not unlikely that the findspot may have concealed beneath its soil the ruins of a *Dattatreya* temple."

Trinity images are very rare in Bengal as they are generally characteristic of the Deccan. Outside Bengal *Dattatreya* images have also been discovered in Halebid, Ajmer and Badami.† According to some scholars such conception of trinity worship was also in vogue among the *Kalochuris* of Central India and in course of time this tradition retained a firm footing in the religious life of ancient Bengal. In this respect the recently discovered *Dattatreya Vishnu* image from Kaikala may, therefore, be taken to be a convincing proof of the close cultural relations that developed between Bengal and the Deccanese kingdoms including other regions of Western and Central India at least in the 10th-11th century A.D.

A general survey of the physical features of Kaikala and its surrounding regions as well as careful study of its recent archaeological finds may prove that like other neighbouring rivers the present dried-up river *Kausiki* was also once the venue of culture and civilisation of ancient Bengal. It is of course interesting to point out in this connection that the river bears a very significant name reminding us of the famous *Markandeya Purana* legend which may have

\*T. A. Gopinath Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I., Part I, P.p. 251-252.

†*Ibid*, pl. LXXII, figs. 1 and 2 also cf. pl. LXXIII.

persisted among the people through the ages. It should be noted here that there still survives a particular section of the Brahmanas in the *Radha* regions, who bearing the *Kausika gotra* claims their descent from Kusika. The discovery of the *Dattatreya Vishnu* image at Kaikala lying on Bengal.

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## METRIC SYSTEM AND THE SCHOOL SYLLABUS

By ANIL KUMAR ACHARYA,  
*Joint Secretary, Indian Decimal Society.*

THREE years ago the decimal coinage was introduced in India and no one to-day seriously contests its advantages. Accounts and calculations in all offices, both in public and private sectors are now being done in terms of the new coinage. Its inherent simplicity and resultant economy in time and labour have been proved beyond doubts. In spite of initial difficulties the people adopted the new coinage with remarkable ease and alacrity. As such the new system is now well-established.

The reform of the coinage was, however, only a precursor to the bigger reform of weights and measures. With a view to simplify the endless variety of weights and measures at present prevalent in India, the metric system of weights and measures was introduced in India from October, 1958. For the present the new system has been introduced in the sphere of weights only in selected areas, undertakings and government departments, but it will be extended, step by step, to the whole of India and all the existing units for weights, linear and liquid measures will be gradually replaced by the new units within the next few years. With this end in view elaborate preparations are now going on. Administrative machineries have also been set up and adjusted to suit the new reform.

The fact, however, remains that our children in schools are being denied the benefit of the new system, inasmuch as school syllabi of Arithmetic written on the basis of the old coins, weights and measures still continue. Not only that, children in primary schools are still now taught the tables of *Subhankari*, *Kara*, *Kranti*, *Gāda*, *Buri* and many other useless things which have no practical application in life. As

a result the younger learners are being compelled to drag on the irksome burden of heterogeneous syllabi getting more and more complicated through the introduction of conversion tables, double coins, etc. This already too heterogeneous and complicated syllabus is going to be a serious strain on our little boys and girls and unless immediate steps are taken to relieve them, the result will be disastrous. In order to eliminate unnecessary labour and wastage of time and energy of our future citizens it is, therefore, essential that the school syllabus for Arithmetic should be completely revised and re-written immediately, more emphasis being given on the new system in the Secondary stage. In the case of beginners and students of primary schools, there is absolutely no necessity for the old system. For, by the time they grow up, we have already had done with the old system completely.

In drawing up the revised syllabus for the *primary classes* reference to the old system of coins and measures should be completely eschewed. No more examples and exercises should be expressed in terms of *rupees*, *annas*, *maunds*, *seers*, *chhataks*, etc. Reference to the British units of coins, weights and measures should also be carefully avoided. As the students will no longer be required to learn the tables of *Subhankar* and *Dharapat* with all their paraphernalia, there will be a considerable saving of time in teaching Arithmetic in primary classes. In the Bangalore session of the Indian Science Congress Association, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis drew the attention of our countrymen to this vital point. By a practical demonstration he proved that at least 20 per cent of the time required for teaching Arithmetic

in primary classes on the basis of the existing syllabus could be saved by the adoption of the decimal coinage, weights and measures. Viewed from the perspective of the millions of young learners going to school, the value and the psychological effect of this saving are tremendous.

The surplus time and the vacuum in the teaching schedule which will be caused if the *Subhankari* and *Dharapat* tables are discarded, may be effectively utilised by the introduction of a graded syllabus, based entirely on the new system and carefully drawn up to meet the requirements of the present age.

#### *The Revised Syllabus*

In drawing up the revised syllabus it should be borne in mind that the primary course is meant for infants and children who have to furnish the considerable effort of learning to read and write. Accordingly the instruction in Arithmetic should be very simple and presented in such a way that the children are attracted and find it very easy to pick up. Since the very purpose of the infant course is to induce the children primarily to observe, compare, question and express themselves the beginners should first be taught the concrete study of numbers from 1 to 100 in different stages (1 to 5, 5 to 10, 10 to 20, etc.,) with the help of marbles, small sticks, etc. After the child has thus acquired a preliminary concept of numbers, he should be taught formation and decomposition and then to express in writing numbers 1 to 100. After the child has learnt this much, he should be taught the utilisation of 1, 2, 5 and 10 naye paise pieces and their relation with one another. He should also be taught how to write rupees and naye paise together with the help of decimal points. Thereafter, he should be taught the place-value system of digits and simple additions, subtractions, multiplications and divisions of one and then two-figure numbers. Very simple mental enumerations of the four simple rules with familiar examples taken from daily life should also be encouraged.

In the next stage the study of the standard units of the metric system, *viz.*, *metre*, *decimetre*, *hectometre*, *kilometre*, *gram*, *decigram*, *centigram*, *milligram*, *litre*, *decilitre*, *centilitre*, *hectolitre*, etc., should be introduced without using the decimal point. Simultaneously, the tables of months, days, hours and minutes should also be taught.

In the next stage the initiation into the decimal system should be developed by the introduction of decimal numbers together with the theoretical and practical units of money, length, distance, weight and volume. The child has already learnt the individual units and generally their relation with one another. Here at this stage the only change is the introduction of the decimal point. In other words, the child will now have to master the metric units as a coherent system, possessing a basic unit from which are derived, through multiplication or division by 10 all the multiples and submultiples in everyday use. The student has already learned to express say, 3 kilogram, 7 hectogram, 5 decagram, 4 gram or 3 kilogram, 754 grams. He will now have to see that 3 kilogram, 7 hectogram 5 decagram, 4 gram may be written more easily as 3.754 kilogram, just as he should express 2 metre, 6 decimetre, 7 centimetre, 3 millimetre as 2.673 metre or 26.73 decimetre, or 267.3 millimetre. When a student has acquired a clear knowledge of the system in this way and has mastered the technique of converting one unit to another upward and downward the rules of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division as applied to these measures and simple problems based on these units should be carefully taught.

In the next and last stage simple fractions, L.C.M., G.C.M., factors, average calculations, study of simple geometrical figures, practical exercises of longitudinal measurement in centimetres, etc., simple problems of uniform movement and short-time placements, exercises on simple problems of area, etc., should be introduced. The children should also be taught how to convert fractions into decimal numbers and *vic versa* ( $6/100=6\% = 0.06$ ). Here the curriculum of Arithmetic for primary courses should end.

It is needless to say that every effort should be made to give the mode of teaching a predominantly practical character. The main defect of our existing system of education is that it is more theoretical than practical. Even higher scientific education in our country is not absolutely free from this defect. As a result we have enough of "bookish theories". This bias should have to be rectified and the whole character of the education will have to be changed.

For practical formation of concepts right

from the beginning every school should have a full set of decimal coins, metric weights and measures, especially litre mugs of different capacities, and a metre stick with centimetre and millimetre marks. The length, breadth and area of each class-room in terms of metric units should be prominently displayed on a small board inside the class-room and every student should be encouraged to find out by actual measurement whether the figures written on the board are confirmed by his own findings. Similarly a Badminton court in the school compound should, if possible, be demarcated so as to help boys in forming practical concepts regarding area in the metric units.

The Union Public Service Commission has announced that with effect from 1960, the papers on Arithmetic and Mensuration for every examination for which these are the prescribed

subjects may include questions on the metric system of weights and measures. In view of the foregoing decision of the Union Public Service Commission the introduction of the decimal coinage, weights and measures should be expedited even in the Secondary stage of schooling. In order to ensure a complete break with the old system after 1960, no student should be made to learn Arithmetic based on the old system of coins, weights and measures.

The task of revision of school syllabus is not easy. But the initial difficulties are not insurmountable. The Government of India has already adopted the decimal coinage, weights and measures and the day is not far off when the use of these decimal units in every branch of our life will be mandatory. And the sooner the school syllabus is revised and adopted to the new system, the better for all concerned.

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## THE EARTH'S HEAT

By V. MOYEV

In 1738

A fierce wind obliterated the tracks of the Dog-sled. Krasheninnikov hugged his fur coat closer around him as he thought of the stuffy, crowded St. Petersburg taverns. A cup of tea was just what he needed now. There was no other way to get warm in this wilderness. Except for . . . Could the tales he had heard about the miracles of nature in this region be true?

He found they were true. There, amidst the sparkling white snow, he saw green grass and bright mounds of red, yellow and blue clay. Warm puddles bubbled underfoot. Jets of boiling water shot up with a roar from the cracks in the cliffs. Steam billowed and covered the surroundings in a hazy mist. It seemed that fate had brought the traveller to the secret nest of all clouds which then scattered about the Earth.

Krasheninnikov threw off his clothes, bathed in the stream, and then found a boiling spring in which he cooked some meat. Far below he could hear his Kamcha-

dal guides calling to each other in guttural voices. Tribal superstitions kept them away from "the forbidden place".

All this took place in 1738. The Great Northern Expedition explored the seas, the rivers and the forest trails of Eastern Russia. In the Kamchatka Peninsula Stepan Krasheninnikov, in charge of one of the expedition's groups, discovered hot springs, which periodically threw up fountains of boiling water and steam.

Hitherto, Iceland had been the only country that was known to have such springs; later they were discovered in New Zealand and North America. Scientists called them geysers, after the famous Great Geyser of Iceland.

The strange springs quickly won fame. Travellers called the terraces they washed out in New Zealand the eighth wonder of the world. The Yellowstone National Park owes its fame to its geysers, and the steady stream of tourists to Iceland can be explained by the same reason.

### Attention, Man!

This strange natural phenomenon amazed not only lovers of exotic sights, but scientists as well. Indeed, is it not strange that hot fountains suddenly begin to play as if on schedule, at a definite minute and hour! A geologist once said, "It's like exclamation marks!" It was as if nature had decided to say, "Attention, man! Try to puzzle out my secret. You, who worship the sun's heat, look underfoot and take what lies so near—the Earth's heat."

Hot springs occur in various parts of the world, regardless of whether there is a subtropical sky above or the light of the **Aurora Borealis**. The only significant feature of their "location" is the fact that they always lie in close proximity to volcanoes. Iceland, for instance, is a volcanic island by origin. Its people call it "the queen with an icy tiara and a fiery heart".

The geography of geysers has completely puzzled scientists. It seemed self-evident that the volcanoes were the water's source of heat. It was, besides, discovered that the hot springs were found in regions with rich deposits of coal and oil, which, oxidizing underground, create heat centres. This only corroborated the hypothesis that the water was heated by local sources of high temperature. The prevalent opinion was that there were very few hot springs among the underground waters.

However—and how many paradoxes there are in science!—the opposite proved to be true. Geologists were the ones to discover this fact. As soon as the turbodrills went really deep, it became clear that there was an abundance of hot water.

Far beneath the surface of the Earth lie the basic ores, and, at first glance, it would seem that those which lie closer to the surface present a picture of complete chaos. Centuries of cataclysms have jumbled and confused the various layers. It is no easy job for geologists to decipher the hodge-podge of depressions, cupolas, monoliths and hollows. But a small drop of dew travels freely through them, its fluidity is its pass.

The process whereby moisture becomes heated in the Earth's bowels is quite under-

standable: it is a known fact that the farther down the Earth's surface, the higher the temperature, and it usually rises three degrees per hundred yards, finally reaching extremely high levels. Scientists still do not agree on the origin of the Earth's heat, but it is a fact that this heat serves as a super-boiler for underground water.

### Enormous Resources

The Soviet Union's resources of hot or thermal waters, as hydrogeologists call them, are enormous. There are tremendous reservoirs of hot water in the Kamchatka Peninsula, in the Caucasus and Central Asia, where, at depths of from 3,000 to 10,000 feet—and sometimes considerably less—the temperature of water is 100° to 150°. Hot springs shoot up in the permafrost regions of the Kolima and Chukotka Peninsula. Geological reconnaissance teams have discovered vast underground reservoirs in various parts of the country. One of them—the West Siberian reservoir, covers an area of over 1,200,000 square miles, which is more than the surface of the Mediterranean and Black Seas combined.

There is natural boiling water everywhere. True, in order to find water with a temperature of 150°C. in Stavropol, wells of 5,000-6,000 feet must be bored; in Daghestan they must be 6,000-9,000 feet deep, and in Byelorussia 15,000-18,000 feet. However, our drillers do not quake at such figures: Soviet technology is as famous for piercing the depths of the Earth as it is for storming the skies. Plans are now being drawn up for drilling wells 30,000 to 45,000 feet deep.

The most far-reaching present-day discoveries and plans are all, in one way or another, tied up with the problems of heat and energy. Scientists are thinking of ways in which to use the heat of outer space, they are for ever extending the boundaries of the "Earth's" energies. The atom is "burning up" in boilers. Engineers have made waves, the tides, the surf, and the wind—energy which formerly moved only the mills of poetry—work for them. Without exaggeration, one can now place the Earth's thermal hydro-resources side by side with the new and mighty sources of energy.

The hot waters are useful deposits, and, unlike all other deposits, they are inexhaustible, as they are for ever being renewed through the natural cycle of water.

The Earth's heat can be put to numerous uses. Underground water, for example, can be used for heating homes, hot-houses and plantations. Natural steam can successfully compete with artificial steam in turning the turbines of electric power stations. It may also be noted that underground water often shoots up from cracks under pressure of dozens of atmospheres. This hydraulic energy can also be turned into electric power. As a rule, water deep in the soil is enriched by various mineral salts, bringing up iodine, bromine, boric and carbonic acids, helium and lithium up to the surface of the Earth. In many cases, therefore, hot water springs possess great medicinal properties, and have been used for centuries for curing difficult and chronic diseases.

This is far from all. These are merely salient points.

### The Challenge

Man has known the use of thermal waters for centuries. Judging by the remains of settlements archaeologists uncovered beside the Caucasian hot springs, the wild tribes of the Bronze Age who knew all the joys of a warm bath. The Romans have never been excelled in their luxurious baths, built around hot springs.

The ancients knew how to derive chemicals from these underground waters. Etruscan potters made lacquers for their vases, Florentine wool carders made vitriol and alum from them.

It was, however, not until our century that thermal waters were seen as a major source of power. There are already geothermal power stations in Italy and New Zealand. In Iceland, several years ago every child was given a precious gift—a banana grown in his native land: the ovens deep underground took over the functions of a tropical sun.

Soviet scientists have shown great

interest in the hydro-resources of the Earth.

Soviet hydrogeologists are at work all over the country, computing resources and comparing them with the needs of the economy. The laboratories of Hydrogeological Problems and Volcanology of the Academy of Science of the USSR have made recommendations for utilizing underground waters for various needs in different parts of the country. They have specified the regions where complex use can be made of these waters and located sites for goethermic electric power stations on Kamchatka Peninsula, in Daghestan and the Tajik, USSR. A list has been drawn up of approximately fifty towns which could be heated by natural means. Among these are Stalingrad, Tashkent, Baku, Omsk, Krasnodar, Yaroslavl and others.

At Makhachkala, in the Caucasus, underground water is now used in industry and for heating buildings. Scientists of the Daghestan Branch of the Academy of Science are working on a project for a geothermal electric power station and drawing up plans for complex use of the Earth's heat. Moreover, in the Caucasus, underground water is used for manifold needs.

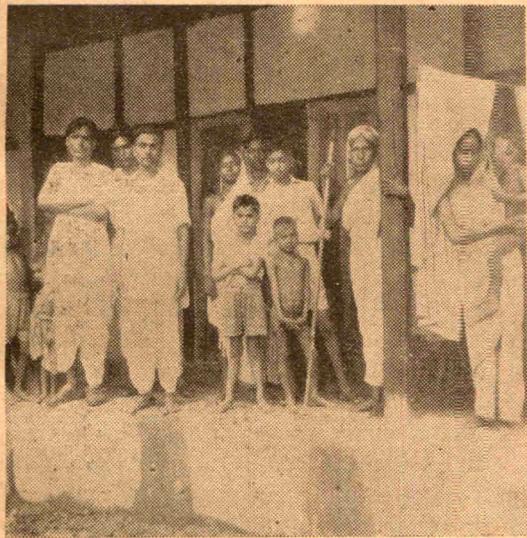
Preparations are under way at the opposite end of the country, on Kamchatka Peninsula, to build the first electric power station in that area driven by underground steam.

Hot springs are used to various extent in different countries. However, the experience gained so far on a world scale can only be considered as a small beginning, and mankind is as yet merely on the threshold of geo-energetics. But the challenge has been sounded, and man is boldly harnessing the primeval heat of his planet, to which all that is living owes its existence. In time, perhaps, water will fade into the background and its place will be taken by more modern "developers" of underground energy. Whatever the case, the Earth's heat will become a dependable aid to mankind. Specialists have calculated that it alone can replace all the fuel resources of the Earth's crust and atmosphere.

## ASSAM TRAGEDY AND ITS INNER STORY

By BIRENDRA CHANDRA PURKAYASTHA,  
*Ex-Secretary, Cachar District Congress Committee.*

ASSAM is the Easternmost province of India lying between longitudes  $90^{\circ}$  to  $97^{\circ}$  and latitudes  $22^{\circ}$  to  $29^{\circ}$  and has an area of 85,012 square miles and a population of 9,043,707. Though in area, it is roughly thrice the size of West Bengal, its strength of population is less than one-third



Evicted women yearn for home

of what West Bengal possesses. The present anti-Bengali movement in Assam is not a sporadic and momentary outburst, as one is led by the interested quarters to believe. It is a long-drawn history created by our foreign rulers and the proselytizing missionaries, with which unbalanced Ashamiya jingoism willingly co-operated and lastly since 1947, the Indian National Congress and the Congress Government of Indian Union, have unwittingly extended their helping hand to it, without realising the fact that the multi-racial region of Assam, always requires a watchful attention of the Centre and the charge of its Government should not be completely handed over to a particular community of doubtful capacity.

The depredation of the present anti-Bengali riot is much more greater and wider than what has appeared in Calcutta Press. The All-India Congress and its party Government at the Centre, without making any attempt at the proper assessment of the present Bengali genocide, are deli-

berately following a campaign of under-estimation and minimization. As per survey of the Congress President, there were twenty deaths and the number of persons affected amounted to twenty thousand. This is the total toll of the present riot and according to his statements still, the Bengali Press of Calcutta carries on a virulent propaganda of exaggeration. As per report of the Assam Finance Minister, as placed in the latest meeting of the Congress Working Committee, three houses were burnt in Assam and they all belonged to the Assamese. Besides, there is a feeble but pernicious attempt by the Assam Government to convince the public that the riot was started by the Bengalis. It is natural that the Assam Government, guilty as it is, will try to plead its innocence. But one cannot follow, why our Central Government, far from taking up the just cause of the unmerited Bengali sufferers, are following a policy of oscillation and vacillation, where firm determination is the dire need of the hour.



Victims anxious about their relations

Evidences are forthcoming to show that earlier in the month of May, feverish preparation for a riot was made by the Assamese. Even in Shillong, the Capital of Assam, the over-zealous Ashamiyas carried on street demonstration in May last, demanding 'Assamese' as the State language of Assam, which was later on protested

by a counter-demonstration of the Khasis and the Bengalis. The State Government, as well as the Central Government, was aware of what ominous ill-feeling and hatred was brewing all over Assam. But no precautionary measure was taken up by any of these two authorities. The actual push for the riot, in Upper Assam, however, came from Sibsagar, the boastful seat of the Ashamiya culture. It was reported in early June, that a secret meeting was held at night in a school at Sibsagar under the auspices of the Teachers' Association, where it was decided to take immediate action against the Bengalis. On the day following a students' strike was organised at Sibsagar and batches of students and youths were sent to Jorhat, Dibrugarh and other adjoining areas to communicate the decision of the

rup) on 3rd July. An Ashamiya mob, of 15,000 raided the shops and houses of the Bengali shop-keepers, with guns and other dangerous weapons. The whole area was ransacked. Nine Bengalis died on the spot and innumerable Bengalis were wounded and crippled.

At Gauhati, Kamrup, the students took the most aggressive part in hooliganism. All political parties also actively participated in the orgies of violence. The whole administrative machinery of Assam, acted as abetter and occasional participator in the unholy mission. Serious allegations of open participation by the Ashamiya police have been made by the sufferers. The police played another mischievous role. Where the Bengalis lived in a group and were in a position to defend themselves, it was the police who first appeared in the scene, arrested the able-bodied youths and then let loose the hooligans on the remaining Bengalis, who were then rendered unable to protect themselves. It cannot be imagined how demoniac and furious were the atrocities of the miscreants. The Bengali District Officer of Kamrup was stabbed by the Ashamiya mob and the same group assaulted the Bengali Deputy Inspector-General of Police of Assam. Act of dishonour was publicly done to Bengali women. Children were deliberately consigned to burning fire. It is also published in the press that some helpless children were bound hand and foot and then thrown into water. Another pathetic story has appeared in the Press, narrating how an innocent eleven year old girl was killed when she was taking her food with a few relations. Incidents are too many to narrate.



An oppressed woman praying for justice

meeting. On the 14th July, riot started at Sibsagar with the looting of Bengali shops and assault on the Bengali males and females. On the 15th July, all Ashamiya political parties called a public meeting where Bengalis were also invited. In the meeting a resolution recommending Assamese as the State language of Assam was unanimously adopted, which the Bengalis also supported. Unfortunate as it is, this support to the Ashamiya cause, did not save the Bengalis from the depredation of the aggressive Ashamiyas. In lower Assam (Kamrup, Nowgong and Goalpara) the riot first started at Goreswar Bazar (North Kam-

Due to lack of any impartial enquiry, it is very difficult to form a correct estimate of the casualties of the riot. On the basis of various press reports and the data, I have collected from the affected persons and their relations, I make the following assessment :—(1) Death—600 to 700. (2) Cases of dishonour of women, 300 to 400. (3) Incidents of assault, wound, grievous hurt and disability of limbs—4,000 to 5,000 and the number of persons affected by loot, arson and devastation of property—50,000. In 1919, the All India Congress instituted a public enquiry into the atrocities committed by General Dyer at Jalianwallabagh, Punjab. But such bold step cannot be expected of the same Congress which is in power now. But where the Congress and its

party Government fail, the courageous public may step up. It is highly desirable that eminent jurists, men of letters and leading social workers should set up a non-party committee to enquire into the carnage of Assam. Every sensible person wants that the true picture of Assam be brought to light.

#### *Relation Between Assam and Assamese*

The Assamese are one of the many races inhabiting the present State of Assam and they constitute a minority group only. The present Assam is much bigger than the old Kingdom of the Ahoms, from whom the British took over the region in the 19th century. The old Kingdom of the Ahoms comprised the plains of Assam Valley, consisting mostly the present districts of :—(1) Lakhimpur, (2) Sibsagar, (3) Darrang, (4) Kamrup and (5) Nowgong. The Hill regions of Assam were ruled by their chieftains and Rajas. The district of Goalpara was under the Cooch Kings in the 16th century. Since 1613, it formed a part of Bengal. The district of Sylhet was under Bengal since the 12th century. After the annexation of the Ahom Kingdom in the 19th century, the British pushed further into the adjoining hills of Assam and plains of Sylhet and thus occupied a very big area in the Eastern region. In 1874, they created the present province of Assam with (1) Ahom Kingdom, (2) Hill areas adjoining Assam, (3) Cachar and the adjoining hill region and (4) to this area were added the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara, then forming a part of Bengal, for efficient administration of the newly-created province. So the British Assam is quite different from what the Assamese meant and called "Assam" in the pre-occupation period.

#### *Assam in Post-Occupation Period*

In pre-occupation period Assam had some link with India through Bengal. The Ahoms who migrated from Shan States of Burma to Assam in the 13th century, were non-Hindus. When they ascended the throne of Assam, they, at their own initiative embraced Hinduism. Some Goswamis (*Vaishnava Brahmins*) were invited by the Ahom King for his initiation to Hinduism. Before and after the advent of the Ahoms many *Brahmins* and *Kayasthas* from Bengal

came to Assam. Sankar Deb, the great *Vaishnava Preacher* of Assam, was the great-grandson of a Bengali *Kayastha*, who migrated to Assam. *Brahmins* and *Kayasthas* of Assam are mostly of Bengali origin and Bengali blood is also tangibly visible in other strata of the Ashamiya society. But association of the Bengalis with the Assamese



Sufferers worried about their future became closer during British rule, mostly because of the inclusion of the populous Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet in Assam.

#### *Indian Nationhood in Assam*

Two important holy places, *viz.*, *Kamakhya Pitha* and *Parasuram Kunda* lie in Assam. Inheritance in Assam is determined by the Bengali system of *Daybhag*. The Assamese also follow the Bengalee *Smriti* (Law of Social Code). But in spite of these affinities, Assam's cultural link with the rest of India is superficial. It is due to the following causes :—(1) It lies in the remotest Eastern corner of India and is separated from the rest of India by a belt of hills. Various races living here have not properly assimilated Indian culture, though the Assamese of the plains ostensibly profess Indian religion and culture. The expansion of Indian civilisation in this inaccessible remote corner is slow and tardy. The British at first, for the convenience of administration, created an unifying atmosphere in this heterogeneous region. But later on, sensing the danger of Indian national-

ism, which was pulsating through Bengal, they began to follow a policy of separation and alienation. Bengali was the virtual *lingua franca* of this Eastern region. Some hundred years ago, in their communication with the outside world, the Khasi Chieftains used to write in Bengali. Due to the missionary influence all the hill tribes now write their own dialects in Roman script. If they had their education in Bengali script, which was natural for them, they could with a little effort read the books of Rabindranath, Sarat Chandra and other notable litterateurs of Bengal.

Some fifty years ago, the Assamese boys were taught in Bengali. Then an over-night change for the Assamese language came through the British endeavours and our Calcutta University also recognised Assamese as the medium of instruction in Assam valley. But what is Assamese language? It is rather somewhat akin to colloquial form of Bengali tongue in Assam valley. It is written in Bengali script and is spoken barely by two and a half million people. Its vocabulary consists of innumerable Bengali words. In the year 1933, while in Jorhat jail I found, many ordinary Assamese prisoners, with rudimentary education, who could read the Bengali Ramayana with ease. Of course there was some difference in pronunciation and intonation. Any disinterested educated non-Bengali, who knows both Bengali and Assamese will admit that modern Assamese literature is greatly influenced by Bengali literature. It may, therefore, be surmised that the real issue behind the present Bengali genocide is not the establishment of Assamese as the State language of Assam. It is rooted to somewhere else.

#### *Fissiparous Tendency in Assam*

The hill people of Assam have been successfully alienated by the British rulers and the missionaries. The root of the recent Naga troubles is mainly the mischievous propaganda of the missionaries. The Assamese ruling party has added fuel to the fire by neglecting the economic interests of the Nagas. Our Prime Minister was right in saying, "What is the independence of the Nagas? They are the citizens of independent India." But he could not implement his decision and has now submitted to the Nagas, by yielding to their demand

for the creation of a separate Nagaland. Other Hill tribes have recently submitted a memorandum, demanding separate Hill States. The Indian Nationalism is also at a very low ebb among the Assamese. The 'Ahom Jatiya Mahasabha', an organisation of the Assamese, openly supported the Naga rebellion. The same *Mahasabha* has expressed that in time, Assam would become a sovereign state like Burma. An Assamese English Daily (which is presumably edited by an educated Assamese) editorially commented that Cachar (a Bengali-speaking District of Assam, adjacent to the Pakistan territory of Sylhet), should for the convenience of Assam, be handed over to Pakistan. The Assamese ruling party, though a minority, is running the affairs of the State with a parochial outlook, itself absorbing all opportunities, denying legitimate share to the majorities.

#### *Position of Bengalis in Assam subsequent to transfer of Sylhet to East Pakistan*

So long as Sylhet formed a part of Assam, the position of the Bengalis in Assam was secure. On the eve of Independence, late Gopinath Bardoloi, the ex-Chief Minister of Assam, proposed to Sri Nehru and Sardar Patel, that the Bengali-speaking district of Sylhet, which had a Muslim majority, should be transferred to Pakistan and they readily accepted his proposal, without realising its inner meaning. Sylhet, undoubtedly, had a slight Muslim majority. But Muslims of Sylhet were not very communal in their outlook. The nationalist Muslims of Sylhet controlled 40 per cent of the total Muslim votes in their election contest with Muslim Leaguers. With fair support of the National Government, they could improve their position much better. Besides, Bengali Hindus of Sylhet were a sturdy group. But due to colossal neglect of our Central Government, this district was handed over to Pakistan under a faked referendum, conducted by the self-same Bardoloi, who proposed its transfer to Pakistan. It was in August, 1947. After transfer of Sylhet to Pakistan, the Assamese ruling party carried on administration most wantonly, denying the legitimate rights and privileges to the Bengalis and other groups. It put all obstacles to the entry of the suffering Hindu refugees, while connived at irregular infiltration of lakhs of Muslim

Leaguers from Bengal. Malpractices were adopted in enumeration in the census of 1951. While many Hindus were omitted from census enumeration in Cachar, the Bengalis of Assam Valley were coerced to register themselves as Assamese. Due to this abuse of power, the Census Report of 1951 showed an increase of the Assamese population by 250% over the figures of 1931. On flimsy grounds, Bengali students were denied stipends and scholarships which they were otherwise entitled on the consideration of merit. Many complaints were put up before the Centre, which was found impervious to argument and reason. Centre's twelve years' inaction and passive support since 1948, so grossly emboldened the Assamese that they had at last plunged into a large-scale diabolical genocide against the Bengalis. And still the Centre does not appear to have mustered sufficient courage to tackle the situation. It is minimizing the magnitude of depredation and intends to shield the guilty on the plausible ground that any stern action by the Centre will worsen the situation. One cannot awake a person, who is not really asleep but feigns sleepy. But the public must be conscious about the disastrous effect of such acquiescence to widespread hooliganism, committed by the ruling party of a State.

Indian nationalism and independence is at stake in this Eastern region. Assam, with a population of 9 million, composed of at least

twenty-five diverse races and clans, occupies a very important place in free India. What she badly needs today, is a strong Central rule with an impartial programme of economic improvement for its diverse clans and groups accompanied by a scheme of educational and cultural improvement of its inhabitants, with special stress on the removal of the prevalent insular jingoism. While setting up agricultural and industrial economy, special attention should be paid to the soil and environments. This kind of planning will produce best possible result and will also make a community of one region dependent upon the people of another region. This inter-dependence will foster mutual trust and regard and will also create an unifying and cohesive force within the hearts of the various groups. After a spade-work for a period of two or three years, the Centre, will, in consultation with different groups, decide whether Assam is to be divided into two or more States or to remain in one State, with two or three quasi-autonomous zones. But the task is not so easy. At least a programme of ten years should be chalked out and followed with impartiality, broadness and strong determination.

#### *Linguistic Survey of Assam*

How hollow is the Assamiya claim for linguistic majority will be evident from the following statistics :

Year	Total population of Assam	Assamese		Bengalis		Others	
		No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
1911	7,061,034	1,532,000	21.7%	3,225,000	45.6%	2,304,034	32.7%
1921	7,790,775	1,726,000	22%	3,526,000	45.3%	2,538,775	32.7%
1931	9,248,397	1,982,120	21.5%	3,954,435	42.9%	3,311,302	35.6%

It may be seen from the above statistics that from 1911 to 1931, the Bengalis were always twice as many as the Assamese.

*Linguistic Position in 1941* : There was no linguistic survey in 1941. But the population

Year	Total population of Assam	Assamese		Bengalis		Others	
		No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
1941	10,930,388	2,350,032	21.5%	4,678,203	42.9%	3,902,153	35.6%

*Linguistic Position in August, 1947 (after fateful transfer of Sylhet to East Pakistan) :*

In 1947, the major portion of the Bengali-speaking District of Sylhet, with a population of 2.32 million was transferred to East Pakistan. The state of Manipur severed her connection with Assam. But the transfer of Sylhet did not disturb the population position of Assam Valley (not Assam). Let us first ascertain the Bengali population of Assam Valley on the Valley ratios. To the figure thus obtained, by addition of the Bengali population of Cachar and the retained area of Sylhet, we may find out the total Bengali population of the partitioned Assam. Other linguistic groups being unaffected by the partition, may be easily ascertained on the basis of ratios of 1931. It may be noted that 23 per cent was the ratio of the Bengalis of the total population of Assam Valley in 1941.

*Bengali Population of Assam after partition :*

(1)	23% of Assam Valley Population (1941) of 5,919,228	— 1,358,401
(2)	Population of retained area of Sylhet .. ..	— 291,320
(3)	Bengalis of Cachar (being 75% of total population of 641,181 of 1941) .. ..	— 480,785
		<hr/>
		2,130,506

Bengalis .. ..	.. ..	600,000
Add 28% of 8,443,707 .. ..	.. ..	2,364,237
Assamese—31% of 8,443,707 .. ..	.. ..	2,617,549

*Total population of Assam after partition :*

	Population	Per cent
(1) Assamese (as per 1941 ratio)	2,350,032	31%
(2) Bengalis, as ascertained above	2,130,506	28%
(3) Others	3,112,499	41%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	7,593,037	100%

This calculation is approximate, subject to a variation of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent to 1 per cent. But still it will be found very useful to ascertain the correct linguistic position of 1951. The linguistic ratios, as shown by the Census Report, 1951, are obviously manipulated and incorrect.

*Linguistic Position in 1951 :*

(a) *Position as per my account :*

After 1947, more than 6 Lakh Bengalis have settled in Assam. Therefore, making an allowance of 600,000 in favour of the Bengalis we have calculated the relative position of different groups as per ratios of 1941.

Total population of Assam in 1951	9,043,707
Less influx of Bengali refugees	600,000
	<hr/>
	8,443,707

	Population	Per cent
Bengalis .. ..	600,000	
Assamese—31% of 8,443,707 .. ..	2,617,549	32.8%
Others—38.2% of 8,443,707 .. ..	3,461,921	29%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9,043,707	100%

(b) <i>Linguistic Position as per Census Report :</i>		
Group	Population	Per cent
Bengalis	1,719,155	19%
Assamese	4,972,493	55%
Others	2,352,059	26%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	9,043,707	100%

*Position of different groups :*

	As per my account	As per Census Report
Bengalis	32.8%	19%

The number of Assamese population in 1931 was 1,982,120 and in 1951, (that is after two decades), it has gone upto 4,972,493, that is, its increase is 250 per cent over the figure of 1931. As per calculation, the number of Bengalis are still greater than the Assamese by a little over 3 per cent. Will the Centre make proper arrangement of correct enumeration in 1961? I have already stated that the safety and security of this multi-racial Eastern region, can be ensured only by direct rule of the Centre.

## THE PROBLEM OF RATIONALIZATION IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF OUR EXPORT-DRIVE

By B. K. KUMAVAT, M.Com.

OF all the problems from which our industrial economy suffers, the problem of rationalization is the most predominant one. The old and antiquated methods of our production have caused a serious set-back in our export-earning capacity. As the London *Economist* observes : "India's payment difficulties have been heightened by a loss of export income". Not only the industrial development but the economic development of the nation as a whole depends, to a considerable extent, on the expansion of our exports. There can be no dispute about the indispensability of rationalization of our production (export-goods) which strengthens the edifice of our export-drive. As a matter of fact, the new slogan, "Export or perish" has replaced the old one, "Produce or perish".

### *Meaning and Definition*

Before we go into the details of the problem, it will not be out of place to know the meaning and definition of the term, "rationalization". The words "rationalization," "modernization" and "rehabilitation" have got synonymous meanings. According to the Advisory Committee of the International Labour Organization, "Rationalization, in general, is any reform tending to replace habitual, antiquated practices by means or methods based on systematic reasoning." In the narrower sense it refers to, "Any reform of an undertaking, administration or other service, public or private, tending to replace habitual, antiquated practices by means or methods based on systematic reasoning." In a wider sense it is, "A reform which takes a group of business undertakings as a unit and tends to reduce the waste or loss due to unbridled competition by concerted action based on systematic reasoning." Rationalization in the widest sense is, "A reform tending to apply means and methods based on systematic reasoning to the collective activities of large economic and social groups."

Thus, broadly speaking, the technique of rationalization is known as the reform on a rational and scientific basis and in all its facets —men, material, machine, management and

money—with a view to having the optimum of output with minimum of cost and effort.

### *Gravity of the Problem*

The present position of our cloth and jute exports bears an ample testimony to the gravity of the problem. The exports of our cloth have considerably declined as is evident from the following table :

Year	Exports in million yards
1954 ...	921
1955 ...	875
1956 ...	788
1957 ...	854
1958 ...	624
1959 ...	750

Similar is the case with our jute industry. The position became worst in the year 1958. This has engaged an immediate attention of our planners. Doubts are now expressed about the fulfilment of the target for exports of 1,000 million yards of cloth by 1961. It is due mainly to the lack of rationalization of our production.

Besides, other considerations impart urgency to the need for modernization and rehabilitation of our cotton and jute industries. In the cotton industry, competition from Japan and China is becoming keener and keener not to speak of U.K., and the West and East European countries. Recently, China has started underselling her cloth in the international market by 10 to 15 per cent of its price and is holding new markets to bring about a reduction in the Indian exports. Our 90 per cent exports consist of coarse cloth while the world market is flooded with quality-cloth. In addition, a revealing fact to be noted is that the new machinery in the said countries represents about 60 to 90 per cent whereas this percentage is represented by our old and outmoded machines. Needless to say that rationalization has strengthened the competitive powers of these countries against India, which has been repeatedly pointed out by a number of Committees from time to time.

In the case of jute industry, it is held that

India has got a monopoly in the world markets over the exports of jute-goods. It is estimated that 20 per cent of our total foreign exchange earnings is contributed by this industry. To maintain the present level of 80 per cent of the total jute-exports and to retain India's sizeable hold in the international market, rationalization is essential. Further, the unrelenting competition from jute substitutes like paper bags, etc., and Pakistan's cheap exports indicate the adoption of a policy of rationalization of the industry. At the same time, a number of countries like South Africa, Brazil, Philippines and Japan have started building up jute manufacturing industries with completely modern equipments. They are offering their jute-goods to the international markets at a considerably lower cost than Indian goods. All these difficulties can be overcome only by accelerating the pace of rationalization. To quote from the Report of the Indian Jute Enquiry Commission, "Rationalization might temporarily cause unemployment but it is the lesser evil compared to the permanent damage to the industry, labour and to the growers who depend on it if the industry should be allowed to perish."

There is no denying the fact that with a view to earning considerable foreign exchange, we should maintain high level of exports. At a time when we feel the necessity of conserving every *naya paisa* of our foreign earnings and augmenting them by every possible effort, the urgency of rationalization can hardly be minimised.

#### *Objections*

But the introduction of rationalization is not above criticisms. The most popular criticism levelled against it is the fear of unemployment caused by the replacement of man by machine. It is argued, of what use the scheme is which gives rise to another problem? Forced rationalization is like 'remedy worse than disease.' Whether the unemployment may be, short-term or long-term in character, rationalization does involve the reduction of labour. This is why the Government advocated the policy of, "rationalization without tears".

It should, however, be borne in mind that the perpetuation of inefficient and outmoded methods has more drastically reduced the employment than any scheme of rationalization could

have done. If we delay in implementing the scheme of modernization, we shall be losing our international market and consequent precious foreign exchange on which depends the success of our Five-Year Plans. Temporary or fractional unemployment is decidedly better than unemployment caused by the closure of mills on account of their failure to compete with the rivals. Rationalization leads to expansion of products, better quality which results in greater demand both in and outside the nation. Greater demand involves establishment of new units which in turn require a large number of labourers and so on. Thus in the long run the problem of unemployment is totally solved, and the fear of unemployment becomes groundless.

Another objection raised against rationalization is the financial stringency. The mills are already suffering from the shortage of not only of foreign exchange resources but also of Rupee funds. In spite of Government assistance, they will have to provide a substantial part of it from their own resources. It has been estimated that we need about Rs. 400 to 500 crores to modernize our Cotton Textile Industry. The progress of rationalization is bound to be slow, as such.

But it does not mean that for the sake of short-term difficulty we should sacrifice the long-term and ultimate gain. The Government of India has made substantial provision for financing the scheme of rationalization. Special mention may be made of the establishment of the National Industrial Development Corporation, Industrial Finance Corporation, State Financial Corporations and the like. At the same time the private sector should not hesitate in coming forward and initiating the scheme. The national interests and the economic development call for its immediate and active co-operation with the Government. As such, the problem of finance will hardly stand in the way of rationalization. What is wanted, is the need for a vigorous step in this regard.

A difficulty in the way of rationalization is stated to have been the Government policy to develop the decentralized sector at the expense of mill sector. This has proved to be a big handicap to the scheme. In addition, the imposition of rigid conditions on the development of mill sector and extraordinary concessions to the handloom and Khadi sector also worked against the implementation of the scheme.

If we want to promote our exports and to earn foreign exchange resources for the economic planning, it is inevitably necessary that the Government policies should be clear. It is admitted that the development of handloom sector is also necessary, but it cannot be done at the cost of our export promotion. As an expert has ably pointed out : "Certain compelling immediate problems should not be allowed to interfere with the ultimate and long-term interests of the nation." In the words of the Export Promotion Committee: "The Government should review the position and, as far as possible, relax these conditions with a view to making the scheme more attractive to mills without, at the same time, jeopardizing the objective of export promotion." It is obvious from this discussion that there is an urgent need for a revision of the Government policy so as to facilitate the scheme of rationalization.

### Conclusion

To conclude, the fact, however, remains that the long-term solution of our economic difficulties lies mainly in the maximisation of our exports abroad. The export-drive launched by the Government of India can be successful through the expansion of our production—qualitatively rather than quantitatively. This can be achieved only with the help of rationalization and rehabilitation of our production. To be more precise, rationalization is the demand of the day, need for the hour and the slogan of the industrial age and, therefore, it deserves a square deal during the Third Five-Year Plan, to be launched very soon.\*

\*This article is written with special reference to our cotton textile and jute industries.

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## DR. ABANINDRA NATH TAGORE A Birthday Tribute

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

WE are celebrating, today, the birth of Acharyya Abanindranath Tagore, who was born in this City on the 7th August, 1871, and who lived and worked in this City incessantly until the time of his death on 5th December, 1951, and, who has been justly hailed as the greatest artist of Asia in the 19th Century. He was one of a galaxy of brilliant luminaries who contributed richly to the building up of Indian national life in diverse spheres of activities—in politics and freedom movements, in Literature, in Drama and poetical creation, in Science and Industry, in Social Reforms, and in the foundations of fruitful educational activities, in new ways of spiritual vision and novel ways of religious practices.

In a brilliant and crowded gallery of Great Men, Abanindranath Tagore built his own seat of respect and honour as an original exponent of Indian National Art.

The poet Tagore had said, "Looking back at the fag end of my life, when I think of a person

who deserves respect and honour on behalf of the whole Indian nation, I find, above all, it is the name of Abanindranath which richly deserves that honour". Another great man, the World famous art-critic of Japan, Kakasu Okakura has claimed "that the talent of an artist like Abanindranath is born but once in the course of five hundred years."

The earliest date of the appreciation of Tagore's painting was in the year 1903, the date of the famous Exhibition of Indian Art held by Lord Curzon at the Durbar at Delhi, in which a small picture entitled, *The Last Days of Shah-jahan* won a Medal, in recognition of its high aesthetic merit. The next event in the appreciation of his new contribution to the development of Indian Painting was the publication of a group of his paintings in a series of colour-reproductions in the pages of the famous London Art-Journal, "*The Studio*".

These reproductions on the pages of the



Abanindranath Tagore

(From a painting by Elizabeth Bruner)

London Magazine received the enthusiastic attention of art-connoisseurs of Europe who welcomed his new experiments in Indian Painting as a new revelation of the national genius of Indian Art, free from any influences from European Art, which in the early days of British domination in India obscured the expression of the native indigenous spirit and technique in the field of Painting. But the triumph and spectacular victory of his original presentation of his new message in Indian Painting came in August 1914, when a representative exhibition of the Paintings of Abanindranath was opened by the French President Poinacré at the Pavion Marson at Paris in the art-centre of Europe, where the foremost critics of Europe assembled and after a critical appraisal of his works lavished a chorus of praise and admiration which were published in the pages of the French Art-Journals—in the pages of *L' Art Decoratif*, *L' Illustration*,

*Arts et Decoration*, *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts*, and which were echoed and re-echoed throughout the art coteries of Europe. The Paris correspondent of the then News agency of Reuter flashed the news to the Daily newspapers of India, which published the reports in bannered headlines—*Exhibition of Indian Paintings in Paris—The Triumph of Abanindranath!!!* Indeed it was not only the personal triumph of Tagore but of the whole of India in the domain of Art-culture and it was the first World-wide recognition of the Language of Indian Painting of Unique values and peculiar characteristics, having a history spreading over five thousand years.

At the inception of the movement that he started about the year 1896, his paintings were designed as an organized protest against foreign influences and as a passionate plea for artistic expression through indigenous forms, a plea for

the use of the old vernacular art of India as the medium of a truly National Art. He came as a rebel against the domination of the Western standards of Art, and as an able demonstrator and interpreter of the finest elements of indigenous Indian Painting.

Many people wrongly believe that Abanindranath Tagore was a Revivalist, repeating the conventions and formulas of mediaeval schools of Indian Painting. His genius consisted of a wonderful power of assimilating methods and manners from all countries and schools. He had freely adapted secrets of pictorial art from East Asiatic as well as from European masters, in a liberal spirit of eclecticism and in his experimental creations he had used and utilized both Eastern and Western methods in a skilful fusion of a happy and well assimilated harmony. If Dr. Tagore had not left a single example of his brush, his place in contemporary culture would still be secure and unassailable. For, if as a wielder of the Brush—he had few equals in India—he was undoubtedly one of the World's greatest painters,—as a Wielder of the Pen he had no equal. He commanded a prose style, which in simplicity and power of technique, as

in profundity of thought and in sparkling and surprising humour, is an invaluable and the most original contribution to modern Bengali literature. His earliest literary publications—*Sakuntala* and *Kshirer Putul* are the earliest contributions to juvenile literature in Bengal. When the Calcutta University honoured this artist-writer, who had never matriculated or passed a single examination, with a Doctorate of Literature, everybody agreed that the honour could not have been conferred on a worthier literary genius. His brilliant series of lectures delivered as *Bageswari* Professor of Fine Art at the Calcutta University will stand as his solid contribution to Art and to Literature.

India has yet to pay her tribute and render her homage to her greatest genius in art, who was also one of the Greatest personalities in contemporary life and who has left indelible marks on the pages of the history of human culture, for Art is one of the most shining pages of that book, which he taught us to read and understand.\*

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\*By the courtesy of the All-India Radio, Calcutta.

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## BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

"Not by bread alone, neither for bread alone does man live. There are higher objectives yet to be attained, other truths to be learned."

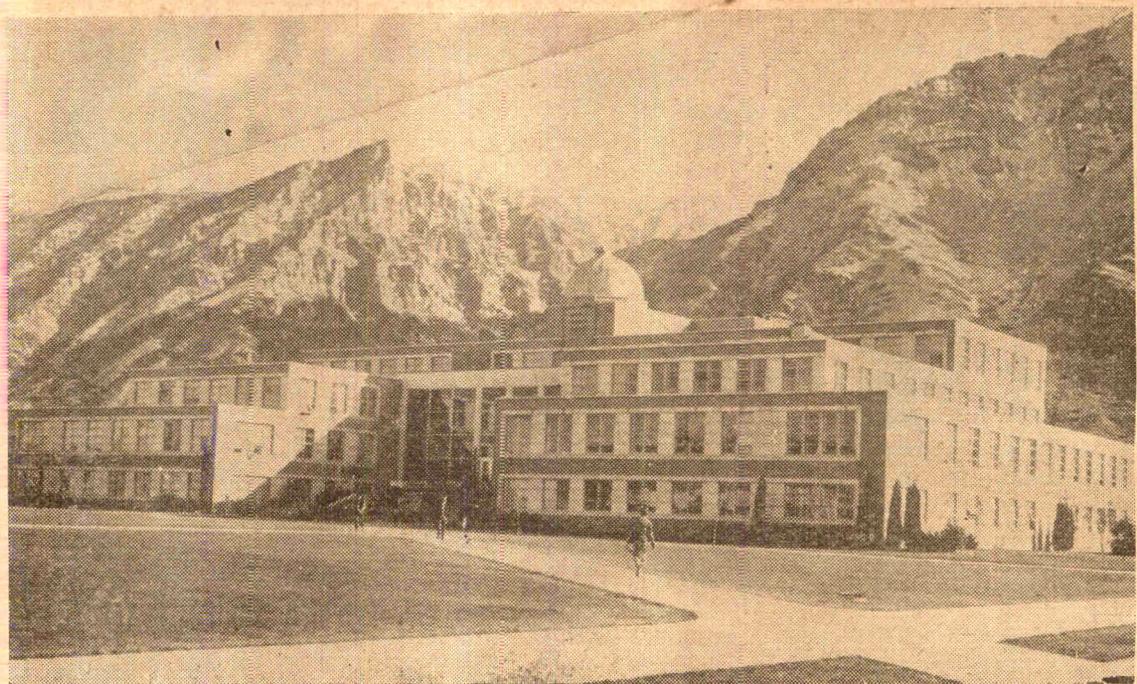
It was with this purpose that the school, now Brigham Young University was founded. In 1875, Brigham Young, Head of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon Church), sent for Karl G. Maeser, German educator of note, to establish a school in the name of the Church at Provo, Utah. The school, named after its founder, opened in 1876 as Brigham Young Academy. In 1903, the school was enlarged, and the name changed to Brigham Young University.

The main buildings are on the University's hill-top campus, at the foot of the Wasatch Range, overlooking the modern

city of Provo and the Utah Valley. To the north-east, 12,000-feet Mount Timpanogos forms a backdrop of breath-taking beauty. Enclosing the valley on the west is Utah Lake, twenty-one miles long and seven miles wide.

The upper campus walk is lined with an unusual collection of petroglyphs—prehistoric rock carvings of the ages before man conquered the earth. The lower campus occupies a city block in the residential district of Provo. The Brigham Young's Business College, and McCune School of Music and Art are at Salt Lake City, Utah.

An Alpine Summer School was established as a branch of the University in 1923. It is conducted at Aspen Grove, near the summit of Mount Timpanogos. Here also is the Timpanogos Outdoor Theater, jointly



The Carl F. Eyring Physical Science Center at Brigham Young University

sponsored by the U.S. Forest Service and the University.

Fifty-nine separate departments in twelve colleges, schools, divisions and branches make up the University. A wide range of courses is offered for preparation in many areas of various fields, leading to a bachelor's or doctor's degree.

One of the University's most distinctive courses is the College of Family Living established in 1954. It is located in a recently completed Family Living Center, named after Joseph F. Smith, sixth president of the Latter-day Saints' Church. The courses offered in this college are designed to provide a background of educational experience which will prepare young people to be intelligent parents and effective members of a community.

A nursery school in the center provides training for both children and adults. Budgeting, food and nutrition, house design and decoration, clothing and textiles are also included in the course as important to family living.

The College of Arts is favorably known for the artistic and academic work under its direction. The Brigham University Sym-

phony orchestra has earned the acclaim of professional musicians, as has the A Capella Choir, the Male Chorus, the Madrigal Singers, and the University Chorale. Music students work with a professional staff of composers, performers, and music theorists, some of whom have studied and performed abroad as well as in the United States.

The University's Heber J. Grant Library contains one of the largest choral libraries in the western United States, and one of the best libraries of recordings in the country. It also has excellent band and orchestra libraries as well as about 3,000 books on musical subjects. It also contains some rare and outstanding book collections.

An Opera Workshop consists of two groups of well-developed Dramatic voices which prepare and perform operatic music at the University and on tour.

There are also two summer sessions in music providing courses in all spheres of music education, and improvement courses for professional musicians and educators.

The Department of Speech and Dramatic Arts offers courses and training in speech and hearing rehabilitation, public speaking, general speech for secondary school teachers,

radio and television speaking, and theater art. Instruction is also given in scene design, construction, and in costuming.

Ten major plays are staged yearly, and many have toured the Western United States. The Department of Music's Theater Orchestra provides music for the productions, and accompanies the plays on tour.

Experience in radio and television is offered through the KBYU University-owned, and student operated radio station. The station also provides Dramatic art students with experience in staging and acting in radio and TV productions.

The University numbers in its private collection over eight hundred original paintings and prints by leading western painters. It has, as well, facsimiles and slides of the works of most of the leading American artists. A continuous art exhibit exchange with other universities is also maintained.

Following the new trend in education which combines theory with practical experience, students of journalism have an opportunity to work on the student paper, and during the summer, students with a high average in the course have paying jobs on the **Desert News** and the **Salt Lake Telegram**. Salaries for the students are provided by the Utah State Press Association.

Students of Archaeology participate in excavations conducted at Indian mound sites in Utah Valley, and advanced students accompany the periodic archaeological expeditions to Mexico and Central America.

For students of Sociology, firsthand knowledge is obtained by visits to prisons, mental hospitals, and work with welfare organizations. The Church owns and operates thirteen hospitals which give in-training experience to nursing students.

The Division of Religion presents programs for persons wishing to study religion for general or particular purposes. The Business courses are designed to prepare students for increasing opportunities and

responsibilities resulting from changes made by the scientific innovations of our age.

The College of Physical and Engineering Sciences maintains modern, well-equipped laboratories to meet the requirements of the various courses. Five-year courses leading to a Bachelor of Engineering



Students excavate an archaeological site on a farm west of Provo

Science degree are offered in its engineering programs. The University is an institutional member of the American Mathematics Society, and staff members participate as well in the Mathematics Association of America.

The Department of Adult Education and Extension Services is part of the on-campus adult instruction. It has year-round credit and non-credit programs for groups of various ages and educational backgrounds.

An Athletic Clinic for boys between the ages of eight and fourteen provides recreation for youngsters within the area. A Summer Youth Clinic also provides about three weeks of sports for boys from twelve to sixteen years old.

Another summer program is an Institute for Nurses held for registered nurses in Utah and other mountain states who want a refresher course in nursing.

Enrolment in the University for the

autumn quarter of 1958 was about 10,000 with about 500 of the students from countries outside the United States.

On-campus housing is provided for some 4,200 students and special provision has been made for the approximately 300

married couples, with apartments at Wymount and Wyview Villages.

Under construction at the present time is a new administration building, and a four-million volume library.—ITEM.

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## BASOHLI PAINTINGS IN THE SRI CHITRALAYAM, TRIVANDRUM

BY K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

A small principality in the Punjab Hill States, Basohli, on the right bank of the river Ravi, was one of the most ancient states of the Western Himalayas. Now a forgotten place shorn of all its past glories, Basohli has left its indelible mark on the history of Indian art, for it was here that a distinct school of old, primitive Rajasthani Painting which endowed Krishna, the Divine Lover, with enraptured expression developed in the 17th century. The earlier name of Basohli was Vellapur which has a history dating from the 11th century. There is documentary evidence in *Chittarasamanjari* that it was written at the behest of Raja Kirapala of Basohli in V.S. 1752 (A.D. 1694). Vigne, the French traveller who visited Basohli during 1835-36, has recorded thus : "Bissuli contains a large and slovenly-looking bazaar, and the place would hardly as far as I could judge, be worth the traveller's notice, were it not for the baronial appearance of the palaces of the old Rajas which I thought the very finest building of the kind I had seen in the East. Its square turrets, open and embattled parapets, projecting windows, Chinese-roofed balconies, and moat-like tank in front presented a general appearance which, without entering into specific detail, was sufficient to remind me of some of the most ancient red-brick structures of my own country. When viewed at the distance of a few miles from the path to Jammu, it rises in relief from the dark masses of the lower ranges, with a grandeur that I thought not inferior to that of Heidelberg; whilst with reference to more general effect of the line of snowy peaks, which are seen peering over the mountains immediately around

it are sufficient to render its relative position immensely superior".

The four centuries old, five-storeyed palace of the Basohli Rajas was perched on the summit of a steep hill commanding a picturesque view. With its exquisite rock carvings, grottos, and rich variety of sculpture and wood carvings, the palace was a repository of art treasures. J. C. French, an I.C.S. Officer, and authority on Rajasthani Painting, visited Basohli in 1930. In his most interesting book *Himalayan Art* (1931) he says: "The position of Basohli on a steep hill, girt with rocky precipices, overlooking a broad and swiftly flowing river crowned by one of the loveliest palaces in the hills, (for such was Basohli a hundred years ago) and the whole scene framed in the Himalayan snows, justified its claim to be one of the "Seven Wonders of the Hills". Thakur Kahn Singh Balauria, the author of *Tawarikh-i-Rajputan*, and the historian of Basohli, says that the palace was decorated with mural paintings illustrating *Nayika* and other erotic themes. No trace of these old murals is left. The palace is now in ruins, evoking great and austere memories of the past. The present hill town of Basohli has a population of about 7000 and is a thriving village, with modern amenities though bereft of the ancient glories. No wonder that such a picturesque region inhabited by a race of active people, almost always at war with other clans or the aliens, yet deeply drawn to the pleasures of life, became the home of a rare kind of romantic art of abundant visual charm, an art which excelled in its passionate yet sublimated interpretation of eroticism.

The heyday of painting in Basohli was



Sri Krishna combing the hair of Radha  
(A 17th century Basohli painting depicts a scene from  
*Gita-Govinda*)

during the reign of Raja Amrit Pal (1749-1776). Situated on the famous trade route to Jammu which cut across Nahan, Bilaspur, Gular, and Nurpur, Basohli in the 17th and 18th centuries was well known and a flourishing principality where about 700 families of Kashmiri *Pashmina* weavers carried on a prosperous trade in exquisite handloom products. Basohli became a tributary of Maharaj Ranjit Singh in 1808-09, and in 1846 the State was handed over to Maharaj Gulab Singh of Jammu when Kalyan Pal the last chief of Basohli was pensioned off. With that the famous 'Basohli Kalam' (period) in painting ended.

The earliest official mention of Basohli Painting is made in the Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the year 1918-19. In the classification of "the School of Jammu", made in 1916 by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy, the greatest critic of Indian Art, would fall the Basohli School of Painting. Ajit Ghose and J. C. French were the pioneers to discover the ravishing beauty and interpret the unique charms of the Basohli school of Rajasthani Painting from which the other and more famous schools developed. Ajit Ghose visited Basohli in 1928, and J. C. French in 1930. Their on-the-spot studies and scholarly findings based on painstaking spade-work and authentic information aroused

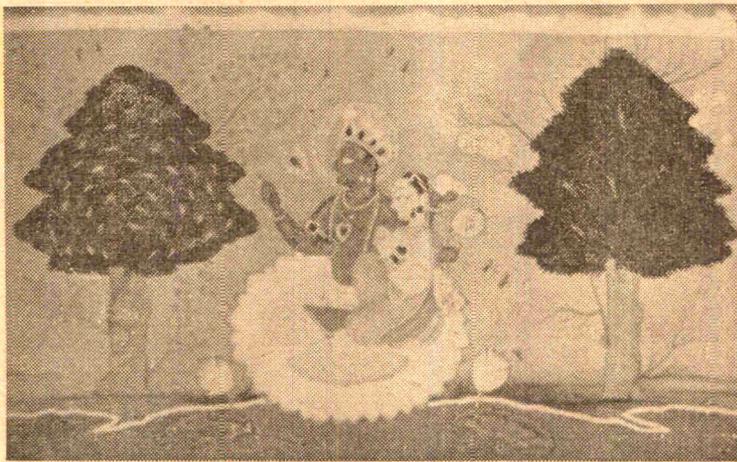
great interest in Basohli Painting and blazed the trail for scintillating studies by later scholars. Ajit Ghose's learned article on Basohli Paintings published in *Rupam*, No. 27, 1929, remains the best essay on the subject. Dr. M. S. Randhawa, I.C.S., who has made a detailed and scholarly study of Basohli Painting, visited Basohli in 1957. He has described his visit to Basohli in an interesting and illuminating article entitled *A Journey to Basohli* published in *Roopa-Lekha* (Vol. XXVII, Nos. 1 & 2, 1958).

Significant has been the unique and truly amazing contribution of the Basohli School to the development of Pahari Painting. The earliest and typically Hindu of the Pahari Schools, the Basohli 'Kalam' which flourished between 1752 and 1782 has all the qualities of exquisite mural paintings, with pronounced influences from Ajanta. During the reign of Raja Kirpal Pal (1650-1693) the art of painting in Basohli received a tremendous impetus. The finest and sumptuous efflorescence of Basohli Painting was during the reign of Raja Amrit Pal (1749-1776). W. G. Archer, in his masterly treatise, the *Loves of Krishna*, says that "the Basohli style with its flat planes of brilliant green, brown, red, orange, its savage profiles and great intense eyes, has obvious connections with Udaipur Paintings of the 1650-60 period." He

adds that "even in its earliest examples Basohli Painting has a smooth, polish, a savage sophistication and a command of shading which suggests the influence of the Mughul style of Delhi". Certainly pre-Moghul, though some Moghul influence is observed in the 17th century Basohli Paintings, they are outstanding in masterly draughtsmanship, sensitive and sensuous

joy-imparting interpretation and colourful expression in these Paintings so full of philosophical import and yet intensely subjective and lyrical in the magnificence of the external milieu. The Basohli School of Painting has provided a new and rich ethos to Rajasthani Painting.

The bulk of Basohli Paintings illustrate the *Nayika* theme, *Rasamanjari* of Bhanudatta, and



Sri Krishna and Radha seated on a lotus

colouring, and are sumptuous in lyrical and romantic appeal. Painted in gouache over paper on a flat background and devoid of the prettiness, rhythmic dalliance and smoothness of Kangra Paintings, with accent laid on the vivid expression of intensely emotional situations, decorative charm and diaphanous drapery, these paintings display in endearing, exquisite and vivacious terms the idyllic love scenes of Radha and Krishna in their divine, religious and mystical setting. Though deific in content, they are full of human appeal providing at once visual delight and aesthetical satisfaction. The human figures portrayed in the Basohli Paintings recall to mind the handsome men and charming women of the hills who love all that is romantic in humanity and nature. The most delightful pictorial representation of Vaishnavite Mysticism, the Basohli Paintings display a high level of technical and aesthetical excellence saturated with love and romance, the joy, passion and beauty of abundant vivacious life. The illusive beauty of the Rajasthani maiden and the ideal state of beatitude yearned for in Vaishnavite Mysticism find their supreme, sublimated, and

embroidered cloth decorated with figures he had seen, "a curious specimen of the old Basohli Art . . . . The colouring was delightful, bright and clear, but in perfect combination and taste". "The Basohli School is distinguished by an intense vitality and inventiveness. Bold compositions are set off by vivid contrasts of sparkling colours". W. G. Archer, an authority on Rajasthani Painting, says in his *Kangra Painting (Faber Gallery of Oriental Art series)*: "Basohli had owned the most flourishing School of Painting in the Punjab Hills. Marked by 'savage intensity', the style was noted for its burning angry colours, its violent distortions and for a certain suave barbaric grace". Ajit Ghose, an authority on Pahari Art, says that "the best of the Basohli pictures are the two series illustrating *Rasamanjari* of Bhanudatta and the *Gita Govinda* illustrations".

One of the finest examples of *Rasamanjari* Paintings, the original of which adorns the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, viz., *A situation* (1694) has been reproduced in colours in Basil Gray's authoritative book *Rajput Painting in the famous Faber Gallery of Oriental Art*

series. Another exquisite illustration to *Rasamanjari* appears along with Ajit Ghose's illuminating study of Pahari Paintings published in *Roop-Lekha* (1958). "Felicity of composition and the brilliant juxtaposition of colours" distinguish this painting as also the *Gita Govinda* pictures. The largest collection of *Nayika* Paintings of the Basohli School are in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and in the Kasturbai Lalbai collection at Ahmedabad. Basil Gray has observed that these paintings "are in a strongly individual style, rich and pompous in spite of the monotony of composition, and lack of suppleness". Pahda Kunj Lal, a descendant of the royal physicians of Basohli Rajas, has made a gift of several *Rasamanjari* Paintings, and portraits to the Dogra Art Gallery, Jammu.

Some of the finest Basohli Paintings illustrating the *Gita Govinda* have been reproduced in the beautiful publication, "*Gita Govind—in Basohli School of Indian Painting*" with an introduction by R. P. N. Sinha (Published by the Oxford Book and Stationery Co., Calcutta).

About forty outstanding Basohli Paintings are reproduced in Dr. M. S. Randhawa's "*Basohli Painting*" the best available and comprehensive scholarly yet popular work on the subject (published by the Publications Division, Delhi). Dr. M. S. Randhawa, whose knowledge of Basohli Painting is intimate and first hand, apprises the great art thus : "A style of Painting characterised by vigorous use of primary colours prevailed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the foot-hills of the Western Himalayas in the Jammu and Punjab states. The earliest paintings in this style originated in Basohli, from where the style spread to the Hill States of Mankot, Nurpur, Kulu, Nandi, Suket, Bilaspur, Nalagarh, Chamba, Guler and Kangra. While the beauty of the Kangra Painting lies mainly in its rhythmic line, the charm of Basohli Painting is in its colour appeal. Vibrant colours like yellow and red which the Basohli artists used so liberally seem to penetrate the eye and move us deeply".

The types of figures depicted in the Basohli

Paintings have receding foreheads, long noses pointing downward, very large lotus-shaped eyes, small mouths, receding chin, round and full cheeks, all expressive of passion, vivacity and charm. The women wear their tresses loose, a few of the curly hairs dropping in effortless ease and consummate grace on the forehead or the cheeks. The male figures do not generally have any dress above the waist. They wear *dhoties* of a golden yellow colour with a gold border. Both males and females adorn their bodies with a profusion



Sri Krishna tying an anklet on the foot of Radha

of jewellery. The females wear colourful *choli*, skirt and scarf. The drapery of the women folk is diaphanous, transparency being achieved through a masterly and delicate handling of colours. The drawing and colouring of trees in these paintings have highly individual characteristics producing most charming effects on the senses of the looker-on and creating a romantic alluring atmosphere. The trees are depicted as "small and summary symbols". The contention of the great art critic W. G. Archer that "elsewhere in India, painting had developed the expressive qualities of line and colour but nowhere outside the Punjab Himalayas were there achieved such exquisite renderings of the subtle ecstasies of romance", makes itself truly felt and fully appreciated when the illustrations of '*Gita Govinda*' by the Basohli Painters are examined. In all these lovely paintings only the profiles of love-intoxicated Radha and Krishna are portrayed with fervour. The studies are permeated with symbolism, imagery and rhythm. The gestures made by Krishna and Radha are full of meaning con-

tributing to emotional tension, and the amazing chromatic combinations in the pictures form vital elements of felicitous composition.

One of the *Gita Govinda* Pictures belonging to the Basohli School in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts collection, "Radha visits Krishna at night offering betel to him" has been reproduced in colours in the magnificent volume *India—five thousand years of Indian Art* by Dr. Hermann Goetz, the foremost living authority on Indian Art (published by Methuen & Co., Ltd. London). This 18th century painting, 5 inches x 8 inches, is different from the *Gita Govinda* pictures which are usually 8 inches x 12 inches.

The Central Museum at Lahore has a series of old paintings of the Basohli School illustrating *Gita Govinda*. Consequent on the Partition of India, 60 per cent of these Paintings were retained by Pakistan and the remaining 40 per cent, twenty-two in number, came into the possession of the East Punjab Government. The latest known set of *Gita Govinda* pictures of the Basohli School was commissioned in 1730, by a Basohli Princess. W. G. Archer opines that "this series of illustrations is in some ways a turning point in Indian Painting for not only was it to serve as a model and inspiration to later artists but its production brings to a close the most creative phase of Basohli Art".

Among the collection of sixty Rajasthani Paintings, by no means exhaustive but qualitatively outstanding, exhibited with unerring artistic taste under the guidance of Dr. J. H. Cousins, in the *Sri Chitralayam* (State Art Gallery at Trivandrum), there are three Basohli Paintings illustrating *Gita Govinda* painted in gouache on paper by an unknown artist during the middle of the seventeenth century. These paintings illustrate in a colourful and elegant manner, conveying an air of vivid sensual charm, three scenes from Jayadeva's famous scripture, the first Sanskrit Poem to immortalise Radha as Krishna's transcendent love. Of uniform size, 8 inches x 12 inches, these pictures have a plain deep brick-red border 1/3 of an inch in breadth. The blue sky with clouds of white is depicted at the top of the pictures from end to end occupying but half an inch of space vertically. The dominant colours are orange, blue, deep yellow, deep and light green, light maroon and light chocolate. These paintings which are felicitous in composition,

dazzling in the juxtaposition of contrasting and complimentary colours, outstanding in dramatic quality, and emotional intensity, strictly conform to the quality of *Gita Govinda* Paintings of the Basohli School which are in other States and private collections.

In the first picture Krishna is seen seated on a mount on the bank of river Jamuna, combing the hair of Radha. Krishna has a crown of gold, emeralds and pearls. He is deep blue-hued and has a yellow cloth around his waist. A gold-laced upper cloth is thrown over his neck. Radha has a yellow blouse and purple skirt. Her ear-rings of diamonds and emeralds are prominently rendered. She wears several bangles and necklaces. Two different varieties of trees with luxuriant foliage are noticed. They are treated in the realistic cum decorative style. A salient feature of Basohli *Kalam* is the power arising from the endowment of nature with romantic ardour, the forest being depicted as a highly sensitive and symbolic setting for the amorous exploits of Radha and Krishna. The background is in strong emphatic orange colour.

In the second paintings, Krishna and Radha are seated on a lawn rising from the bank of River Jamuna. Krishna is tying an anklet around the heel of Radha. Krishna wears the same dress as in the previous paintings. He wears *Vaishnavaite* caste marks on the chest and hands. Radha wears a red blouse with white dots, and an orange-coloured skirt with a red and white-dotted scarf. At the left hand corner of the painting is a tree with rank luxuriance of leaves. On the right hand corner is a tree with yellow flowers in full bloom. Radha and Krishna are seated in the inviting shade of the flowering branches. The background is of light grey.

After a night of revelry of amorous adventures with Krishna, Radha beseeches the Great Enchanter to assist her in her toilet. Krishna the gallant lover readily complies with Radha's request. Radha begs Krishna thus : "She said to the joy of her heart,  
Adorn the curl on my brow which puts to shame,  
my spotless brow,

Make a beautiful spot on my forehead, a spot  
with the paste of the sandal.

O giver of pride, on my tresses, untidy, now on  
account of desire, place flowers.  
Place on my hips the girdle, the clothes and the  
jewels.

Cover my beautiful loins, luscious and form,  
the cavern of Love to be feared.

Make a pattern upon my breasts and a picture on  
my cheeks and fasten over my loins a girdle.  
Bind my masses of hair with a beautiful garland  
and place many bracelets upon my hands and  
jewelled anklets upon my feet". (from the Eng-  
lish translation of *Gita Govinda* by George  
Keyt, foremost modern artist of Ceylon whose  
paintings of Radha and Krishna fully express  
the spirit of Indian Poetry).

The above-mentioned two paintings illus-  
trate in resplendent colours this poem with sensi-  
tivity and elegance and ardent passion which  
knows no bounds.

In the third study, Radha and Krishna are seated on a blooming lotus, the largest one rising from the stream. Two lotus buds and two lotus leaves are also seen. Humming bluish black bees hover about. On either side is a tree. The one on the left has creepers studded with flowers. The flowers are scarlet with a surging vegetative rhythm. Krishna has a golden halo around his face. He wears different kinds of ornaments which are not found in the other two paintings. Krishna is depicted as Lord Vishnu, with disc, conch and lotus flower in his hands. Radha wears a purple choli and a red skirt inlaid with gold. Her hands are cupped in supplication. She is before her lord in a devotional attitude. This painting illus-  
trates Radha's final apotheosis. The background is light green with a tinge of yellow.

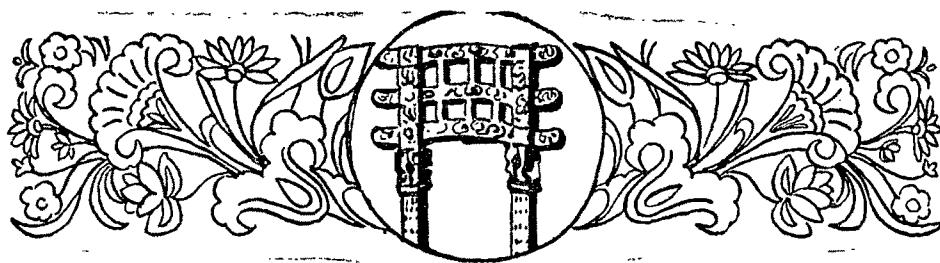
To accentuate decorative effect and visual resplendence, the painters cut beetle wings into tiny pieces of artistic and attractive shapes and used them in pictures to impart the suggestion of emeralds and pearl worn by Radha and Krishna. The three illustrations of *Gita Govinda* done by Basohli Artists of old, exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*, are certainly part of a whole series

of Basohli Paintings, extolling reverent devotion and ecstatic passion with intensity, brusque vitality and wild elation. The whereabouts of the remaining pictures in the set are not known. The three studies are quite similar to the illustrations of *Gita Govinda*, eight of which are reproduced in the publication "*Gita Govinda in the Basohli School of Indian Painting*". The paintings are not signed. Nor are there other evidences leading to authorship or exact date. Signed pictures are rare in the Basohli *Kalam*. Among the painters of the Basohli School there were Hindus (Manaku, Viradatta) and Muslims—(Khandoo, Ahmadoo).

In "*The Loves of Krishna*" by W. G. Archer are included reproductions of a couple of the Basohli Paintings depicting episodes from *Gita Govinda*. Of these, the one entitled "*The Last Tryst*" (original in the State Museum of Lahore), one of the series commissioned by a Basohli Princess in 1730, resembles in style and treatment the illustrations of *Gita Govinda* exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*.

Along with Ajit Ghose's scholarly article on *Pahari Schools of Indian Painting* published in *Roopa-Lekha* (Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, 1958), three outstanding Basohli Paintings are reproduced. Among them, the picture bearing the caption "*An illustration from 'Gita Govinda'*", has strong affinities with the illustrations of *Gita Govinda* exhibited in the *Sri Chitralayam*.

In these paintings the tumultuousness of passion and the stark nature of the encounters indulged in by lovers consumed by desire, find their most virile and poignant expression. The extant Basohli Paintings continue to be an intriguing and controversial subject of study and discussion among scholars who are on the alert for new evidences for assessing periods and locations.



## CARE OF BOYS AND GIRLS

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE.

AFTER the period of infancy the growing boys sons and daughters so that they may not fall in and girls in families require more attention and bad companies. In big cities like Calcutta, care from their parents or other relations if they Bombay, Madras and Delhi, people come to live are desired to become fit citizens of a great together from different parts of the country. country like India. First of all when they reach They possess different kinds of ideas and out-school-going age they should, as far as possible, look. Some of the films, both Western and be admitted into a right type of school where Indian, may not be desirable from the moral along with the learning of their lessons they may point of view as they contain many episodes, receive adequate training in discipline. It is of which are not worth witnessing by boys and course difficult to find a school where both these girls of tender age. But there are not sufficient things are taught. It is a matter of regret that means to prevent the growing boys and girls our educational authorities do not pay as much from seeing such films. The result is that some attention as it is needed, in making available to episodes in the pictures, which they see, leave a the boys and girls belonging to middle-class permanent impression in their minds and they common families, this type of school where they try to imitate many of the vices, which seriously will get not only proper help from the teachers interfere with their studies.

Due to lack of proper educational care or encouragement to imbibe discipline amongst students in ordinary Indian schools, the parents or guardians of the young boys and girls, who can afford to incur higher educational expenses, send their wards to some schools managed by Europeans or Anglo-Indians, where the teachers appear to be more sincere to their duties and responsibilities. In these schools more attention is generally paid to the students by the teachers than in the ordinary Indian managed schools. Boys and girls belonging to rich and well-to-do families and those of the families of our country's present-day leaders are invariably sent to such schools, so that on completion of education at these institutions these boys and girls can expect to secure and maintain better positions so far as their earning capacity and social status are concerned. It is one of the main reasons why not much attention is paid to the running and management of the ordinary type of Indian schools about which the well-placed men in our society or the country's leaders do not possess sufficient personal knowledge or information.

Next arises the difficulty before the parents and guardians to keep vigilance on their

It is the solemn duty of the parents and elderly relations of the young students to dissuade them from moving in bad companies and seeing undesirable pictures in cinema houses. They should be closely watched as to where they go after their school or college hours, or when they are free from their studies.

As it is the duty of the parents and guardians to prevent the boys and girls in their care from witnessing undesirable films or from mixing with unwelcome friends, so it is also their duty to arrange for some sort of innocent entertainments for their wards in the family circle itself. For this purpose even the staging of a family drama or having a family orchestra can be resorted to for preventing the boys and girls from coming under outside evil influence. Morning and evening walk in family group or playing some light game like Badminton, if possible, can be of great help to keep the growing boys and girls in the careful and vigilant company of family members. The effort spent by the elderly members of the families will no doubt be amply rewarded when the minor boys and girls will grow and be able to keep the good name and prestige of the families they belong to.

Proper attention is to be paid at the time of selecting a tutor for a boy in order to see that the tutor is well-behaved and is serious in his duties. More attention, however, is needed at the time of selecting a male teacher for a growing girl to teach her academic lessons or lessons in music. The family connection of the tutor and the company he keeps are to be ascertained

beforehand at the time of engaging a teacher for a girl student. Besides this regular surprise visits should also be paid by female members of the families to find out whether the teaching is being conducted in a serious manner. A minor girl is by nature sentimental and imaginative and, therefore, much more care is needed for her than her brother to see that her sentiment and imagination flow through right channels.

It is the joint responsibility of the parents and guardians to take care and watch the movement of growing boys and girls in families from day to day. So long as the male members are in the house they should invariably take some interest in them, talk to them as friends, ascertain from them their difficulties and encourage them in their studies. When the male members are away from their domestic surroundings the duty of taking care of boys and girls falls on the female members alone. It is, therefore, imperative on the female members also to discharge their onerous duty of helping the society and the country in having good citizens

of the future by keeping a constant watch with care and affection on the movements of the boys and girls belonging to their families. They should remember that the freedom-fighters of our country of bygone days had always a great respect for the mothers and sisters as they are the true preservers of the country's independence by continuing to supply the right type of men and women needed during war or peace.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the present-day instances of indiscipline and disorder amongst the young generation of boys and girls are but warnings to the elderly members of society. Unless and until they take more care about them the very structure of our society will be damaged considerably. It is the young boys and girls, who are the future hopes of our country and on them depends the social and political advancement of our country. The care of the boys and girls is, therefore, the first duty of the elders in our society and should be discharged with absolute sincerity.

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## FINANCING THE SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES

By PROF. T. S. KATIYAR, M.A., M.Com.

### *Introduction*

It need hardly be said that the requirements of finance play a vital part in the development programmes for village and small-scale industries, but unfortunately the existing arrangements for provision of finance are far from satisfactory.<sup>1</sup> The same view has been expressed by the International Planning Team when they say, "In most of the workshops visited by us, real finance did not seem to exist at all and there was a severe lack of capital as well as credit."<sup>2</sup> The discussion of this subject can best be initiated with the sources of finance of this sector.

### *State Aid to Industries Acts*

Part of the finance is supplied by the Government under the State Aid to Industries Acts. In 1956-57 the States were given loans of Rs. 1.5 crores by the Central Government for this pur-

pose and similarly an amount of Rs. 1.5 crores was sanctioned for the year 1957-58. It is really gratifying to note that assistance to industries under these Acts has been recently liberalised to some extent and larger powers of sanction are being delegated to local authorities, but the amounts available from this source are yet meagre. It might be recalled that an enquiry<sup>3</sup> was conducted by the Government of India, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, regarding the liberalisation of terms and conditions governing the grant of loans to small-scale industries. The replies given by the State Governments,<sup>4</sup> on the basis of analysis, can be regrouped in a tabular form as given below :

3. For details consult *Journal of Industry and Trade*, (July, 1957) : Reference Section : p. 1453.

4. There were in all at that time 25 States, out of which one (Himachal Pradesh) did not reply.

1. *Second Five-Year Plan*, p. 439.

2. *Eastern Economist* : 5.12.1958, p. vi.

## Analysis of the Replies given by State Governments

Questions & Kind of replies	Loans upto Rs. 1,000 on personal land	Loans upto Rs. 5,000 on one or more sureties	Loans above Rs. 5,000 at 75% secu- rity of land, buildings, machine, stocks and shares	Reduced rates of interest upto Rs. 5,000	Delegation of powers to D.I. to disburse loans upto Rs. 2,000	Total
1. Yes—accepted	8	8	18	15	9	58
2. Under consideration	6	6	—	3	5	20
3. Not accepted	1	2	1	—	—	4
4. Others	—	—	5	5	3	13
5. No reply	9	8	—	1	7	25
Total States	24	24	24	24	24	120

The above table shows that, on the whole, the response from the States to these terms was favourable. Moreover, in the present circumstances, when the policy of the Government of India, in particular, and that of the State Governments, in general, is of positive assistance, those questions which are under consideration would be favourably decided and the terms and conditions would be finally accepted. Further, in the case of a few States the terms and conditions of loans were more liberal than those proposed by the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. For instance, in regard to Question No. 3, it was found that the existing provisions of the *Madhya Pradesh* and *Orissa States Aid to Industries Acts* were more liberal than proposed by the Central Government. In these States the percentage of security is 66 per cent and 70 per cent respectively. Similarly, in regard to the Question No. 5, the State of Assam, in special cases, charges interest at the rate of 3 per cent on loans advanced upto Rs. 50,000 and Saurashtra at the rate of 4½ per cent only.

It is interesting to note that the State of Kutch immediately incorporated all the proposals in the rules governing the State Aids to Industries Act. Hence, other States, if they really want to assist, encourage and develop small-scale industries and wish to establish socialistic pattern of society in India, should emulate the example set by the State of Kutch. Further, the Central Government should communicate to other State Governments the terms and conditions of granting loans of those States which are more liberal

than proposed for. Moreover, the reply of Hyderabad Government to the proposal No. 3 and that of the West Bengal to the proposal No. 4 deserve special consideration of the Central Government. Furthermore, if other States are ready and willing to frame rules on the basis of the maximum liberal terms, as disclosed by the enquiry, not only will the technical efficiency improve but the recovery of loans will also be high. Finally, budget provisions for assistance under State Aid Industries Acts should be increased and efforts should be made to make the procedure of borrowing from them as simple as possible, so that full provisions may be utilised.

*State Financial Corporations*

The Union Parliament passed the State Financial Corporations Act on September 28, 1951. The scope of the activities of State Financial Corporations is wider than that of the Industrial Finance Corporation for India, since the definition of "Industrial concern" has been broadened so as to include not only public limited companies but also private limited companies, partnerships and proprietary concerns. These Corporations are authorised to issue and sell bonds and debentures, accept public deposits, guarantee loans floated in the public market, underwrite the issue of stock and shares, bonds and debentures and can grant mortgage to firms which are run on a proprietary, partnership or limited company basis. The following table gives an analysis of loans granted by State Financial Corporations :—

Analysis of Loans Granted by State Financial Corporations  
(In Lakhs of Rupees)

Year	No. of operating Corporations	Loans sanctioned	Loans distributed	Loans outstanding
1953-54	2	70	33	103
1954-55	8	211	132	226
1955-56	12	405	187	403
1956-57	11	443	286	645
1957-58	12	477	371	951

In 1953-54, two Corporations sanctioned and disbursed loans amounting to Rs. 70 lakhs and Rs. 33 lakhs respectively and the 12 States Financial Corporations operating in 1957-58, sanctioned and disbursed loans amounting to Rs. 477 lakhs and Rs. 371 lakhs respectively, and brought the outstanding loans at the end of the year to Rs. 951 lakhs, which was 76 per cent of the total paid-up capital of all the Corporations. During this period of five years the number of Corporations multiplied by six times but the table :

*Statement Showing Industrywise Loans sanctioned By the State Financial Corporations\* to Small-Scale Industrial Units as on 31st December, 1957<sup>6</sup>*

Industry	Amount (In lakhs of Rupees)
1. Electricity supply and manufacture of electrical goods.	10.91
2. General Engineering and metal works	31.16
3. Pharmaceuticals and Chemicals	8.97
4. Cold storage, food preservation and canning	45.94
5. Oil, rice and flour mills	18.80
6. Cotton, ginning and pressing	5.85
7. Paper, paper-board, stationery and printing	3.85
8. Manufacturing of steel and steel goods	2.80
9. Cycle parts manufacture	3.15
10. Textile and Hosiery	13.25
11. Leather goods	0.60
12. Confectionery	3.05
13. Tea Industry	13.35
14. Rubber, cashew-nut and coir	11.85
15. Miscellaneous†	50.51
Total	224.04

5. Speech by H.V.R. Ienger at the IV Conference of the representatives of the States Financial Corporation held in November, 1957.

\*Excluding Andhra Pradesh State Financial Corporation and Orissa State Financial Corporation.

6. *Report of the Working Group on Industrial Co-operatives*, p. 50.

†They include furniture, toys, cabinets for radios, boxes and/or accumulators for rails coaches, textile bobbins, sign boards, etc.

loans sanctioned and disbursed increased by over six and eleven times respectively and the outstanding loans by over nine times. While expressing his gratification at the results achieved by them the Governor of the Reserve Bank of India did not feel that it was spectacular in the context of the total needs because the possibilities in this field were quite enormous.<sup>5</sup> Hence, it is clear that the loan activities of the Corporations need intensification and, therefore, more funds should be made available to them. They should also raise their own resources through different methods as provided for in the Act.

The loans sanctioned by them to 15 Industries including miscellaneous group of small industries as on 31st December, 1957, amounted to Rs. 224.04 lakhs, which was only 13.95 per cent (approximately a little less than one-seventh) of the total loans of Rs. 1,606 lakhs sanctioned by all the Corporations upto the end of March, 1958. The details of the advances made by the 12 State Financial Corporations upto 31 December, 1957, are given in the following table :

Of the small-scale industries receiving largest share were cold storage; food preservation and canning; general engineering and metal works; oil, rice and flour mills; textile and hosiery; confectionery; rubber; cashew-nut and coir; electricity supply and manufacture of electrical goods and pharmaceuticals and chemicals. It is, therefore, suggested that the loan policy of these Corporations should be so modified as to give greater preference to small-scale industries and less weightage to large-scale ones.

*Pilot Scheme of The State Bank of India*

The State Bank of India in collaboration with the State Department of Industries, State Financial Corporations and Co-operative Banks initiated as pilot scheme<sup>7</sup> for the co-ordinated provision of credit to small-scale industries. In October, 1958, there were over 50 centres and by the end of March, 1958, the State Bank of India had sanctioned 280 loans for an aggregate limit of Rs. 1.18 crores as against 51 loans for an aggregate limit of Rs. 23 lakhs sanctioned at the end of March, 1957.

*Types of Industries which are Financed by the State Bank of India under the Pilot Scheme and the advances made to each Industry upto 31st December, 1957.<sup>8</sup>*

Industry	Amount (In lakhs of Rs.)
1. Handloom, textiles, rugs, carpets, hosiery	5.37
2. Woodworking industries	3.05
3. Paper and cardboard work, stationery, etc.	3.38
4. Paints, distempers and chemicals	5.20
5. Marble tiles, spun pipes, etc.	2.00
6. Domestic utensils—brass, copper and stainless steel	1.31
7. Printing and publishing	1.36
8. Sewing machine parts and buttons	1.89
9. Rubber processing including tyre treadings	1.29
10. Military and police uniform and hosiery equipment	1.84
11. Minor engineering industries <sup>9</sup>	46.19
12. Miscellaneous	7.39
	<hr/>
	Total 80.27

The encouraging results beacon to the fact and handicaps often experienced owing to lack that in future years to come the State Bank of India will play an important part in financing the small-scale business units and thereby encourage the decentralised sector of Indian Industries.<sup>10</sup> With a view to intensify this scheme it is suggested that to overcome the difficulties

of reliable data and background information a systematic study of each industry not in terms of abstract and general proposals, but in a practical and development context, be made. By the end of the Second Five-Year Plan the number of centres should be doubled.

7. The scheme was introduced first in the three circles of the State Bank of India, viz., Bombay, Madras and Bengal at nine centres only.

8. They comprise of automobile and coach buildings, iron foundry, radio parts, pipes and metal fittings, transformers, railways carriage and wagon components, rich hullers, bus bodies, agricultural implements, sugarcane crushers, steel furniture, wire mails, electric fans, etc.

9. *Report of the Working Group on Industrial Co-operatives*, p. 50.

10. The State Bank of India has also put into operation at all the pilot centres a 'Liberalised Credit Scheme' under which small industries will get relaxation in the rigidity of standards and administrative procedures, positive help from the Agent of the Bank and clean advances in appropriate cases.

*State and Industrial Co-operatives*

Organisation of cottage and village industries on co-operative basis has been accepted by the Government and is outlined in the Second Five-Year Plan. "To imagine an industrial India without co-operatives as an important factor is to ignore the basic economic facts of the present time and era."<sup>11</sup> Co-operatives have shown an admirable progress in the handloom industry; the number of looms increased from 6.25 lakhs in 1950-51 to 1.26 lakhs in 1955-56, which represents over 3/5 of the estimated total number of active looms. Assistance to weavers in share capital and in working capital is provided by the Handlooms Board. Industrial Co-operatives mostly cover metal, oil, hand-spinning, pottery, tanning and leather industries. The Government contributes as loan from 75 to 87.5 per cent of the share capital and the balance is provided by the weavers. Under State Aid to Industries Act the rate of interest charged in the case of co-operatives upto a limit of Rs. 50,000 is 2.5 per cent only. In the field of industrial co-operatives, it is essential that there should be co-ordination between the State Governments, State Financial Corporations and Co-operative Banks including industrial associations and regional industrial co-operative banks and urban co-operative banks for serving financial needs of processing and industrial co-operative concerns. The Village and Small-scale Industries Committee has emphasised that the Reserve Bank of India should have an overall responsibility of financing rural and co-operative industry in the same way as it now has in the sphere of agricultural credit.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the Apex Co-operative Banks should avail of the provisions of Section 17(2) (bb) of the Reserve Bank of India Act and should open a special department, *viz.*, Co-operative Industries Finance Department, which will facilitate the adequate and regular flow of finance through normal channels to industrial co-operatives, co-operative mills, model co-operative factories and even to individual entrepreneurs of this sector.

*The National Small Industries Corporation*

The National Small Industries Corporation was set up by the Government of India in February, 1955, with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs and it has expanded its programme of activities. The Corporation through four Regional Corporations<sup>13</sup> and its four divisions—procurement, marketing, hire-purchase and industrial estates—renders assistance to small-scale industries but on the financial side its hire-purchase division deserves special mention, which provides facilities to small units for obtaining machines on easy instalment payment terms. The efforts of the marketing division to boost up sales of small-scale industries in India and abroad, are by no means less helpful in easing their financial position. On 31st March, 1958, the division accepted 1,183 applications for 4,175 machines for a total value of Rs. 3.4 crores and on that date, the division placed orders for 1,898 machines of the value of Rs. 1.9 crores and delivered to the parties concerned 973 machines of the value of Rs. 0.8 crores. For the various activities of the Corporation finances have been provided by the Government through loans and grants. With the increased tempo of the Corporation's activities, its share capital has been increased to Rs. 40 crores, but the Government should add more resources by granting additional loans.

*Bank Credit*

The small industries cannot borrow from organised credit institutions. The bigger joint stock banks are unwilling to undertake the financing of small industries because of the inadequacy of security that the small industries can offer, lack of standardisation of products, difficulties of marketing such products, and unsatisfactory managerial ability. Delay in payments by Government and Government agencies against goods supplied to them is another handicap. Further, where small industries undertake the job of processing materials supplied to them by the Governments, they are often required to deposit an amount equal to the value of such raw material with the Government. All these result in locking up their slender resources. Thus, it can rightly be said that while there is a plethora

11. *The International Planning Team, Small Industries in India*, p. 51.

12. *Village and Small-scale Industries Committee*, p. 28; para 63.

13. The four Regional Corporations are at Bombay, Delhi, Madras and Calcutta.

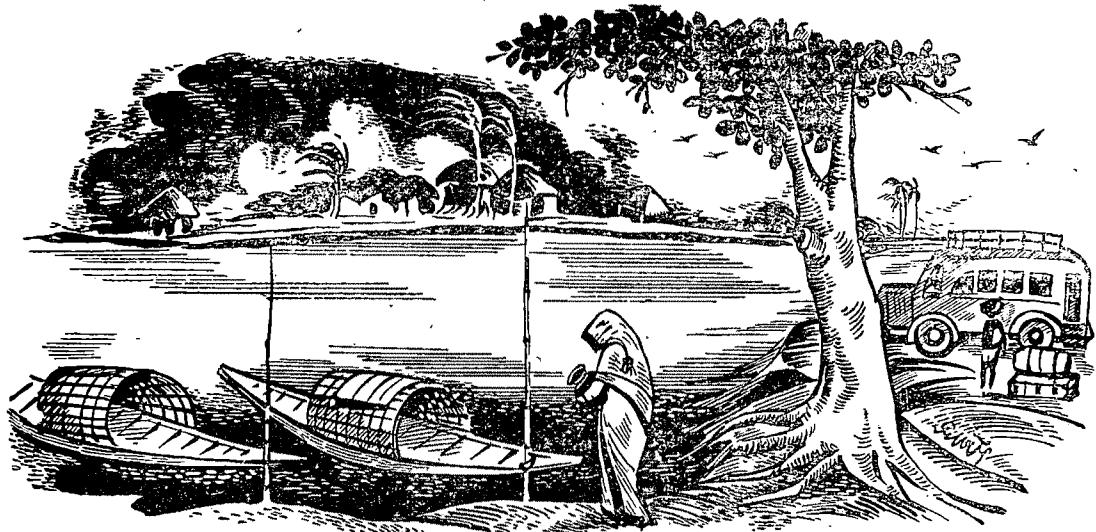
of bank money, the small manufacturers con-loans, the laxity of integration between different continue to suffer from scarcity of finance, and financing agencies, nominal use of co-operative hence, he has to pay as high a rate of interest industrial finance, the paucity of loanable funds, as 8 to 15 per cent.<sup>14</sup> This calls for a better the difficulty in obtaining the basic information integration of the system of bank credit with the about the small enterprises, the absence of financial requirements of the small businesses. It adequate security and, above all, the indifference is high time that the commercial banks should of the Reserve Bank of India in this respect. An emulate the example set by the State Bank of attempt should, however, be made on a pilot India. The commercial banks, in the mean-project basis, whereby the provision of industry while, should reorientate their ideas about the trial finance in India, like that of Japan, should type of goods that can be accepted as realisable be regulated by the loss compensation system, security and the basis of the risk of transaction the credit guarantee system and credit insurance and should also decentralise the authority for system.<sup>15</sup> In this connection it is worth mentioning that the Central Government has suggested granting short-term credit.

In view of the lack of statistical data it is difficult to assess correctly the financial needs of the small-scale industries, but it is an accepted fact that the financial requirements of this sector are great and they are not being sufficiently met by the existing financial agencies. It is because of their strict loan policy, the complexity of loan procedure, the prevalence of red-tapism, nepotism and favouritism, the delay in advancing

14. *Eastern Economist*, Small-scale Organised Industries Supplement, p. vi.

15. *Society for Social and Economic Studies, Financing for Medium and Small-scale Industries*, p. 100.

O:





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

BROWNE CORRESPONDENCE : Edited by Krishna Dayal Bhargava. *Indian Records Series*. Delhi, 1960. Price Rs. 15.00 or 23sh. 6d.

The history of Northern India and the Deccan in the last two decades of the eighteenth century presents a sad story of scramble for power among the ruling Maratha Houses, the contending factions at the court of the titular Emperor Shah Alam and the intrusive English and French East India Companies, not to speak of the successive risings of the Sikhs and the Jats within more limited areas. It was in this milieu that Warren Hastings during the latter part of his administration thought it fit to appoint one Major James Browne his personal envoy to report on the state of affairs at Delhi with special reference to the activities of the Indian Powers. Browne held his post from August 1782 to March 1785 when he was recalled by Warren Hastings' successor. Sir John Macpherson on Mahadji Sindhia's gaining the ascendancy at the Delhi Court. The whole correspondence between Browne and the then Governors-General, whatever might be its value for the student of Indian History, is published for the first time in the present volume. The editor has justified his choice by writing an Introduction and above all a number of informative Notes. Other notable features of this volume are a map of Northern India in 1775, a Bibliography and an Index. It is to be hoped that future volumes in the same series will deal with more important material for Indian history during the period under review.

Upendranath Ghoshal

THE COMMONWEALTH ECONOMY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA : By T. H. Silcock. Durham, North Carolina. Duke University Press for the Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, London : Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xvii+259. Bibliography. Price Rs. 30.

10

A dilemma inherent in colonial rule, Professor Silcock points out, that whereas "the problem of promoting economic development is largely one of the stimulating and guiding cultural changes in the direction of those activities which in the long run will raise the people's standard of living", it is not necessarily true that the group of Europeans temporarily resident in the colony are the best people to undertake the task.

A second dilemma is that "fitness for responsibility in a modern business or a modern state depends much more on certain developments of character (or changes in outlook) than on technical knowledge". But this development of character is a product not so much of a mere knowledge of English as of a certain culture which will vanish with the withdrawal of the European community. These dilemmas are at the heart of the problems which face any under-developed country on the threshold of independence from colonial rule, and for a detached identification of them, a prerequisite for a proper study, much credit is due to this monograph of Professor Silcock.

He is a Professor in the University of Malaya and the book consists of the texts of three lectures delivered by him at the Duke University (U.S.A.) Commonwealth-Studies Center, one lecture at the International Economic Association meeting in Singapore and also a paper on the possible effects of the creation of the European Free Trade Area on Malaya's trade.

While to the federal mind of the Americans, the rationale of the Common Market or of the E.F.T.A., no less preferential systems, presents little difficulty of understanding the idea of the Commonwealth, for historical associations alone, meets with a peculiar psychological resistance. The task that the Professor has set himself is not that of systematizing apologies for the

Commonwealth. The lectures were designed to give his American audience a picture of the peculiar complexities which beset an economic system emerging from a colonial status to independence. The book discusses how far the economic institutions appropriate to a colony geared to the mother country must be modified both in direction and in content to fit it for the new role. Professor Silcock points out for instance that there is a suggestion that capital formation for industrialisation has been retarded in Malaya by past failure to grant the tontine system legal sanction.

This book is not, however, concerned with abstract theories but rather more usefully with giving a case study of the Malayan economy about which Professor Silcock so eminently qualified by his intimate knowledge of the subject has many shrewd things to say. The separation of Singapore from the Federation of Malaya has resulted, as in the case of the division of East and West Bengal, in unfortunate economic consequences. Singapore is in effect the economic, the financial and commercial capital of the whole region of S.E. Asia and its separation from its hinterland has deformed the natural economic structure of the area. There is also a political problem, in that the population of Malaya is only 49 per cent Malayans and the entrepot trade of Singapore is in the hands of the Chinese who have trade connections over the whole of South-East Asia as well as in Malaya. The tariff and industrial policy of Malaya is ridden by political problems.

The second striking point about the economies of Malaya and other Commonwealth territories in the area, North Borneo, Sarawak and Brunei is that their export trade in each case depends on a few major commodities such as tin, rubber, rice, copra and tea. Although this dependence has proved disastrous in the past in times of worldwide slumps the conclusion would seem to be that a high level of concentrated trade is better than a low level of diversified trade as the former encourages investment from overseas. Also the effects of mild recessions in trade are now eased by commodity stabilisation schemes and other international measures.

The stark economic facts nevertheless beg the question whether, with the elaborate apparatus of exploitation in a colonial framework dismantled, it would be more advantageous for the liberated to stick to the original productive pattern or to transform the economy to an alternative pattern more appropriate to the capacity,

interest and the genius of the people. Plainly some adjustments will have to be made if only for the institutional change that may come inevitably from the transfer of power. Professor Silcock has whetted our appetite. Let us hope that a further volume from the Professor containing a solution of these fundamental problems of direct interest not only to Malaya but also to other Commonwealth countries of South-East Asia will be forthcoming before long.

Margaret Basu

**INDIA AND JAPAN :** By Chaman Lal. Published by Bhikshu Chaman Lal, C/o. The V. V. R. Institute, P.O. Sadhu Ashram. Distt. Hoshiarpur (Punjab-India). Price Rs. 20/-.

The book seeks to draw attention to the traces of close cultural contact existing between India and Japan for a long period of time. The two countries are referred to in the sub-title of the book as 'friends of fourteen centuries.' It consists of twenty chapters written in the form of articles by Japanese as well as Indian writers. The first chapter, a tribute to Japan, is taken, it is stated, from a speech delivered by Poet Tagore more than forty years back. The next eight chapters are from the pens of eight Japanese authors, holding responsible positions in different walks of life. They deal with topics like 'Asia is one', 'Blessings of Buddhism', 'India the Mother', 'Japanese are India's grand-children' and 'Indo-Japanese Co-operation'. Of the remaining eleven chapters, one, the sixteenth, entitled 'Hindu and Shinto Philosophy' is from the pen of late Sri D. S. Despande, Secretary of the India Independence League of Japan. The rest appear to be the editor's own contribution though the name of the author is not mentioned. The subjects covered by the latter include interesting items like 'the Mantra Sect', 'Hindu-gods in Japan', 'Our Common Festivals and Rites', 'Imprints of India', 'Buddhist Deities', and 'Historic Temples and Shrines'. The book is an interesting compilation containing a good deal of valuable information about the cultural and religious life of Japan. A number of statements here and there would appear to be rather obscure or even inaccurate. The Japanese word *Obon* is traced to Sanskrit *Olanban* (p. 105), which is not known to Sanskritists. To say that *Kusa* is the Sanskrit name for grass or herb (p. 138), is far from accurate. The reader fails to appreciate fully the intention of the author when he says 'Jugoya (evening of Aug. 15, according to the lunär calendar) fell on Sept. 27, this year' (p. 116).

Chintaharan Chakravarti

GOVARDHANRAM MADHAVRAM to all dear and near ones, to his country and TRIPATHI'S SCRAP BOOK 1894-1904: to God, the life of a *sthitaprajna* in the making. Edited by K. C. Pandya, R. P. Bakshi, S. J. Pandya : N. M. Tripathi Pr. Ltd., Princess Street, Bombay-2. (1959). Price. Rs. 5.

P. R. Sen

#### SANSKRIT

CHANDRAMAHIPATI—KAMLA : By Sri-nivasa Shastri. To be had of the author, 118, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9. Pp. 295. Price Rs. 8/-.

This is, indeed, an outstanding work in Sanskrit. It is a novel in which the philosophy of Sarvodaya (the learned author prefers, however, the term Sarvabhyudaya) is woven with exemplary felicity of style around the life of Chandra Mahipati, a 'king who distributes his wealth among his subjects' for the well-being of all. The transition from the rule of the prince to the rule of the people is vividly brought out with the aid of skilful characterization and inter-action of events in which history, juris-prudence, poetry, etc., are pressed suitably into service by the scholarly writer. The present publication, "Kamla", is only the first part of the projected work. The reader will now await eagerly the publication of the second part. The book certainly deserves to be approved as a text-book in colleges so that the students may be influenced by the ideals of Sarvodaya, the gospel of the new age and new humanity.

G. M.

#### HINDI

BAPUKE PATRO, Vol. III. Letters written to Kusumbahen Desai. Edited by Kakasaheb Kalelkar. Navajivan Prakasan Mandir. Ahmedabad-14. December, 1959. Price, Rs. 1/25.

This is a wonderful selection of letters written by Gandhiji to Kusumbahen from 22.7.27 to 23.10.46, covering the greater part of Gandhiji's political life in India for about 20 years. The history of Sabarmati Ashram can never ignore the contribution made by Shrimati Kusum Desai for the cause, and Gandhiji's letters to her present this able assistant in an agreeable light.

There is also a collection of letters, couched in affectionate terms, written by Kasturba to Kusumbahen which reveal the wealth of loving care bestowed on her by Kasturba: in this sense, it is indeed a rare collection: and the volume ends with an article—A Valedictory Tribute—*Kurukshetra*—an arena for performance of duties from Kusumbahen to Kasturba. Kakasaheb's

All this in a very forceful style which shows the impassioned though philosophical nature of the author.

It is a document which speaks eloquently for the author, and it is highly interesting reading—"interesting" and "fascinating" as one of the editors truly says—which can compare favourably with the diaries of Pepys and Evelyn, though it is not a diary.

It is a mingling of the best in Western and Eastern tradition which moulded the writer's mind—Wordsworth's Prelude no less than Bhartrihari's slokas. The editors are to be congratulated on the results of their labour devoted to the publication of such an important book—depicting the inner life of Govardhanram which was, to repeat again the words of one of a rare collection: and the editors, both a *Dharmakshetra* and a *Kurukshetra*—an arena for performance of duties from Kusumbahen to Kasturba. Kakasaheb's

introduction shows the importance of the publication.

P. R. Sen.

**MERE SAPNUN KA BHARAT : By Gandhiji.**  
Edited by R. K. Prabhu. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. 1960. Pp. 336. Price Rs. 2.50.

This is a compilation of extracts from Gandhiji's writings, bearing on the subject of India of his dreams, most of which, as, still remain only dreams in spite of our having won freedom. Reading once again Gandhiji's views on the crucial problems like the education the country needs, the rural reconstruction projects required, the delegation or responsibility and the decentralization of power, which are the very essence of democracy, etc., one is constrained to observe as he looks around, in the manner of Hamlet, "Look at this and look at that!"

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**JIVAN DARSHANA OF SHRI DURKALJI:**  
By (1) Mrs. Neera Desai, M.A.; (2) Miss Raksha Dhru. M.A., (3) Mrs. Maya Mehta. M.A., (4) Mrs. Uma Oza. B.A.: Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Jacket with Viswa Chakra. Cloth bound. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3.00.

J. B. Durkal, M.A., a retired Professor, a well-known *Sanatani* on whom Jagadguru Shankaracharya conferred a distinction for his work in the field of our ancient culture on the occasion of his 75th birthday celebration his biography edited and published by his daughters and grand daughters was presented to him at a public meeting at Ahmedabad. He has written about 19 Gujarati and six English books on various subjects,—moral, ethical, and cultural.

K. M. J.

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# Indian Periodicals

## Rebellion, Lese-Majesty and Treason Chowringhee, writes editorially:

Now that Pandit Nehru's gang of Congressmen have decided to whitewash the crimes committed by some leading men of Assam, who were members of the Assam Government, the Assam Congress and the Assam learned professions; we may well discuss what the nature of those crimes are and how those would be looked at by civilised people in civilised countries. The first name in the list of crimes that comes to our mind in Lese-Majesty, which according to the Oxford Dictionary means "hurt majesty, i.e., of the sovereign people. Any offence against the sovereign authority; treason." Arising out of the same root, to hurt, damage or injure, one gets Lese-Humanity or "an outrage upon the dignity of humanity."

Treason is dealt with at length by the same dictionary and means to "betray" or "the action of betraying; the betrayal of the trust undertaken by or reposed in anyone; breach of faith, treachery." In law treason proper is called high treason which means "violation by a subject of his allegiance to his sovereign or to the State;" Act 25, Edw. III, Stat. 5, C. 2, among other descriptions of high treason mentions, "levying war in the king's dominions." Also "actual or contemplated use of force to make the king change his counsels or to intimidate either or both of the House of Parliament." "Petit or petty treason" is "against a subject" of the king. "Constructive treason" is constituted by "action which though not actually or overtly coming under any of the acts specified in the Statute of Treason, was declared by law to be treason and punishable as such." Then there are many acts which are treasonable and treasonous and the general idea is that a high degree of treachery is akin to war against the State, the king or the law. The punishment for high treason and for acts that are treasonable had been DEATH for a long period in history. Pandit Nehru, who had studied law at one time, should, know all about Lese-Majesty and High

Treason. And he can easily judge whether the V.I.P.s. of Assam have been guilty of treachery against the State, violation of the Constitution which is the expression of the sovereignty of the Indian people and of trampling the Law under foot in a thousand places in an organised manner which was certainly "levying war in the" sovereign peoples' "dominion" and, therefore, high treason.

Coming to Rebellion and Rebels we find in the same dictionary meanings and explanations which make it clear that the Assam insurrection against the State and law and many lawfully built and established homes and institutions, to say nothing of the many law-abiding and taxpaying subjects of the Republic of India who have been killed, assaulted and subjected to robbery with violence, arson, rape and other organised and criminal molestation; constitute in every sense a rebellion against the sovereign power established by law. For rebels are persons who refuse "obedience or allegiance" and offer "armed opposition to the rightful or actual ruler or ruling power of the country." The actual ruling power in India rests in the people of India. So, whoever attacks, kills and fights the people of India in an organised manner in any part of the national territory of India, is guilty of rebellion. The V.I.P.s. of Assam, including many Government servants, political party members, teachers, students, lawyers, etc., etc., did conspire to and actually engage in the mass-killing of a body of persons who were the lawful citizens of the Republic of India. This they did in defiance of the orders issued by the Government of India and in spite of the behests of the Prime Minister of India. If this is not rebellion, we should like to know what is. Those who thought that they could kill, assault and set fire to and loot the houses of all those who did not speak their dialect or language and did not declare them to be the sole power in the particular area; knowing all the time that they as well as their victims were the sub-

jects of the Republic of India, surely defied and violated the law and the Constitution and waged war against the State in a treasonable manner. Pandit Nehru may now try to explain away these terrible happenings by going to Assam personally or by sending a Bengali or a Marwari henchman there; but he must remember that there is no legal basis to the procedure he is choosing to adopt for whitewashing crimes which are mostly punishable by death. Aiding and abetting such crimes or becoming accessories after the fact of the same does no credit to anyone who claims to be an honourable man. It also puts him and his associates in a very unenviable position. For, there may not be any power to-day in India which can challenge Pandit Nehru's decision effectively. There were similarly no power at one time which could challenge Hitler's or Mussolini's acts of tyranny. But later on there were the war crimes trials and many great men faced disgrace and even death after those trials. No man is big enough to defy Justice and Morality in a contumacious manner.

#### Aetiology of Assam Atrocities

An article under the above caption published in **Vigil**, August 27, 1960, will be read with interest by all who are willing to know the main factors behind the recent happenings in Assam :

Assam was not touched by a barge pole by the States Reorganisation Commission. Its peoples,—Assamese, Bengalees, Hill Tribals (except the Nagas) and others—remain where they were and speak their own languages in their clearly demarcated areas : (a) Assamese in the five districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, Darrang, Nowgong and Kamrup, with half of Goalpara, being interspersed with nearly a million Bengalees. (b) Bengalees in the other half of Goalpara, and wholly in the district of Cachar. (c) The Tribal dialects, each in its own area of the four Hills Districts.

All these different races are 'sons of the soil,' being inhabitants of Assam since the creation in 1874 of that State, with the Hills Districts and the Bengal Districts of Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara tagged on to it to make it viable. From the conquest of Assam by the British in 1826 till 1874 it was a Division of Bengal. The complaint now of the Bengalees dominating its eco-

nomy or occupying top posts in the Government is anti-national. And if the atrocities were a 'revolt of the sons of the soil against the Bengalees', it was only 'a revolt of the Assamese sons of the soil against the Bengalee sons of the soil.' The Chief Secretary is a son of the soil from Cachar and the I.G.P. is another from Goalpara.

After the sacrifice of Sylhet to Pakistan, the Assamese, though forming only a third of the population, became the dominant people, having a compact area to live in. The Bengalees also were equal in number, one-third, but scattered and weak, except in Cachar. The Hill Tribals and others also numbered a third and completed the total population of 9 million. In the Census report of 1951, however, the Assamese were shown as 49%, a growth biologically impossible and not wholly accepted even by the States Reorganisation Commission. On the contrary, the Commission recommended a 70% majority for any language to claim to be Regional.

But the Assamese wanted to export their  $5\frac{1}{2}$ -district minority language out of its own boundary to the Hills Districts and beyond in Cachar where no Assamese is spoken. It is from these areas that protest against such imposition arose. The million Bengalees living among the Assamese in their  $5\frac{1}{2}$ -district area not only acquiesced in, but vociferously agreed to accept Assamese as the Regional language which they spoke as well as the Assamese themselves.

The curious fact is that it is these Assamese-speaking Bengalees living in the midst of the Assamese who have been made the victims of the holocaust. Is it because they spoke Assamese? Can there be any 'linguistic' reason for such atrocities on them? Definitely 'No'.

What, then, is the reason? The reason is not fully economic either. There is no unemployed graduate in Assam, as her Finance Minister Mr. Ahmed and another Minister Mr. Tripathy have said. The cause of discontent may be found in the failure in competition against the Bengalee 'sons of the soil' in Assam and the desire to occupy all top-posts without competition. Not a single Assamese has since its introduction been able to find a place in the All-India I.A.S. examination. They wanted 'reservation' for them in that service when Pandit Nehru was in Assam early this year. The minimum qualification

was lowered for them for services in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and other Central undertakings. Four of them were included in the selection of ten Engineers sent to Rumania for training for the Oil Refinery at Gauhati by lowering the standard of qualifications. But the Bengalee 'sons of the soil' usually come out at the top in all competitive examinations—including the University. Yet the Assamese are taken in the State services by unconstitutionally discriminating against the Bengalee 'sons of the soil,' a practice condemned by the States Reorganisation Commission. Thus there is no unemployment in Assam—educated or uneducated—and no frustration on that score. The only frustration is generated by a reverse complex of the idea of being the 'Ruling Race,' so carefully fostered since independence and the amputation of Sylhet.

The Bengalee districts of Cachar and Goalpara and the Hills Districts speaking their own dialects object to their areas being called 'Assam,' which is the only ground for the Assamese people to consider these districts as their possession. They wanted to go out of that State. But the Assamese started a riot in Goalpara in 1955 to make the Bengalees there agree to remain in Assam when appearing before the S.R.C. This year, they started a riot against the Bengalees of all the six districts to expel them from that State. Why this paradox? Because they were, till lately, afraid if their five districts with a part of Goalpara alone could remain a State if the others went out; and yet they hated the Bengalees for their competitive superiority in every field—services (Government and private, as in the Oil industry and Tea gardens) professions, University examinations, agriculture by reclaiming land from the jungles, petty business and shop-sepping, and everything. In the Matriculation examination of 1960, for instance, 8 out of the first 10 places were occupied by the Bengalee 'sons of the soil.' Big traders in Assam are all Marwaris, but the Assamese have no feeling of jealousy with them. They claim 'Assam' (of eleven districts) for the 'Assamese' (i.e., the Assamese-speaking people of the five districts), a one-third minority claiming to rule over the other two-thirds. To this Mahatma Gandhi commented: "Some Assamese thought that Assam belonged exclusively

to the Assamese. If that spirit fired every province, to whom could India belong?" (*Harijan*, 7.9.1947, p. 311). The remark was called for by a statement to this effect by the then Prime Minister, the late Shri Gopinath Bardoloi himself.

The Assamese were thus faced with an insoluble enigma and felt at bay:

(i) How to retain political 'Assam' of eleven districts (then twelve, including Naga Hills District which later joined 'Nagaland') as a close preserve for the ethnical 'Assamese' living only in five and a half districts (and that also interspersed with a million Bengalees)—and yet get rid of the competition of the Bengalees.

(ii) How to export the minority language of the Assamese far over its  $5\frac{1}{2}$  districts' borders to the Hills Districts and beyond into Cachar and make it the State language?

Such a blind-alley situation has been simmering in Assam since after the Partition and, with every passing year, impotent rage and blind hatred were gathering momentum by repeated failures to push the Bengalee 'sons of the soil' out of every field. There was a riot in 1948 against the Bengalees of new Railway H.Q. There was another in 1955, at Goalpara, as already stated. There was the beating up even of the General Manager and Engineers of the Oil Refinery under construction at Gauhati. But an idea was being propagated for sometime, with the discovery of new oil fields at Naharkatya and Moran and the Oil Refinery at Gauhati progressing towards operation, that there would be enough revenue for the  $5\frac{1}{2}$  or 6 districts of Assam to make it viable as a State. And, if need be, the Assamese could now afford to part with Cachar and a part of Goalpara and the Hills Districts, and be free from the hated Bengalee 'sons of the soil.' Along with the sons, they were now prepared even to part with the soil. That will solve the problem of the language as well by showing them as a majority of 70% in the next Census.

But what about the million Bengalees living inside the  $5\frac{1}{2}$  districts? They turned their eyes to the south to East Bengal and remembered the way. The Government of India could be relied upon not to

interfere and jeopardize the Congress majority in the next election.

As to the immediate handle, the language question was ready. Politicians vied with each other, irrespective of Party affiliation, in their support to make it the Regional language all over Assam and make it an instrument to boost up their own stock against the others. The rivals within the Congress also saw their opportunity. If the Ministry agreed, they would come into a headlong collision with Cachar, the Hills Districts and also Goalpara. If they did not, there would be no vote for them from the Congress in the next election. The Government officials saw the prospect of getting rid of the sprinkling of Bengalee (sons of the soil) officers yet in some of the high posts of whom they complained; students, of their hated rivals in the University examinations and jobs; the shop-keepers and small traders, of the more efficient Bengalee businessmen; and the peasants, of the owners of the reclaimed lands which would then fall like ripe fruits into their hands. And lastly, the goondas were mobilised with the lure of loot in money and women with promise of no interference from the police. Thus most Assamese stood to gain something, none to lose any.

The stage was set accordingly by months of preparation and the fuse ignited. The Government pretended ignorance in spite of a wide and costly intelligence service. The political parties were busy organising and keeping watch that Government might not move. The administration went into mental hibernation, and the police either joined the looters or extorted money on the promise of protection that was not to be given. And the Central Government were kept in their place with the tried method of Party black-mail. In consequence, a reign of terror was let loose on the innocent and helpless Bengalees with uncontrolled violence. Property was plundered, houses reduced to ashes, men (even children) were killed and thrown into fire, women ravished and abducted or left bleeding, clawed and mutilated all over in certain cases. And there was not a man in authority human enough in all-Assam to raise even his little finger to stop this ghastly orgy for over three weeks. That was Assam between June 22 and July 12, 1960.

Since then, there has been no enquiry into the number killed or burnt alive (including women and children), number of women and girls ravished or abducted or mutilated, number of men and women missing and not accounted for yet. And this is India since July 13, 1960.

### The New Science of Astro-Botany

Victor Bazykine, Director of Moscow Planetarium, writes in *Careers & Courses*, September, 1960 :

Fifteen years ago, a Russian astronomer, Gavril Tikhov, reported to the Alma Ata branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on the results of years spent observing Mars. A new word—astro-botany—was used to describe the budding science of the optical properties of the surfaces of far-off planets, and particularly of their plant life.

At the end of the 18th century, astronomers observing Mars through their telescopes detected dark greyish-blue areas on its reddish surface which they called "seas". But, in the following century, observers ventured the hypothesis that these "seas" were actually huge zones of vegetation. It was noticed that they changed colour with the seasons on Mars. These cyclical variations somewhat resembled the seasonal changes on Earth. This, however, was not sufficient evidence to prove the existence of plant life on Mars. In fact, the supporters of the theory soon ran into serious difficulties and even contradictions.

To determine the composition of a distant celestial body, astronomers study in particular how sunlight is reflected by its various parts. This data enables them to make comparisons with elements on earth, particularly plants, whose optical properties they know. These properties are colour and the ability to reflect various rays, notably infra-red rays.

To do this, scientists use spectral analysis. When sunlight passes through a triangular prism, it decomposes to form a vari-coloured line, the spectrum—red at one end and violet at the other. Beyond the visible red light, there are invisible infra-red rays bearing heat, while beyond violet light there is an ultra-violet zone, also invisible to the naked eye. When they pass through a transparent substance, the sun's rays are partially absorbed. At this point dark lines appear in the spectrum, whose

position is determined in each case by the composition of the different chemical elements or combinations.

Therefore, one need only know the spectrum of a given substance to be able to study its composition. For example, the spectrum of a green plant will show dark lines in its red range which indicate absorption by chlorophyll. Astronomers maintained that if the dark areas on Mars were really zones of vegetation, dark lines should also appear in its spectrum. But the most careful observations failed to detect them.

The climate of Mars is very harsh and its atmosphere is extremely rarefied. Sudden changes in temperature are noted: from 70 to 85 degrees F. during the day, it can drop to 40 below zero degree F. at night. There are no stretches of water on Mars and its atmosphere contains infinitely less water vapour and oxygen than that of the Earth. All these conditions, it seemed, were unfavourable to the existence of life on Mars.

But, in 1945, Tikhov put forward the idea that Martian plants had gradually adapted themselves over a long period of evolution to the stern conditions on their planet and that, as a result, their optical properties might also have changed. To support this theory, Tikhov and his assistants made a series of expeditions at various times during the year to high mountain areas, the polar Tundra, and cold desert regions. They proved that optical properties actually can be modified under certain conditions. At very low temperatures, in particular, plants absorb solar energy not only in the infra-red range of the spectrum but also in the red and even the yellow-green range.

Plants on Mars, therefore, absorb all rays but reflect only violet and blue ones. That is why Martian "seas" have that greyish-blue colour. In other words these plants can not afford to be bright green. It is believed that this is the reason why the chlorophyll line is broader, less clearly-defined and, consequently, very difficult to detect in the spectrum of the Martian "seas".

This research marked the beginnings of astro-botany. The new science has enabled us to discover hitherto unknown optical properties in some of the Earth's plants. For instance, Tikhov and his assistants found that certain higher plants,

such as conifers (particularly, the Canadian blue pine) and even leafed plants have spectral properties similar to those of the Martian spectrum. That led to the hypothesis that Mars might contain not only evergreen plants but also species whose leaves change colour between the Spring and the fall.

From this, Soviet astro-botanists also draw conclusions regarding the climate which existed on Mars millions of years ago. In the early Spring (April and early May in the average latitudes of the U.S.S.R.) the undergrowth is reddish, pink and brownish-red. Obeying the general law of biology, each living being repeats in its own development that of its species. Thus, terrestrial plants reproduce the colour of their distant ancestors 100,000,000 years ago when the climate of our planet was much warmer. A somewhat similar phenomenon can be observed on Mars. When its polar ice-caps melt and dwindle in size, a reddish-brown rim appears on their edge, particularly around the southern ice-cap, and, in the summer, greenish and greyish-blue tints can be observed. Soviet scientists believe that on Mars too, many young shoots and leaves have the red and brown colour of their distant ancestors and that, consequently, the planet's climate was less harsh millions of years ago. It was probably at that time that life first appeared on Mars; later, it adapted itself to the severe conditions now prevailing.

The notion of a "harsh" climate, moreover, is very relative. There are plant species on Earth which are capable of standing sudden changes in temperature, of getting along with very little water and of living without oxygen. Lichens and mosses can resist 190 degrees of frost and certain spores of bacteria and ferns can survive at even lower temperatures. Recently, moss and lichens were found on the bare, frozen crust of Antarctica. And, in certain very dry areas of the Sahara where the temperature of the air is 120 degrees above zero, as many as 100,000 microbes have been found in one gram of sand. Plants in the Pamir and Tibet where the air is 60 times less humid than in a normal home easily survive not only the extreme dryness of the atmosphere but also extreme changes in temperature.

The red colour of Martian "deserts" has led to the belief that their sand may contain a great deal of oxygen. This in turn

has led to the assumption that oxidation has taken place on Mars and is, perhaps, still continuing. And the melting of the polar ice-caps in Spring is thought to prove the existence of underground water tables.

According to Tikhov, low pressure cannot be considered a serious obstacle to the existence of life on Mars. Experiments made by Russian scientists prove, in fact, that maize seeds grown in conditions similar to those on Mars can germinate and produce leaves.

Recently, Kovalsky, a Ukrainian astronomer, carried out a new study of the surface of Mars based on its reflection of sunlight. He observed that the Martian "continents" are uniform surfaces whereas the "seas" are much less smooth. This discovery is extremely important. Until now, it was believed that both the Martian "seas" and "continents," had the same uniform surface, a fact which provided a strong argument for the opponents of the plant life theory.

Further, in 1958, the American astrophysicist, Sinton, succeeded in proving that the infra-red range of the Martian spectrum had the same dark line as the spec-

trum of terrestrial plants. In the latter, this line indicates the presence of organic matter. This is, therefore, a new and very strong piece of evidence in favour of plant life.

Tikhov also maintained that life was possible not only on Mars and Venus, but also up to a certain point, on Jupiter and Saturn. These remote planets receive very little of the sun's heat and the temperature drops to 220 degrees F. below zero in the outer layers of their atmospheres which contain a great deal of Ammonia and Methane as well as hydrogen. Methane and Ammonia are formed on Earth by the fermentation of a number of organic substances, but they can also be of non-organic origin. Their spectrum, however, differs considerably, depending on their origin. Tikhov compared the spectrum of "organic" Methane and those of Jupiter and Saturn, and found that there were similarities. Before his death on 25, January 1960, he put forward the theory that micro-organisms exist on these two planets, probably in the lower strata of the atmosphere where the temperature is above freezing point.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## First Publication of Tagore's Poems in the Western World

An article by John T. Reid, Cultural Attaché, American Embassy, published in the *Cultural Notes*, August 19, 1960, casts new light on the first publication of Rabindranath's poems in the Western world. The credit goes to Harriet Monroe, who founded a small periodical called *Poetry : A Magazine of Verse*, in the city of Chicago in the year 1912. Its appearance marked a glorious renaissance of American poetry. Poets of outstanding merit, like Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Edgar Lee Masters and Ezra Pound, were among its early collaborators.

The connecting link between the magazine and Rabindranath was established by Ezra Pound. In this connection Mr. Reid writes :

When Ezra Pound, the magazine's foreign correspondent, was in London, he met Tagore, was impressed, and induced him to permit the publication of some of the poems from *Gitanjali* in Harriet Monroe's new poetry magazine. Although the young woman who had founded *Poetry* had never before heard of the Bengali writer, she and her colleagues were excited when they read his lovely devotional poems and six of them were printed in the December, 1912 number.

This was the first publication of Tagore's poems, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in the Western world. It undoubtedly assisted in the "discovery" of Tagore by the West. Equally important was that it signalled the beginning of America's long appreciation of the Indian poet and his ideals.

After this brief introduction Mr. Reid tells the following story about Rabindranath :

Rabindranath Tagore himself had in the meantime come to visit the United States. His son, Rathindranath, had studied at the University of Illinois from 1906 to 1909, and in 1912 had returned from India to Urbana, Illinois, with his newly-married bride to study for his degree in agriculture. In October, the poet took up residence with the young couple in the quiet, mid-West university town, where he busied himself writing a series of lectures later given at Harvard University. He was so busy, indeed, that Rathindranath could not complete his post-graduate thesis because he had to type

his father's lectures. These were later published under the title, *Sadhana*.

The Tagores learning of the publication of the poems in the magazine, wrote to Miss Monroe and in reply received a warm invitation to come to Chicago, heartily seconded by Mrs. William Vaughan Moody, the widow of a well-known American poet. Let me tell the rest of this tale in Harriet Monroe's own words :

"Soon after New Year's Day Mr. Tagore arrived with his son and exquisite little daughter-in-law, and during that winter the visit was repeated three or four times. This was the year before his Nobel Prize award and all its attendant publicity. So we were able to get acquainted with the poet without interference from the world's curiosity. We used to spend evenings around Mrs. Moody's fire listening to the chanting of poems in Bengali, or the recitation of their English equivalents, and feeling as if we were seated at the feet of some ancient wise man of the East, generous in his revelation of beauty. . . . ."

## Isadora Duncan : Her Influence on Modern Dance

Isadora Duncan, called "America's most famous dancer," died in 1927, in a tragic and highly dramatic accident. S. J. Harry in an article under the above caption in *Cultural Notes*,

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August 19, 1960, published by the United States Information Service, has made an attempt to assess her influence on and contributions to the development of the art of Western dance in the 19th century. A portion of the article is reproduced here :

The facts of Isadora Duncan's early years are hardly a clue to the career that was to come. She was born on May 27, 1878, in San Francisco, California and had a poverty-stricken childhood. As a dancer she was largely self-taught, though she did have some old-fashioned ballet-dance training. Her first professional activity was as a teacher of ballroom dancing; she was only in her middle teens at the time.

Making her way east, she danced in music halls—billed as “The Californian Faun”—and in theatrical companies. But she was fated not to remain in obscurity. By the time she was 19, her picture was appearing in New York newspapers, with captions such as “Society’s Favourite Dancer who had the good luck to create something absolutely novel in the way of dancing.”

She went from New York to Europe and the early years there were years of education and inspiration for her. She saw the great French tragedian Mounet-Sully in “Oedipus Rex,” heard Nikisch conduct Beethoven’s Seventh Symphony in Germany, visited Greece, whose classic civilization she felt to be the source of her art. She established a German school of dancing near Berlin in 1904, and later another school in Moscow. Wherever she went, she tried to popularize the barefoot dance and was soon acclaimed by critics and audiences.

At that time, according to Isadora Duncan’s latest biographer Macdougall, the Imperial Russian Ballet was petrified by rigid traditions, rigidly observed. He writes :

“Only a few of the leading members of the company were great dancers in the true sense of the word. A ballet dancer’s work was measured by acrobatic prowess, *tours de force*, leaps, pirouettes, and *entrechats* performed faultlessly by seemingly steel-like limbs always kept in trim through long exercises constantly practiced from childhood. . . .”

“To the public used to ballets staged in so spectacular a manner, the spectacle of a

solitary foreigner, barefooted, barelegged, with uncorseted body clad in a filmy tunic was undoubtedly a shocking sight. Dancing alone, moreover to music of the opera house and concert hall surely never meant by its creators to be danced too !”

But Isadora Duncan did have a profound effect on those who were eager to infuse a new spirit into the Russian ballet. Sergei Diaghilev, who was the imaginative driving force of the revival of the art of ballet, spoke with authority about the role played by Isadora Duncan in Russia, and her influence on Fokine’s epoch-making choreographic creations. Diaghilev wrote:

“I knew Isadora very well in St. Petersburg and I was present with Fokine at her first performance. Fokine was mad about her and the influence of Duncan on him was the foundation of all his creation. . . . Isadora gave an irreparable jolt to the classic ballet of Imperial Russia.”

Isadora Duncan’s life was marked with tragedy. She married Sergei Esenin, a Russian poet and divorced him in 1922. In 1913, her two adored children had perished with their nurse when the taxi in which they were riding plunged into the Seine, a blow from which she never recovered. But she survived for 14 years more, a haunted, tormented woman. All her great hopes and plans, it seemed, had come to nothing.

On the morning of September 14, 1927, Isadora Duncan’s prospects, her fortune and her spirits were at their lowest ebb. She appeared at a friend’s door, saying : “I cannot go on like this. For 14 years I have had this pain in my heart. I cannot go on. I cannot continue to live in a world where there are beautiful, golden-haired children. I cannot, I cannot. . . .”

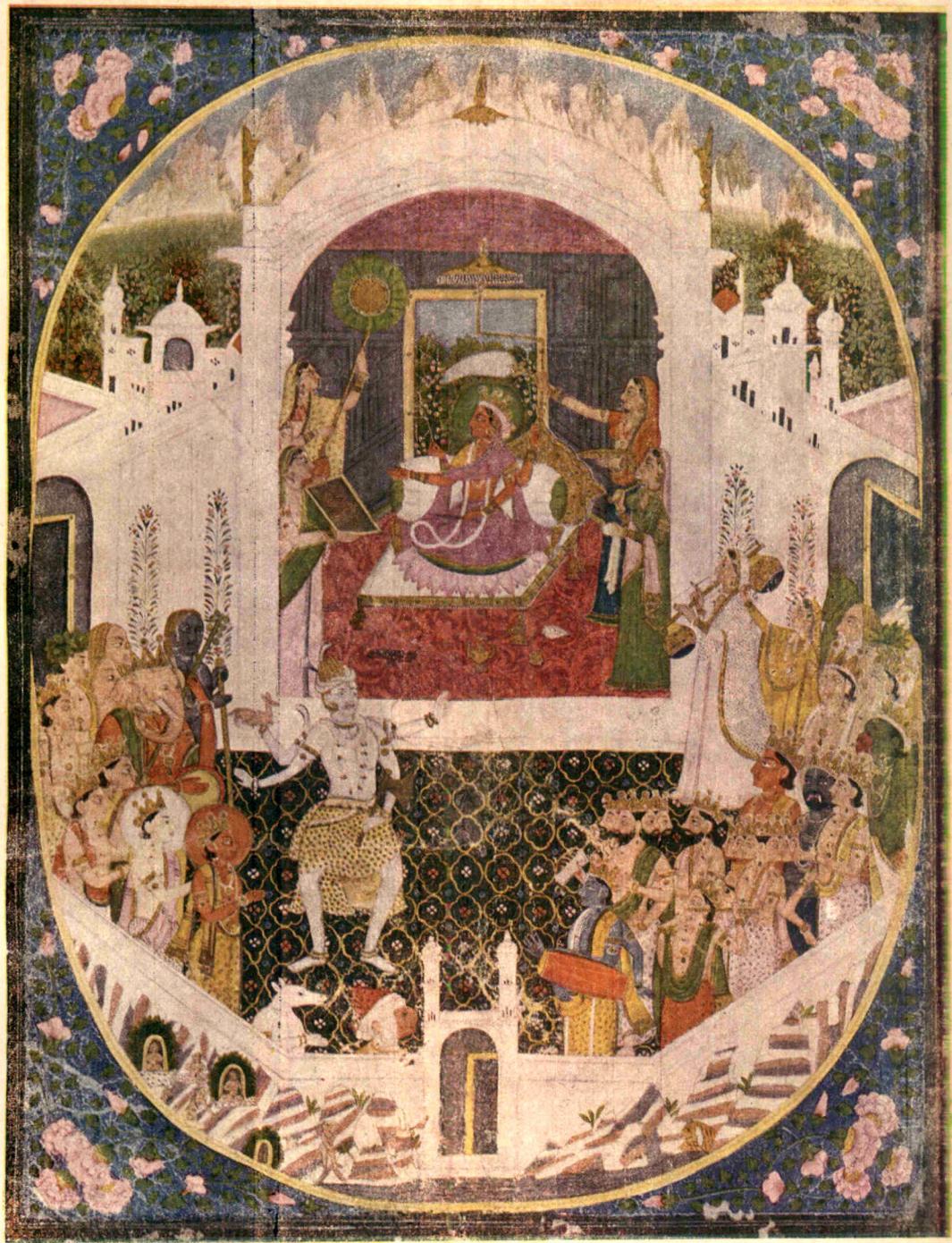
That evening, her spirits revived—the recurrent miracle of which she was always capable—she waved good-bye to her friends, saying, “Farewell, my friends, I’m off to glory.” She got into a small sports car, a long scarf trailing outside. The driver started, the scarf became entangled in the wheel, and Isadora was instantly strangled to death, at the age of only 49.

The end of her life was not the end of her art, for that has become immortalized in the renaissance of the dance which we know today.

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Editor—KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

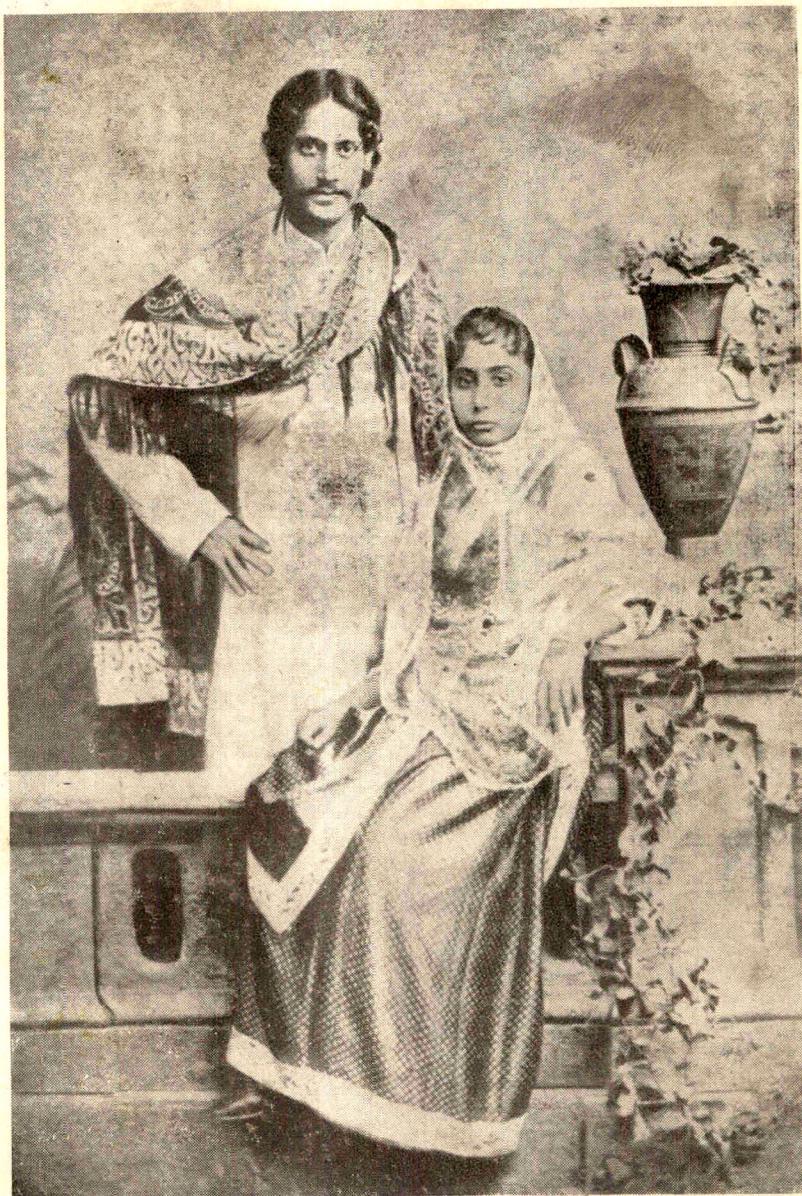
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### DEV SABHA

(From an old Kangra Painting)

The Prabasi Press, Calcutta



Rabindranath Tagore with his wife Mrinalini Devi

*Founded by*—RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### Khrushchev at the U.N.

The United Nations had a most momentous session in September-October of this year. The 15th General Assembly session soon assumed a semi-Summit conference look with the arrival of Mr. Khrushchev on the scene on September 19. He went to New York accompanied by the Communist leaders from Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and the Ukraine, who travelled with him on the Soviet liner "Baltika." Mr. Gomulka of Poland and President Antonin Novotny of Czechoslovakia had arrived by air on the previous day and were waiting on the pier to greet Mr. Khrushchev on the pier.

Mr. Khrushchev lost no time after his arrival in broadcasting the objectives of his visit—under extremely unfavourable circumstances—to the U.N. Headquarters. He had come to put up for consideration by the General Assembly of the U.N., the cardinal question of present-day international relationships, he declared on his arrival in New York, which was closely linked with the problem of general and complete disarmament. He further said that "if certain individuals declare that Khrushchev has come to the United Nations' General Assembly to indulge in propaganda" he would only take pride in such a mission and spare no pains in the efforts to further the same "until even the thick-skulled convinced themselves of the necessity to reach agreement on general disarmament."

Heralding his advent and intentions in

these more than plain terms, Mr. Khrushchev started his campaign to align the uncommitted nations in the U.N., to his way of thinking on the essentials he had in view. He attacked Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, for his intervention in Congolese politics, with a great deal of heat. The result, however, of all the attacks on Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld was not what was expected, where the African members of the U.N. were concerned. When the issue came to the point of voting in the Assembly, Quaison-Sackey of Ghana requested Russia's Deputy Foreign Minister, Valerian Zorin to withdraw his resolution condemning Hammarskjöld for exceeding his powers in the Congo. On Mr. Zorin complying with this request, coming as it did from an African politician, Hammarskjöld had his policy in Congo endorsed by a vote of 70 to 0 in the Assembly.

This action of Mr. Zorin was in line of Mr. Khrushchev's policy of giving consideration to the opinions of the uncommitted, where it concerned the specific interests of a particular group. This policy of Mr. Khrushchev effectively convinced the Western Bloc that Neutrality was not immoral, as had been propounded by the late John Foster Dulles.

The neutral Big Five, Nehru, Nasser, Tito, Nkrumah and Soekarno, met and discussed the situation, and tried to pass a resolution asking President Eisenhower and Premier Khrushchev to resume contact. This evidently did not suit the Big ones of the West and so it had to be abandoned.

The West had many opportunities to seize the initiative during the first fortnight of Mr. Khrushchev's manoeuvres in the U.N. But neither President Eisenhower nor Premier Macmillan could decide on anything in the nature of a positive strategy which the West could pursue in order to deal with the Cold War situation. Indeed, in comparison with the Soviets, their standpoints on the crucial questions of Disarmament and Colonialism seemed singularly barren to the neutrals. Further, in the matter of Colonialism, Algeria, South Africa—with its brutal and uncivilized attitude towards the non-white—and Portuguese colonies were major handicaps.

Towards the end of the 25-day sojourn of the Soviet's Premier in New York, the tempo of his attack on the West became intensified, both with regards to frequency and virulence. The ten-nation disarmament committee was like a stable—a stable with a stench that "an honest man could not breathe,"—the Security Council was "worse than a spittoon, it was a cuspidor," Nationalist China was "a corpse we have to cast right out of here, straight to hell," and so on and so forth. The reaction to all these was not exactly as was expected by Mr. Khrushchev, as shown in the case of the debate on the Soviet resolution demanding immediate freedom for all colonial peoples everywhere. This move was 'countered' by the Philippine Delegate, Lorenze, Sumulong urging that the resolution be widened to include discussion of "the inalienable right to independence of the peoples of Eastern Europe."

Something like a pandemonium is reported to have broken out. Rumania's Deputy Foreign Minister, Edward Mezincescu, rose on a point of order, Khrushchev took off his shoe, waved it and pounded with it and then marched down the aisle to pour vituperation on Sumulong, whom he called a twister and a lackey. The same was repeated when U.S. Delegate Francis Wilcox brought up the same subject, i.e., Communist subject nations. President Boland tried in vain to control the uproar, his gavel breaking under the strain of continuous pounding. Finally he adjourned the Assem-

ly with the cold, remark, "Because of the scene you have just witnessed, I think the Assembly had better adjourn."

But the next day was a day of surprises. Sekou Toure, the 38 year old President of Guinea, who had a distinct leaning towards Communism, appealed to the Rumanian Delegate and the group to which he belongs, to recognize that the U.N. ideal is "freedom, the right of every people to self-determination", and he firmly asked the Communists not to smother the debate with propaganda. The end of colonialism, he said, "was imperative and irreversible. Therefore why not do it in an atmosphere of understanding and collaboration, instead of stirring up the fires of discontent and discord, which, in the final reckoning amounts to mounting casualty lists, engendering of hatred and the digging of a grave for history. His speech was applauded by the entire assembly and was followed by that of Nepal's representative, Rishikesh Shaha who declared his concern over "all this sound and fury, all these ugly gestures." He gave the warning that Asia and Africa was "not going to be bullied by gestures of superiority, which were insulting to our intelligence."

Premier Khrushchev took all this in a composed good-humoured fashion. He made amends by asking for the indulgence of the Assembly for speaking out of turn. He referred to the delegates from Philippines and Nepal without any animus while bidding good-bye to the U.N., to the astonishment of the members of the Assembly, who had expected something quite different. Evidently the Premier of the Soviets was not giving away any more of the advantages he had in dealing with the Afro-Asiatic group of Uncommitted Nations and he very considerably retrieved his lapses by this last gesture.

What is the position of the Cold War now? The report submitted by Mr. Khrushchev, on his return to Moscow, seems to show that he is well satisfied that the visit was worthwhile.

The head of the Soviet Government was reporting to the working people of Moscow on his trip to New York. He stressed that "it was

not only worthwhile but necessary to go" to the session. The current session of the General Assembly is of an extremely great importance, he observed.

"The speeches of the leaders of the delegations of the socialist countries resounded as the voice of a new, equitable world bringing happiness and prosperity to the peoples.

The head of the Soviet Government described as a "major contribution to the struggle for peace, for the abolition of the colonial system hateful to the peoples" the speeches made by Kwame Nkrumah, Sékou Touré, Soekarno, Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser, Sihanouk and other representatives of independent states.

Our trip was also useful in that we have had numerous meetings and exchanged opinions with statesmen of different countries on a whole number of international questions of vital importance, Khrushchev said: "All this contributes to the attainment of better mutual understanding and the establishment of closer relations between states."

After noting the tense international situation, the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers said that "we are not to blame" for the deterioration of relations between the USSR and the United States. We are confident, Khrushchev declared, that time will come when the relations between our states, between our peoples, between our governments will improve.—TASS.

The following extract from the *New York Times*, gives the position where the West is concerned, at the time of Premier Khrushchev's return to Moscow:

Within the U. N. several main issues—all of them linked to the cold war—had come into focus for the remaining weeks of the General Assembly session. There was disarmament, once more back in the lap of the U. N. with Russia threatening to boycott the deliberations if it did not like the course they took. There was the issue of colonialism, proposed for plenary debate by the Soviet Union and unanimously accepted by the Assembly. There were the questions that had been raised about the structure of the U. N. There was the prospect of a new summit conference, which Mr. Khrushchev's pressures to that end apparently destined for success.

As for the West, recent events have left their scars. The increasing number of abstentions by Afro-Asian members on key votes in the

U.N. raised the possibility that the West may ultimately have difficulty marshalling a majority.

#### Emergent Africa

The last few years have witnessed many things that will find places in the records of the history of the present times. But nothing could surpass in importance or significance, both with regard to history as well as that of the cause of human liberty, the dawn of independence in the darkest regions of the "Dark Continent." For, since the dawn of human civilization up till the culmination of the concept of human liberties, at the end of the first quarter of this present century, the only areas in this vast Continent of 11,500,000 sq. miles. inhabited by about 230,000,000 peoples. where liberty or nationalism had any meaning in the modern sense of the term, were those bordering the Mediterranean Sea on its northern regions, together with a solid block of mountainous country on its North-East with coastal approaches to the Red Sea, now known as Ethiopia. The rest of this continent was inhabited by primitive peoples who were hardly given any recognition as being fellow humans by their more fortunate brethren of the civilized world.

It was only when it was plain to the world that the days of colonialism and ruthless exploitation of the weaker people were over, that the decision to give the peoples of colonial regions of Africa a place in the sun was arrived at. The British took the first steps, followed by France under De Gaulle and Belgium followed suit this year by setting an end to the colonial rule of Belgian Congo. The results have been almost uniformly good, with the exception of Belgian Congo, in regard to the peaceful transfer of power. Stability of Government is another question altogether, of course, in this Cold-War torn present-day world.

But Africa has to travel a long way yet before the entire Continent, with its variegated texture of peoples with widely divergent States and standards of life, emerges completely into the sunlight of freedom. The Union of South Africa with its "apartheid" is still negating

human liberty to the Africans and the "coloured" peoples. Portugal is still persisting in the denial of any rights to its Colonial African subjects and the "Colours" of Algeria have placed even De Gaulle in a quandary over Algeria, where freedoms battles are being fought against truly desperate odds. Similarly the British settlers in the Southern Rhodesia, led by their reactionary Federal Prime Minister Sir Roy Welensky, are trying to flout the recommendations of the Monckton Report, which was published on October 11th last. The British Cabinet, however, seems to be determined on taking drastic action. The South Africans have decided in favour of becoming a Republic, as a result of a nationwide plebiscite—confined to the "White" rulers, who are a minority—taken in the first week of October. The decision was arrived at by the narrow majority of 88,000 in a white population of over 3,000,000. The 9,500,000 native Africans, over 1,000,000 coloured and 500,000 peoples of Asiatic origin, had no say in the matter needless to say.

The Monckton Report, submitted by a 26 member commission led by Lord Monckton, clearly recommends that the present central structure has to be altered into a loose association of three semi-autonomous States—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This should entail new voting rules which would immediately put African majorities in power in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, while the White Colonials may continue their domination for a time in Southern Rhodesia. Needless to say this does not suit the colonialists of the present Federation.

The position of the peoples of Africa at present is given in the following summary.

#### **Africa To-day**

##### **Independent States**

###### **Cameroun :**

West Africa, area 16,489 sq. miles.

Independent republic, formerly a United Nations trust territory administered by France. Population : 3,250,000. Capital : Yaounde. Premier : Ahmadou Ahidjo, who is friendly to France but has kept his country outside the French Community.

###### *Central African Republic :*

Equatorial Africa, area 238,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly known as Ubangi-Shari. Population : 1,250,000. Capital : Bangui. Premier : David Dacko.

###### *Chad :*

Eq. Africa, area 496,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community. Population : 2,600,000. Capital : Fort Lamy. Premier : Francois Tombalbaye.

###### *Congo Republic :*

Eq. Africa, area 132,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly known as the Middle Congo. Population : 749,000. Capital : Brazzaville. Premier : Abbe Fulbert Youlou.

###### *Dahomey :*

W. Africa, area 45,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French community. Population : 1,700,000. Capital : Porto Novo. Premier : Hubert Maga.

###### *Ethiopia :*

N. E. Africa, area 398,000 sq. miles.

Independent Empire, ruled by Emperor Haile Selassie I. Population : 18,000,000 (official estimate), of whom rather more than half are Coptic Christians. Capital : Addis Ababa.

*Eritrea* : a former Italian colony (population 1,000,000) has since 1952 been federated with Ethiopia under the Ethiopian Crown.

###### *Gabon :*

Eq. Africa, area 103,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community. Population 400,000. Capital : Libreville. Premier : Leon M'ba.

###### *Ghana :*

W. Africa, area 91,843, sq. miles.

Independent republic within the British Commonwealth, formerly known as the Gold Coast. Population : 4,500,000. Capital : Accra. President: Kwame Nkrumah.

###### *Guinea :*

W. Africa, area 96,865 sq. miles.

Independent republic which opted out of the French Community in 1958. Population : 2,500,000. Capital : Conakry. President : Sekou Toure.

###### *Ivory Coast :*

W. Africa, area 123,200 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Com-

munity. Population : 3,250,000. Capital : Abidjan. Premier : Felix Houphouet-Boigny, originally among French African leaders the staunchest supporter of close links with Metropolitan France.

*Liberia :*

W. Africa, area 43,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic. Population : 1,000,000 of whom about 2 per cent are of American Negro stock. Capital : Monrovia. President : William Tubman.

*Libya :*

N. Africa, area 679,358 sq. miles

Independent kingdom under King Idris el-Senussi. A former Italian colony now a federation of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan. Population : 1,000,000. Capitals : Tripoli and Benghazi. Premier : Abdel Majid Kubar. Member of the Arab League.

*Malagasy Republic :*

East Coast of Africa, area 241,094 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly known as Madagascar. Population : 5,000,000. Capital : Tananarive. President : Philibert Tsiranana.

*Mali :*

W. Africa, area 531,100 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, consisting of a federation between the former French colonies of Senegal and Sudan. Population : 6,000,000. Capital : Dakar. President of Assembly : Leopold Senghor (Senegal). Premier : Modibo Keita (Sudan).

*Morocco :*

N. W. Africa, area 172,104 sq. miles.

Independent kingdom under King Mohammed V, who is in effect his own Premier. Population : 10,000,000. Capital : Rabat. Vice-Premier : Crown Prince Moulay Hassan. Member of the Arab League.

*Niger :*

W. Africa, area 494,500 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community. Population : 2,500,000. Capital : Niamey. Premier : Hamani Diori.

*Nigeria :*

W. Africa, area 339,169 sq. miles.

A fully independent member of the Commonwealth (Oct. 1, 1960). Population : 35,000,000. Capital : Lagos. Federal Prime Minister : Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa. Regional Premiers:

Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, Sardauna of Sokot (Northern); Chief S. L. Akintola (Western) Michael Okpara (Eastern),

*Republic of the Congo :*

Eq. Africa, area 904,757 sq. miles.

Independent republic, formerly the Belgian Congo, which became fully sovereign July, 1 since when internal turmoil and conflict with departing Belgians have led to United Nations involvement in the state to keep it going. Population 13,250,000. Capital: Leopoldville. President Joseph Kasavubu. Premier: Patrice Lumumba.

*Somali Republic :*

E. Africa, area 262,000 sq. miles.

Independent republic consisting of the former Italian-administered UN trust territory of Somalia and the former British protectorate of Somaliland. Population : 2,000,000. Capital: Mogadishu. President : Aden Abdulla Osman. Premier: Abdi Rashid Shermarke.

*Sudan :*

N.-E. Africa, area 967,500 sq. miles.

Independent republic. Population : 10,000,000. Capital : Khartoum. President : General Ibrahim Abboud, who heads an authoritarian military regime. Member of the Arab League.

*Togo :*

W. Africa, area 21,893 sq. miles.

Independent republic, formerly the French-administered UN trust territory of Togoland. Population : 1,000,000. Capital : Lome. President: Sylvanus Olympio, who has kept his country outside the French Community.

*Tunisia :*

N. Africa, area 48,313 sq. miles.

Independent republic. Population : 3,750,000. Capital : Tunis. President: Habib Bourguiba. Member of the Arab League, but boycotting it at present.

*Union of South Africa :*

S. Africa, area 472,359 sq. miles.

Independent member of the British Commonwealth, voting on Oct. 5, whether to become a republic. Population : 14,500,000 of whom 9,500,000 are Africans, 3,000,000 whites, 1,000,000 Coloreds (mixed race), and 500,000 Asians. Political power is in the hands of the white minority, but since early 1960 their authority has been increasingly challenged by Africans. Administrative Capital: Pretoria; Parliamentary

**Capital:** Cape Town. **Prime Minister:** Hendrik F. Verwoerd.

**South-West Africa:** Territory administered under a League of Nations mandate by the Union of South Africa, which has refused to accept UN trusteeship. Population: 415,000 of whom 366,000 are Africans and 49,000 are whites. White representatives of the territory sit in the South African Parliament. Area 317,887 sq. miles.

**United Arab Republic (Egypt) :**

N. Africa, area 386,198 sq. miles.

Independent republic, now the Southern Region of the United Arab Republic, which was formed when Syria opted for union with Egypt in 1957. Population (of Egypt) : 25,000,000. Capital : Cairo. President : Gamal Abdel Nasser. Member of the Arab League.

**Voltaic Republic :**

W. Africa, area 105,900 sq. miles.

Independent republic within the French Community, formerly Upper Volta. Population : 3,250,000. Capital : Ouagadougou. President : Maurice Yameogo.

**Independence Scheduled Or Expected :**

**Auritania :**

W. Africa, area 415,900 sq. miles.

Autonomous republic within the French Community, expected to become fully independent within the Community, Nov. 1960. Claimed by Morocco as part of its kingdom. Population : 624,000. Capital : Nouakchott. Premier : Mokhtar Ould Daddad.

**Sierra Leone :**

W. Africa, area 27,925 sq. miles.

Self-governing colony within the British Commonwealth. Scheduled to become fully independent within the Commonwealth, April, 27, 1961. Population : 2,500,000 including Creoles or descendants of liberated slaves. Capital : Freetown. Chief Minister : Sir Milton Margai.

**United Nations Trust Territories :**

**British Cameroons :**

W. Africa, area 34,081 sq. miles.

Comprises two noncontiguous areas, Northern Cameroons and Southern Cameroons. Population: 1,500,000 of whom rather more than half are in Southern Cameroons. Northern Cameroons is geographically and racially akin to the Moslem northern region of Nigeria. Loyalties in Southern Cameroons are divided between those who favor

union with Nigeria (led by E. M. L. Endeley) and those who favor union with Cameroun (led by John Foncha). Plebiscites are to be held in both Northern and Southern Cameroons early in 1961, to decide the future of the territories.

**Ruanda-Urundi :**

E. Africa, area 20,540 sq. miles

Belgian-administered territory comprising the African kingdoms of Ruanda and Urundi each headed by a Mwami, or King. Closely linked economically and politically to the Belgian Congo until the latter became independent, July, 1, 1960 but the latter event has raised the question of Ruanda-Urundi's future. Population : 4,500,000. Capital : Usumburu.

**Tanganyika :**

E. Africa, area 363,699 sq. miles.

British-administered territory scheduled for internal self-government, Oct. 1. Population : 8,600,000 including 95,000 Asians and Arabs. Capital: Dar es Salaam. Chief Minister-designate: Julius Nyerere.

**Dependent Territories**

**Algeria :**

N. Africa, area 852,600 sq. miles.

Administered as part of France, whose Delegate-General in the territory is Paul Delouvrier. Population : 10,000,000 of whom 900,000 are of European and 140,000 are of Jewish origin. Capital : Algiers. Since Nov. 1, 1954, the Moslem majority has been in open revolt against French rule. Leaders of the rebellion are the National Liberation Front (FLN). The FLN's government in exile has as its Premier Ferhat Abbas.

**Angola :**

W. Africa, area 481,351 sq. miles.

Portuguese overseas province. Population : 4,200,000 of whom about 80,000 are Europeans. Capital : Luanda. The Portuguese are intolerant of any African nationalist movements, but lately there have been reports of local political stirrings.

**Cabinda :** a Portuguese enclave north of the mouth of the River Congo is administered as part of Angola.

**Basutoland :**

S. Africa, area 11,716 sq. miles.

One of the three British High Commission Territories in Southern Africa controlled by the Commonwealth Relations Office (not the Colonial Office) in London. Basutoland is an enclave within the Union of South Africa, and its peculiar

position is irritant in relation between the latter and Britain. Population : 642,000 of whom 2,000 are Europeans. Capital : Maseru. The Basutos were granted in late 1959 a large measure of self-government under their Paramount Chief, Bereng Seeiso. British High Commissioner (who is also British High Commissioner to the Union of South Africa) is Sir John Maud.

*Bechuanaland :*

/ S. Africa, area 275,000 sq. miles.

British Protectorate which is also one of the High Commission Territories in Southern Africa. Population : 300,000 of whom about 33 per cent belong to the Bamangwato tribe. Administrative capital : Mafeking (which is outside the protectorate in the Cape Province of the Union of South Africa). British High Commissioner (resident in Pretoria) : Sir John Maud.

*Central African Federation :*

Central Africa, total area 486,973 sq. miles.

Federation under the British flag comprising the self-governing territory of Southern Rhodesia and the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland—as it is sometimes called—does not have fully independent status within the Commonwealth. A constitutional review is to be held in 1961. Capital : Salisbury. Prime Minister : Sir Roy Welensky.

*Southern Rhodesia :* Population : 2,600,000 of whom 200,000 are Europeans enjoying a monopoly of political power in the territory. Area, 150,333 sq. miles. Capital : Salisbury. Prime Minister : Sir Edgar Whitehead.

*Northern Rhodesia :* Population : 2,300,000 of whom 74,000 are Europeans. Area, 287,630 sq. miles. Capital : Lusaka.

*Nyasaland :* Population : 2,700,000 of whom 8,000 are Europeans. African nationalists in Nyasaland, led by Dr. Hastings Banda, are determined to end the federal link with the Rhodesias. Dr. Banda has secured agreement in London to an early African-elected majority in the Nyasaland Legislative Council. Area 49,000 sq. miles.

*French Somaliland :*

E. Africa, area 9,071 sq. miles.

Overseas territory of the French republic. Early independence is unlikely. Population : 63,000 most of whom are Moslem but of whom less than half are Somalis. Capital : Djibouti.

*Gambia :*

W. Africa, area 4,005 sq. miles.

British colony and protectorate. Population : 275,000. Capital : Bathurst.

*Ifni :*

N. W. Africa, area 140 sq. miles.

Spanish province administered from Madrid, whose future has been a subject of discussion with Morocco. Population : 40,000 of whom 4,000 are Europeans.

*Kenya :*

E. Africa, area 224,960 sq. miles.

British colony and protectorate in which Africans are to secure a majority on the Legislative Council within the foreseeable future. Population : 6,800,000 of whom 200,000 are Asians and Arabs and 65,000 Europeans. Capital : Nairobi. African nationalist leaders include Tom Mboya and James Gichuru.

*Mozambique :*

E. Africa, area 297,731 sq. miles.

Portuguese overseas province. Population : 5,700,000 of whom 50,000 are Europeans and 13,000 Asians. Capital : Lourenco Marques.

*Portuguese Guinea :*

W. Africa, area 13,948 sq. miles.

Portuguese overseas territory. Population : 511,000. Capital : Bissau.

*Sao Tome and Principe :*

West Coast of Africa, area 372 sq. miles.

Islands in the Gulf of Guinea which are Portuguese overseas territories. Population : 60,000.

*Spanish Guinea :*

W. Africa, area 10,852 sq. miles.

Spanish colony comprising mainland Rio Muni and the Island of Fernando Poo. Population : 200,000. Capital : Santa Isabel (Fernando Poo).

*Spanish Sahara :*

N. W. Africa, area 105,400 sq. miles.

Spanish province, also known as Rio de Oro, administered from Madrid. Population : 37,000. Capital : Villa Cisneros.

*Swaziland :*

S. Africa, area 6,704 sq. miles.

British High Commission territory in Southern Africa. Population : 237,000 of whom 6,000 are Europeans. Capital : Mbabane. Paramount Chief

of the Swazis : Sobhuza II. British High Commissioner (resident in Pretoria) : Sir John Maud.

**Uganda :**

E. Africa, area 93,981 sq. miles.

British protectorate, much of which comprises the territories of four hereditary rulers—the Kabaka of Buganda, the Umukama of Bunyoro, the Mukama of Toro, and the Omugabe of Ankole. Population : 5,000,000 of whom 35,000 are Asians. Capital : Entebbe. Implementation of proposals for an elected African majority on the Legislative Council is under way.

**Zanzibar :**

E. Coast island, area 655 sq. miles.

British protectorate governed by a Sultan, Seyyid Sir Khalifa bin Harub, in collaboration with a British resident. Population : 300,000 of whom 47,000 are Arabs and 18,000 Asians. Proposals for an elected majority on the Legislative Council are to be implemented in 1961.

**The Tokyo Murder**

In Japan there is a Conservative Liberal-Democrat Government under Premier Hayato Ikeda, who took office after Premier Nobusuke Kishi was forced to resign following weeks of violent demonstrations, set off by leftist parties, in which snake-dancing students took the lead. These demonstrations were started by the Chief opposition party, the Socialists, as a mark of severe resentment following the signing at the White House in Washington, on January 19 last, of a treaty renewing the U.S. right to maintain troops and military bases in Japan. These demonstrations failed to stop the ratification of the treaty, but they effectively prevented President Eisenhower's visit to Tokyo and forced Mr. Kishi to resign. His successor, Premier Ikeda, took office on the promise of new elections, in which the said treaty would be the Chief issue.

The elections are due about the end of this November and the election campaigns are in full swing. Premier Ikeda's Conservative Liberal-Democrats hoped to maintain their present strength in the Diet where at present they hold 286 out of 467 seats. They even had hopes of even increasing their strength through a split among the Socialists a year ago. But the

position has been complicated by the murder of the Chairman of the Socialist Party Inejiro Asanuma, by a student during a meeting held on the 12th October last at Tokyos Hibiya Hall before an audience of 3000 and a nation-wide television broadcast. The sponsor was a committee for fair campaign practices. In the midst of a speech by Inejiro Asanuma, the Socialist party chairman, a youth in school uniform dashed up to and across the platform, shouting wildly. With a foot-long Samurai sword, he stabbed and killed the Socialist leader. The Assassin, Otaya Yamaguchi, 18, the son of an Army colonel and a member of various fascistic groups, was arrested.

The murder was expected to strengthen the opposition in the election and, in the wake of increasing neutralist sentiment, raised new doubts about the future of the military pact with the U.S. It revived memories of the pre-war decade, when secret fascist societies organized a series of political assassinations that destroyed moderate government in Japan and brought about a militarist dictatorship.

**Krishna and Godavari Waters**

It should be plain to the mighty ones of the Congress High Command by now—as it is to any intelligent person—that the Union of India is coming apart at every joint, thanks to the extreme laxity of Central control and the general deterioration in moral values all over our land. The unfortunate nationals of the country are being fed on promises and likewise are being led into perdition by people, who themselves are guided by the most primitive of human motivating factors. These invariably lead to conflict in interests and if no persuasion or firm intervention is tried or imposed at an early stage, disastrous consequences follow. These consequences fan dislikes into hatreds and enmities, and our people being what they are permanent injury is inflicted on the cause of fraternal unity amongst the nationals of the union.

Such a conflict in interest has arisen over the waters of the Krishna and Godavari, between the States of Andhra, Maharashtra and Mysore, as is evident from

the following piece of news from the **Hindu**.

Bangalore, October 21.—The Mysore Government, it was learnt here to-day, have addressed a communication to the Union Government, urging the need for the Centre taking immediate steps to see that Andhra Pradesh did not exceed her rightful share of the Krishna and Godavari waters, in the execution of her irrigation projects, like the Nagarjunasagar and the Pochampad Projects. The Centre's attention has been drawn to the need for meting out justice to Mysore and Maharashtra.

It is expected that the Union Ministry for Irrigation and Power would use its good offices and allocate the Krishna and Godavari waters between the States concerned in a just and equitable manner and on a rational basis, as such a course would obviate Mysore and Maharashtra seeking legal remedies under the Inter-State Water Disputes Act, 1956.

It was learnt that the Government of Maharashtra have also made a similar request to the Centre.

It may be mentioned that both Mysore and Maharashtra have been urging the need for a *de novo* allocation of the Krishna and Godavari waters among the States concerned, *viz.*, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. Andhra Pradesh is not for doing away with the existing agreement but is prepared for some minor adjustments.

It is plain from the above that the question has now passed the stage at which inter-State negotiations would be fruitful. There is further a veiled threat of legal steps being taken and also a plain indication that Madhya Pradesh and Orissa might also be involved in the dispute. The reply to the above is contained in the following news, also from the **Hindu**.

Hyderabad, October, 22.—Mr. A. Satyanarayana Raju, Public Works Minister, told a Press conference here to-day that after carefully going through the case of Maharashtra and Mysore for increased allocation of the Krishna and Godavari waters, he was convinced more than ever that the most appropriate manner in which this question could be resolved was on the lines indicated by the Government of India, i.e., the 1951 agreement, making only the adjust-

ments consequential on the territorial alterations in the States concerned.

Mr. Raju added that no new facts had arisen that could change the very basis of the 1951 agreement, which provided for a review after 25 years. "Any attempt for a change in the 1951 agreement will only lead to bitter controversies between the various States and greatly jeopardise the fulfilment of the Third Plan undertakings in the irrigation and power sector and seriously affect our planned growth," he declared.

The Public Works Minister said that Mysore and Maharashtra wanted a *de novo* examination of the allocation of the Krishna waters.

"Andhra Pradesh," Mr. Raju said, "required far larger quantities of water than what were given by the 1951 conference, but due to their accepted principle of honouring the agreement solemnly entered into, they wished to limit their projects in accordance with that agreement."

Here clear indication is given that bitter controversies will result, causing damage to the Third Plan, and further a stand on rights together with a statement that concessions have been made already are also indicated. The Andhra Minister also indicated the views of his Government regarding the request of the Mysore Government in the following statement.

Mr. A. Satyanarayana Raju, Minister for Public Works, to-day described as "unreasonable", the request of Mr. H. M. Chennabasappa, Mysore's Minister to the Central Government to stop the execution of Nagarjunasagar Project.

In a talk with Pressmen, Mr. Raju said that this step would be against the interests of the country. Nagarjunasagar might be situated in Andhra Pradesh, but it was not a Project of a single State. It was a national project though technically the Centre might not treat it so, he said.

Mr. Raju said that Mr. Chennabasappa also wanted that Pochampad and Srisailam Projects should not be taken up. His entire request was rather "fantastic".

At the time of writing the A.I.C.C. is sitting at Raipur. It is to be seen what indications are given by that august body regarding this new problem, that threatens to cause an wide-open **impasse** between five States.

#### The Census and the Plans

There is a growing sense of disbelief

amongst the literate and knowledgeable section of our peoples regarding the real efficacy of the Plans. The reasons behind the scepticism is, of course, the want of any plainly visible signs of improvement, either the living standards of the people or in the decrease of unemployment. Statistical figures are often quoted by officials or ministers, both at the Centre and in the States, proving that the entire process of uplift is going according to Plan. But uplift or nation-building, like justice, must be both apparent as well as technically or legislatively correct. The average intelligent person in India views with strong suspicion figures emanating from our statistical departments—and with good reasons too.

But it is imperative that this question of the plans misfiring should be settled once for all or else there would be chaos very soon. The suspicion that all is not well in the implementation of the Plans, seems to have risen even in Pandit Nehru's mind—which in itself is a minor miracle.

The Census work has started on its preliminary work. We do not know what exactly will be asked by the enumerators, but in a small leaflet, which has strayed into our hands, the common citizen is addressed thus by the powers-that-be.

*"Census-Taking"*—Census work consists of two stages: first, the numbering of houses and preparation of house-lists and then enumeration of residents of those houses. The work of the first stage, i.e., House-numbering and House-listing will begin from the 6th October 1960 throughout the State of West Bengal and continue up to the 31st of October. The Enumeration stage starts from the 10th February 1961 and ends on the 5th March.

"Sometime in October 1960 a person from the Census department will call on you. He will ask for information on some points. He will write down the answers to these questions on a form termed 'House-list'. He will also paint a number on your house with coal tar.

"The enumerator expects to be received with courtesy and given all the information he asks for. He is a representative of your own Government. The success of the Census

depends upon your co-operation with the Enumerator. So welcome him in your home, answer to his questions promptly and accurately and help him painting the Census number on your house."

*"Census Information is Confidential."*—You may take it for granted that your Census answers will always be treated with utmost secrecy: only authorised Census Officials will see your answers. Further, it is unlawful for the Government to disclose any facts, including names or identity from your Census slips. Moreover, no Census information can be used for purposes of Taxation. These privileges are guaranteed to the people so that they may give correct answers without any reservation."

It is evident from the above that intimate financial details would be asked for. We have no objection whatsoever regarding that. But we would suggest that a comparative questionnaire be put forward, which would give approximate details about the 1951—and if possible 1946-47—income of the same person. We mean that when the present income is asked, the approximate income of the two past periods be called for. There should be also questions regarding the rise or fall of the standard of living of the same person or persons during the decade from 1951-61. This would provide figures regarding the real increase or decrease, in the absolute terms of income expenditure ratio of peoples in the different strata of the nationals of India. Any householder should be able to give a comparative statement regarding his standard of living, where essentials are concerned.

We do not know what are the probes that the Census authorities have devised to ascertain the actual income of the people, classwise and/or stratawise. Mere averages are not only useless, they are the loopholes through which corruption and inefficiency penetrate and flourish. Comparative statements, together with the actual poll of people are needed to determine whether the country as a whole is on the way to progress.

Pandit Nehru's question *re.* the fruits of Planning, may be answered in a number of ways. But the common citizen believes that

they are being consumed exclusively by the corrupt, aided by the boot-licking sycophants of our Great.

### Nagaland

The following piece of news indicates the position of Nagaland, the new State about the formation of which Pandit Nehru came to an agreement with the spokesmen of the different tribal units.

Shillong, October, 21.—Dr. Imkongliba Ao, President of the Naga People's Convention, which concluded an agreement with the Government of India in July last regarding the setting up of Nagaland as a separate State, arrived here this evening to hold talks with the State Governor, General S. M. Shrinagesh and the NEFA Adviser, Mr. N. K. Rustomji, on the implementation of the agreement.

Dr. Ao is accompanied by a few other leaders of the convention.

Mr. Rustomji gave the news to-day that elections to the 39-strong interim body envisaged under the agreement as consultative body, had been completed by all the 14 major tribes except the Angamis (from which Phizo came) and the Lothas. The Lothas were expected to complete their election on October 25 and Angamis immediately after.

With the hill-peoples of Assam openly resentful of Assamese being imposed on them and the Bengali-speaking majority of Cachar equally against it, the territories lying in the North-East region of India is in an unsettled state. The formation of a new State in this perspective is neither easy nor particularly safe, under the circumstances prevailing on border areas, unless the Government of India devotes some realistic attention towards it. It has not been very evident, however, that our Central authorities have shifted from their ostrich-like attitude towards unpleasant facts.

THE EDITOR

### The Bengalis

Since some leading political partymen of Assam worked out a criminal scheme for chasing out the Bengalis from Assam, and, actually arranged the looting of Bengali homes and organised murder, assault, arson and rape in order to achieve their ends, the Bengalis, strangely enough

have come in for a lot of criticism for their ways, outlook and behaviour. A Marwari-controlled newspaper of Bombay took a leading part in this anti-Bengali propaganda. The same Marwaris were also connected in a manner with anti-Bengali propaganda and activities in Calcutta, Patna and in Assam. The Marwaris seldom, do anything unless they gain substantially on this earth or in heaven by their action; and we think the particular group of Marwaris had some interests in Assam which would have been helped by the removal of Bengalis from Assam. Had India any worthwhile organisation for the detection of crime and had Pandit Nehru's party been deeply concerned with the Prevention of Crime in India; it would have been easy to find out why some people were inciting certain forces to attack the Bengalis. But *there is a taboo on Truth in India*. One must not try to find out the truth. The Bengalis, therefore, must take the blame for the atrocities committed upon them in Assam. Among all the Great men and women that India has produced within the last 150 years there are numerous Bengalis. Rammohun Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Debendranath Tagore, Ramkrishna, Vivekananda, Surendranath Banerji, Aravinda, Jagadishchandra Bose, Prafullachandra Roy, Rabindranath Tagore, Chittaranjan Das, Subhas-chandra Bose and all those who died and suffered for India must now be forgotten to make room for evil self-seekers and their associates in crime!

A. C.

### Assamese Crimes ✓. Set in the

When, back in the late forties of this century, India was passing through her last moment spells of conspiracies, banditry and gangster activities for the capturing of political power by unscrupulous self-seekers; the Muslim League took a lead in this kind of low criminal organisation by setting up bodies of paid hooligans to capture the city of Calcutta for their own land of Pakistan. Murder, loot, arson, rape and all lesser degree crimes against property and persons were committed on a scale unknown in the history of crime. Even the German armies of invasion did nothing comparable in any occupied city of France or any other country during the two World Wars of 1914 and 1939. The Muslim League Ministers and V.I.P.s of Bengal made cold-blooded plans about their orgy of frightfulness and when "direct action day" arrived

thousands of professional and amateur hooligans raided the Hindu homes in Calcutta and committed revolting atrocities on a big-scale which need not be described here. The name of Pakistan will stink for ever in Calcutta and in all those other places where the Muslim Leaguers "fought" filthily to create a holy land.

The Assamese who had been committing similar crimes and behaving like the Muslim Leaguers against their Hindu Bengali brethren in order to drive them out of Assam and to create a purely Assamese State, could be called dirtier criminals than the Muslim Leaguers of the Suhrawardy-Ispahani days in so far as they had no religious fanaticism to explain away their extremely base emotions.

They had lived with the Bengalis for generations and their sudden awakening relating to the urgency of upholding Assamese as their sole State language had no background of any fanatical attachment to that language. If the Assamese really are 5 million in numerical strength or even 3.5 million as they should be ; their 10 periodicals with a total circulation of 34,000 copies do not point to any great desire to develop their language. In fact, at a low estimate, there should be nearly 400,000/500,000 educated Assamese and their total purchase of Assamese periodicals would work out at less than 10 per cent of their educated population and less than 1 per cent of the total population. Such facts and figures belie the truth about their alleged love of Assamese as a language and point to the existence of other motives for their crimes against the Bengalis and Humanity.

Now, the Assam Congress, which took a leading part in all these bestial upsurges against fellow Indians, are beginning to feel shaky about their *crime festival*. An offensive being the best form of defensive, they are now taking up their cudgel against the West Bengal Legislature for discussing the Assamese criminals and their crimes. This, they say, violated the Indian Constitution ! A clear case of the Devil quoting from the Bible ! Where was the Indian Constitution or even the Indian Penal Code when the Congressites and other educated political party-men of Assam were planning their rape of the Bengalis ? These men should now atone for their sins by committing mass suicide. That will make India a cleaner country.

A. C.

### Assam Resents Criticism

There is a vulgar saying in Bengali which describes the conduct of persons who use the public highways as latrines and abuse other users of the highways pugnaciously for interfering with their privacy by looking at them. Naked persons may similarly order all probable spectators to keep their eyes shut. The Assamese people in high position have felt it very strongly that their conduct has been discussed by the legislative bodies of West Bengal. They are seeking the protection of the Constitution to safeguard their rights. This is indeed highly comic though it has its source in a gruesome tragedy. Thousands of people in Assam have been subjected to looting, arson, assault, murder, rape and everything else by some of these Assamese and about half a lakh of persons have been chased out of Assam *into Bengal*, and the West Bengal Legislatures cannot discuss this great tidal bore of indecency and crime ! We thought that criminal too had a sense of shame ; but we now find that some criminals stay unashamed through thick and thin.

A. C.

### Qualifications Degrees and Diplomas

With the growth of State Capitalism in India, the distribution of the National Income will be progressively carried out through employment under the Governments of the States and the Centre and in the various corporations set up by the Governments. In fact within about twenty years most of the persons in the higher income groups will belong to the category of government servants which will include officers engaged in work of administration of the various public corporations and other national institutions of economic importance. Employment in various capacities even now depends on academic and other qualifications which are generally shown and demonstrated by the Degrees and Diplomas held by the persons concerned. Interviews and tests are no doubt arranged by the various Boards and Committees entrusted with the selection of persons for employment, but, generally speaking, no one is called up for interview or examination, without certain minimum of qualifications expressed by Degrees or Diplomas. Thus only Graduates in science, engineering or Doctors of "Philosophy" may be invited to apply for certain jobs and those who possess the highest qualifications may be called for interview. The possession of a higher class of academic qualification, therefore,

determines the choice of persons who will be fields of business and employment. These provi-granted interviews. A first class honours graduate sions are slowly becoming mere words and will get preference over a second class candidate and a D.Sc. or Ph.D. will be naturally considered superior to an M.Sc. or a plain B.Sc. These various Degrees and Diplomas and their class will decide whether a person will be at all considered for a particular job.

Are all the Universities and educational Institutions in India run on a more or less uniform basis in point of standard of education and examinations? Most definitely not. We very often come across Doctorate holders or persons holding first class degrees who surprise us with their relative ignorance of their own subjects as well as by their lack of general knowledge and ability. In India, therefore, there are places where one can acquire a Ph.D. degree with less effort than one has to make for a B.Sc. in some other institution having greater regard for intellectual quality and proprieties. At present many colleges, universities and other Degree or Diploma granting Institutions are cropping up in order to help the undeserving to get on in life. In the near future there may appear yet other institutions which will grant Doctorates or first class engineering degrees on caste, tribe or dialect basis and really qualified engineers will often not succeed in obtaining employment in competition with these fakes. Bad money drives good money out of circulation. Similarly, when undeserving people are forced into circulation in the field of employment, deserving men get pushed out.

In order to save India's youngmen and women from falling victims to a new and subtler form of jobbery and favouritism, all genuine universities and other educational institutions should now combine to check up on the fakes. Three or six month courses in this subject or that in foreign educational centres should also be scrutinised. These are yet other sources of fake qualifications and some foreign countries try to create closer connections with India by attracting a class of persons from India to go over to them for "study" or "training" which may be just for show. Indians waste a lot of money and energy in obtaining certain types of foreign degrees and diplomas which are no better than the degrees granted by the properly managd universities of India. The Indian Constitution guarantees to all Indians a certain degree of fair play, equal opportunities and undiscriminating rights in the

fields of business and employment. These provi-granted interviews. A first class honours graduate sions are slowly becoming mere words and will get preference over a second class candidate and a D.Sc. or Ph.D. will be naturally considered superior to an M.Sc. or a plain B.Sc. These various Degrees and Diplomas and their class will decide whether a person will be at all considered for a particular job.

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A. C.

### Lorries and Buses

In West Bengal with special reference to Calcutta all roads are meant for road hogs and jay walkers. And between them they kill and injure a few thousand persons every month. The police are very high brow in West Bengal and they think and act in a manner which is totally untouched by facts, necessities or practical considerations. There are very elaborate road signs, traffic protocol, staggered parking and lanes of traffic all over Calcutta's business and political centres, but lorries, buses, hand carts, rickshaws, beggars, loafers, kite flying urchins and pedestrians who are tired of life dominate the roads and pavements. There are also shop-keepers, taxi, lorry and bus owners who use the roads and pavements as their godowns, showrooms, garages and workshops. And the police look on with serene unconcern. For, we have been told, the top men have been trained in Switzerland, and there, they learnt nothing about controlling such lorries, buses, taxis, shop-keepers, kite fliers and road crossers. The last group give Calcutta roads their New Look. Even on the Chowringhee one will find a man or woman crossing the road every two yards and traffic weaves its way in and out of this human maze.

The lorries and buses on the high roads of West Bengal never travel below 50 m.p.h. and many of the road accidents are caused by this speeding. The drivers are often under the influence of liquor and the roadside eating places for drivers (known as thieves corners) sell illicit liquor and also arrange the transfer of loads from

lorry to lorry for "business" reasons. Some of the lorry drivers playfully drive on coming traffic off the road by driving along the centre or the wrong side of the roads. They never dim their blazing headlights at any time and they have an idea that the roads belong to the lorry drivers. The West Bengal Traffic Police cannot cope with these drivers and pedestrians. The only way one can bring traffic under control, therefore, is to put the roads under Marshal Law and to employ soldiers to enforce traffic rules. We do not think our Government will have the courage to do this just before the elections; but they may keep this in mind for the second part of their Third Five-Year Plan.

### J. P. On Languages

Sri Jai Prakash Narain is a national leader in the national sense. He has never exploited nationalism for the benefit of his party or personal followers. His words have some value in India; for most of our other leaders, from the highest to the lowest suffer from a poisoned outlook. Sri Jai Prakash Narain said to the Sarvodaya Press Service that he was not in favour of having numerous "State Languages". There could be and should be a number of national languages as India was too big a country to have one national language. Switzerland has four national languages. He thought the Assam tragedy had shown up the dangers of disintegration inherent in the political methods now in use among our top rankers. Sri Jai Prakash Narain thought that the price was rather high for gaining this knowledge; but he thought it should save India from disintegration. Bengal, particularly Calcutta, he thought, had shown great forbearance during those tragic days.

A.C.

### The Acid Test

With the progressive deterioration of the food position in the country, it is getting manifestly clear that there is a progressive deterioration in the capacity to tackle it. In fact, food prices have, since 1955, risen by 42 per cent and that of raw material by 40.6 per cent. This is the estimate given by a resolution passed in a conference of economists, trade union leaders and re-

presentatives of co-operatives at Bombay in the last week of September. It deplores the Government's complacency standing in the way of a hard and fast rule of policy as an integral part of the nation's development plans. Whether it is complacency paralyzing the power of action or lack of the requisite capacity and sense of dutifulness inducing a supine, complacent outlook is more than we can hazard a guess for. This much, however, is certain that a competent man—the man of will and purpose—can and has actually shown surprisingly good results. The late Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai is an illustration in point. He turned the food position from one of acute scarcity to one of sufficiency. Nobody claims for him that he was a man of extraordinary parts. But nobody, likewise, must grudge saying that he was always alive to his responsibility and steadfastly geared it to an unflinching honesty of purpose. The result, in the sum total, was that he confounded sceptics.

The conference has done well to emphasize that the distribution of the burden of economic development is anything but fair and equitable. Unless it is closely checked, it will cut at the roots of a socialistic pattern of society, we talk of at random. Already people are labouring under an impression that those who have drawn up the Plans have displayed no proper appreciation of balanced taxation with an eye to give what relief it is possible to give to the poor in the circumstances. To allow such a feeling to grow is just to give a handle to publicizing the notion that with the working of the much-advertised Plans, the rich is getting richer and the poor poorer. This is, by and large, a severe handicap to those who have set to work them out. At the same time, it tends to rob the Plans much of their emotive appeal.

J.B.

### Divided Loyalty

Shri Atulya Ghose, the Vice-President, rather the *de facto* President of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, has at long last made an on-the-spot study of Assam. In his statement, he has care-

fully toed the line of the Assam Congress Government's version in respect of rehabilitating the uprooted. And yet the arresting snatch of a qualifying clause here and there is eloquent. In fact, we are left on tenter-hooks to have to read him in between the lines.

Mr. Fakruddin Ahmed, who as the officiating Minister of Law and Order has made history, has been telling us **Ad nau-seum** that the rehabilitation work has been 'progressing remarkably well'. Does he think that if what Mr. Nehru said in the full blaze of July describing the conditions in Assam as 'excellent' and the position of the Bengalis there as 'absolutely secure' can pass muster, he is safe in respect of what he has been saying with regard to the progress in rehabilitation? Goebles seems to be living with vengeance. An ounce of fact is, however, worth cart-loads of such utterances. There is yet the flow of refugees, miserably huddled together at the Sealdah Station. Is Calcutta flowing with milk and honey? Shri Atulya's tremendously meaningful, 'on the whole', hemmed in his reference to rehabilitation, gives a jolt to wishful thinking. Why 'on the whole'? Why should he not be speaking out what yet impedes the progress? It is high time to bring home to Mr. Nehru that his fixing the target of rehabilitation by 'three weeks' has been reduced to a miserable caricature. Either he was grossly negligent in making the estimate and said things in a cavalier fashion; or he minimized the extent of the havoc, because he held party interest dearer than the national solidarity; or the Assam Government can afford to snap their finger of scorn at him and be miles behind his directives. Either of the aforesaid alternatives is afflicting beyond measure and bears witness to the extremely slipshod manner of check of the Indian Union on a State, charged of a headlong suppression of the minority. The crux of the whole position is if the mass of people in Assam have realised the colossal folly of what has happened and are disabused of the notion that the Government of the day can at will be made to surrender to the hooligans. It is all very well to hear that some Assamese have been fraternizing with the Bengalis to help them build up their dwellings. But so did a number of them save some sure victims from destruction. Such isolated acts of humanity, even if they need being duly com-

mended, do not go far enough, unless the policy of the State gives the needful drive.

In this hapless Assam affair what strikes us as most mischievous is for the Congressites to have given their party interest the priority consideration. Gandhiji, possibly, foresaw this and enjoined on those who habitually stood by him, even a month before he was done to death, to disband the Congress organisation as a political party, craving for personal gains, power and perquisites, but to convert itself into Lok Seva Sangha to function pre-eminently in the economic and social sphere and act collaterally as a moral ally and warden to whatever party might be forming the Government. It is just to cover this that Sri Atulya has hastened to give the Assam Congress Committee a certificate for 'the good work, it is now doing. The less, however, such attempts are made the greater is the chance for the people to forget what it did. The one service that anybody who wishes well to the country can do in respect of Assam is to accept as the basic truth that the recent flare-up and all its ugliness, as Shri Atulya too has stated without any equivocation, is 'no language riot'. It is suicidal to indulge in such rigmaroles. The question, 'what is due to?' is of major importance and needs being faced fair and square and probed deeply. What else but a Judicial Inquiry can do this? We do not know what the West Bengal Congress Committee is doing to see to it that under the saving clause 'at the proper time', much of the closeness of the promised inquiry is not being rubbed out.

J. B.

### The Worldly Wise

Mr. Nirmal K. Siddhanta, the outgoing Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, has done well to refer to the complexity of the two problems besetting the University education. One is that the number of students enrolled is much in excess of what can be pressed into any justice being done to them; and the other is that the complicated system of examination yields no scope to adjudge their merits. Either, in our opinion, was a problem even in days when Mr. Siddhanta was himself a student; and it continues to be the talking points of as much the academicians, as of the lay public. Instead of some well-worn commonplaces what we need him, supposed to be an expert in the line, to tell us is what mea-

sures have been tried to combat it and with what result and what he should consider as well worth trying. A pleased dispersal of students by the creation of new Universities is a remedy so far as the number is concerned. Proper tutorial courses in colleges, no doubt, afford materials for study and reflection ; and the initial handicaps need not deter us giving the experiment a trial. The craze for white-collar avocation needs being curbed at all stages of growth.

We are fully at one with Mr. Siddhanta for the suggestion he has made that occupational institutions, polytechnics and apprenticeship in industrial concerns should be tapped on a chalked out plan to provide accommodation to students in increasing numbers. It is an accepted truth that a good many students prefer University course because of the dearth of opportunities elsewhere, but no less because of its comparative ease. There is, therefore, the need for a rigid screening, even if in the process some possibilities get throttled.

We are, however, afraid we might be treading on sensitive corns if we happen to say that the greatest problem which confronts our University education is the growing lack of idealism. Here as elsewhere we woefully miss the 'Noble Forms', which to look on make noble. Here, as well, the same cliquism, wire-pullings and other seamy factors of life rule the roost. The disclosures that are often made through Commissions and Committees are distressing to read. But there is the same brazen facedness to pass over. It is as much our duty to say that we do not feel happy to read what Mr. Siddhanta says that in the present set-up and conditions of the University he feels that he cannot do it any lasting good. He, therefore, we should think, owes it to himself as a gentleman to set out what precisely stands in the way of improvement and a healthy state of affairs. Since when has this consciousness dawned on him? Is it after enjoying two extensions and only when he has seized a better job with longer tenure and the vicinity of the fountain of all patronage—the Delhi gods?

These are trivialities but difficult to resist, when a job-seeking mentality becomes attributable to the Vice-Chancellor of a University. It is, after all, not conducive to the growth of a sturdy citizenship.

J. B.

### The Peace-maker With Vengeance

It was, hitherto, the privilege of a State Government to add supplementary questions to the Central Census questionnaire. The Census Commissioner, presumably in consultation with or under the orders of the India Government has, in the stress of circumstances, withdrawn it. Is it to be construed as a slap to the Assam Government, which under cover of 'supplementary question', overshot all biological probabilities in the 1951 Census? Indeed no Government with any sense of delicacy and respect for truth could have done it and no final authority, as the India Government in this case is, would have accepted such monstrous manipulations, possibly on the faulty complacence 'let bygones be bygones'. The one honest course for any Government should have been to scrape it *in toto* and debit the cost to those who were guilty of wilful perversions, failing which to act upon the last Census figures. We shall not be surprised to be told that nobody paid for it, and no enquiry worth the name was made in respect of this. This is how they flourish their motto '*satyameva jayate*', the truth triumphs.

The Assam Government is, however, to be congratulated on the skill and daring with which they propose to outwit and outflank the Census, which is to take place a few months off. Before the ashes of the burnt-down dwellings of over fifty thousand people—most of them are as much sons of the soil—have turned cold, the Assam Government rushes through the Legislature the Bill making Assamese the State language of Assam. It gives a complete go-by to the well-thought-out recommendation of the State Reorganisation Committee that no States should be considered unilingual, unless one language-group constitutes at least 70 per cent of the people. Having very carefully considered all the relevant facts and circumstances, the S. R. C. recommended that Assam be recognised as a bilingual State. The India Government is to be congratulated not only on its sublime connivance at this grossly unfair, controversial deal, but as much as the consummate diplomacy of its Home Minister, for having taken advantage of a mess to smuggle Hindi into Assam. Is there none to stop these blinkered fanatics of Hindi reducing the country into shambles of blood, anarchy and ruin ?

J. B.

## MAHATMA GANDHI AND HINDU TRADITION

By INDIRA N. ROTHERMUND, M.A., Ph.D.

MAHATMA Gandhi's approach to the Hindu tradition was an intuitive one. He was steeped in folk-tradition which has preserved the essentials of Indian religion. His mind reproduced these essential features clearly. However, since he was not concerned with a reconstruction of the Hindu tradition he never tried to give a systematic account of his insights. Therefore the coherence and basic relation of his thought to the fundamental precepts of Indian religion have tended to be overlooked. In this article an attempt is made to place Gandhian thought into the perspective of the Hindu tradition. The central concepts which we shall investigate are the *Vedic* concepts of "binding truth", the *Gita*'s emphasis on "detached action", the idea of freeing oneself from bondage by restraint, and the sum total of these concepts in a programme of "truthful action".

### "Binding Truth"

Gandhi defines Hinduism as a "search after truth through non-violent means".<sup>1</sup> It is therefore important to discuss the full meaning of the word "truth". The common Indian word for truth is "satya", a word that exists already in the *Vedic* language. More central to the *Vedic* concept of truth, however, is the word *Rta*, which according to modern research can be translated as "truth".<sup>2</sup> *Rta* is a word that has become obsolete since *Vedic* times. The concept of *Rta*, however, has implications which have lived on in the concept of "satya" and "dharma", and it is therefore important to pay attention to its meaning. For a long time the word *Rta* has been interpreted in varying ways by different scholars. Most of these interpretations projected the essentialism of later Hindu philosophy back into the *Vedas*. They translated *Rta* by the words "law" or "cosmic law".<sup>3</sup> In recent years, however, Luders<sup>4</sup> has been

able to prove that *Rta* means "truth" and that this meaning makes the best sense when consistently applied to all passages of the *Vedas* in which *Rta* is mentioned. A concept of truth begs the question of verifiability. It is precisely with regard to this verifiability that we must qualify the *Vedic* concept of truth. We might therefore suggest the translation "binding truth" for *Rta*. By "binding" we mean to convey the existential obligation which ties man, God and the world together in a very direct way. It is the invocation of this bond which seems to characterise most passages in the *Vedas* which mention *Rta*.

In order to find out this "binding" quality of truth, it is important to take a look at the chief guardians of *Rta*, the Gods Mitra and Varuna. As Dumezil has shown<sup>5</sup> Mitra and Varuna are a pair, with divided functions. Mitra is a god of contract, Varuna a god of oath. Mitra has a positive and protective task, Varuna a punitive and restrictive one. Thus while Mitra would stand for truth, Varuna stands for the binding. Mitra later merges with the Brahman-idea and with the "essential" concept of *Sat* and *Satya*—which we shall discuss later. Varuna, however, has the existential task of binding those who deviate from the path of truth; therefore, he vanishes, together with the term *Rta*, when the existential aspect of early Indian thought gives way to the essentialism of *Vedanta*.

schaft d. Wiss. (Goettingen, 1915) and Bernhard Geiger, "Rta und Verwandtes", Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes, Vol. 1, 1934.

4. Luders, *op. cit.* Vol. 1, p. 55. Vol. 2, p. 411.

5. George Dumézil, *Mitra-Varuna* (Leroux Universitaires de France, 1940) Bibliothèque de l'école des Hautes Études-56), pp. 79-146. "Varuna est le 'Lieur'; quiconque respecta le 'satyam' et la 'sraddha', C'est à dire les diverses formes de exactitude, est protégé par mitra, mais quiconque péche contre le 'satyam' et la 'sraddha' est aussitôt lié au sens le plus matériel du mot, par Varuna." This can be compared to the 'self-binding' quality of the oath as stressed by Luders, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

1. *Young India*, April, 24, 1924, (New York; Viking Press, 1927), p. 13.

2. Heinrich Luders, "Varuna" (Goettingen, Vandenhoeck and Rupprecht, 1951), Vol. 1, p. 40, p. 55. Vol. 2, p. 411.

3. Hermann Oldenberg, "Zur Religion und Mythologie des Veda," Nachrichten d. K. Gesell-

In keeping with his task, Varuna is described as having magic power : he commands "maya", his powers are irresistible; unlike Indra he never fights, for no one ever tried to stand up against him. He is, therefore,—as Dumezil points out—a perfect symbolization of sovereignty as understood in antiquity. Why is Varuna irresistible, why is he sovereign? There seems to be a good reason: the binding power of Rta which Varuna administers is largely automatic in so far as any invocation of Rta contains implicitly a grave risk for the man who invokes it. This point is made very explicit in the case of the oath, because every oath is nothing more than the invocation of a curse upon the man who takes it, in the event that he does not fulfil his promise. Varuna is only a witness to this act, being usually represented by his favourite element, water ; and in the case of the breaking of the oath he becomes the administrator of the curse—thus he "binds" the man. It is probable, incidentally, that the very name Varuna means "binder".<sup>6</sup>

A similar role is assigned to Varuna in the water-ordeal, in which a man, in order to prove his innocence, is required to remain under water for a certain length of time. If he can manage to do so, it means that Varuna has not evicted him from his element and that his integrity is proven.<sup>7</sup> It should be mentioned in this context that Rta is often equated with water, and that it is called the water of the highest heaven. The term "the lap of Rta" (Rtasya yoni) is translated in the oldest *Vedic* dictionaries as "water" (udaka).<sup>8</sup> Here, as in many other ancient systems of mythology, we encounter the fact of mythological identification, which is so alien to the modern mind and its scientific classifications. What is manifest in the cases of the oath and the

protection or praise of the Gods. Since the ordeal is implicitly true about all other invocations of Rta which are made for magic efficacy, cation involves a risk, it is best made by addressing oneself to well-known attributes of the Gods and making them one's own truth (mä R̄tam). The most important point is that all these oaths and invocations are the responsibility of the man who invokes them : the initiative is his, the invocation then brings God, man, and world together; and herein lies its strength and its danger. Invocation is, therefore, an act of existential significance. The risks are not to be avoided; they must be taken. Truthful invocation in song and praise strengthens the Gods, who are described as *rtavrdh* ("one who increases in strength by Rta").<sup>9</sup> In invocation man asserts his truthful bond ("religio") to the Gods.

Mahatma Gandhi sums up this whole philosophical position of the *Vedas* in one sentence : "God is the essence of the vow" (*vow-vrata*).<sup>10</sup> This sentence would seem enigmatic at first glance, but after our discussion of the term *ta*, it assumes the character of a clear and concise conclusion. Gandhi recovered the meaning of Rta in his own "experiments with truth". Seen in this light these "experiments" lose their casual pragmatic appearance and reveal their true character as grave risks taken at the cost of relapse into "bondage". This problem of "bondage" as the result of untruthful action looms large in the Mahatma's thought, and we shall discuss this concept later with regard to his interpretation of the *Bhagavadgita*.

In the *Upanishads* "Sat" or the essence, the being within, is the transindividual self, the *Brahman*. "*Tat tvam asi*" (That thou art) is the famous formula of identification of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*. Gandhi's summary of this philosophy is his saying, "Truth (*Satya*) is God." This saying parallels the ontological equation *Satya-Brahman* of the *Upanishads*.<sup>11</sup> *Satya*, how-

6. Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 40.

7. Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 31ff. (Vol. I.) "Satyen mabhiraksava varunety abhisapya kam / nābhidaghnodakasthasya grhitvoru jalam / set/sama kṣalam imsum muktam ānayed yo javi narah/gate tasmin nimagnangam pasyecchetc shuddhim āpnuyāt. (Quoted from *Yajnavalkyasmriti* II, 106f). Translation: Him, who takes the oath 'O Varuna, protect me by the truth ! enter him in water.....

8. *Ibid.*, p. 9. Rta-Satya and water are mentioned in RV. VII—49—3.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23, RV. VIII—100-04. Indra is said to grow in strength on Rta. See also RV. X-65-63.

10. Professor Massignon, in *Gandhian Outlook and Techniques*, (New Delhi, Ministry of Education, 1953), p. 59.

11. *Taittiriya Upanishad*, I—I : "He who knows Brahma as the real (*satya*) . . . obtains all desires".

ever, was not an exclusively ontological term. It was more than the philosophical truth of the *Vedanta* philosophers. It retained its magical connotations which it had inherited from the defunct term *Rta*. This magical tradition of *Satya* was kept up by the "heterodox" schools of Indian thought like Buddhism, Jainism, and Tantrism (Tantra—a system of doctrines). This character of *Satya* is obvious in the "*satyakriya*". This special form of invocation is mentioned in the Atharvaveda ("*Satyam Krnomi*", 'I do this truth', says the magician)<sup>12</sup> and in the *Rigveda* it might be compared to that invocation of "*mā Rtam*" which we referred to above. The legends which relate the "*satyakriya*" are numerous and most of them are based on the invocation of one's personal right conduct.

The invocation of personal right conduct brings us to the other term which assumes more and more importance as Indian thought develops through the centuries. This is the term "*dharma*". *Dharma* is derived from *dhr*—to be firm, to uphold, support, sustain. In *Vedic* times the term *Dharma* refers to "benefits accrued from sacrifices".<sup>13</sup> Monier Williams points out that the older form in the *Rigveda* is "*dharman*", meaning "that which is firmly established, steadfast; decree, . . . . ordinance, law, virtue, morality, religion".<sup>14</sup> The word would thus stand not only for righteousness or duty, but also for the universal ordinance by which the cosmos is governed and sustained.<sup>15</sup> We may suggest that "*dharma*" inherited the element of obligation, from the term *Rta* while *Satya* inherited the element of truth. In other words *Rta* is "*satya-dharma*". In the *Vedic* philosophy of *Rta*, ontology and ethics are one. As philosophical speculation develops, these two realms receive special treatment. Their common root, however, remains the dominant feature of Indian philosophy. The combination of the two realms is illustrated by numerous examples. "*Satyakriya*" on the basis of the

*dharma* of personal conduct is only one of them. We can therefore characterise "*dharma*" if we translate it as "ontological ethics". Radhakrishnan says;<sup>16</sup> "*Dharma* gives coherence and direction to the different activities of life . . . . It is the complete rule of life, the harmony of the whole man who finds a right and just law of his living. Each man and group, each activity of soul, mind, life, and body, has its *dharma*".

The connotation "benefits from sacrifice" which we have mentioned above remains always implicit in the term "*dharma*", and it is the view of life as an offering, which became more and more important in Indian philosophy after *Vedic* times, that really brings "*dharma*" into prominence. The term *Yajna*—offering, sacrifice (as in *Bhudan-yajna* of Vinoba Bhave) assumes importance. To conduct one's life as a proper *yajna* to God, that is "*swadharma*", one's own "*dharma*". This sacramental view of life is typical of ontological ethics. The ontological character of this ethic becomes particularly evident, when the principle of *dharma* is applied to society or humanity. Since *dharma* is transindividual, no social contract is necessary; harmony is attained when everyone follows his own *dharma*. The individual "*swadharma*" cannot be in conflict unless *dharma* as a whole disintegrates. Consequently *dharma* will be at its best when it is in accord with *satya*, i.e., when ontological ethics is combined with ethical ontology. The Golden Age in India has, therefore, the name "*Satyavuga*"—the Age of Truth.

Tilak expresses this in the following way:<sup>17</sup> ". . . . all human beings are held together by *dharma*. . . . . Therefore, when this *dharma* ceases to be observed the binding-ropes of society may be said to have become loose." Sri Aurobindo points out that<sup>18</sup> everyone has his *swadharma*, and that in an entirely right and sound condition of man, individual and collective—a condition typified by the legendary golden age "*Satyavuga*", the Age of Truth—there is no need of political government, or state or

12. Luders, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 507.

13. S. Dasgupta, *Indian Idealism* (Cambridge University, 1931), p. 2.

14. Sir Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1894), p. 510.

15. Henrich Zimmer, *Philosophy of India* (New York, Meridian Books, 1956), p. 163.

16. S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern Religion and Western Thought* (London, Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 353.

17. B. G. Tilak, *Gita Rahasya*, Vol. I (Bombay, Tilak Brothers, 1935), Pp. 90-91.

18. Sri Aurobindo, *The Spirit and Message of Indian Culture*, (Pondicherry, 1946).

artificial construction of society because all then live freely according to the truth of their enlightened self and God-inhabited being, and, therefore, spontaneously according to the inner divine *dharma*". Accordingly Gandhi asserts in his Autobiography<sup>19</sup> that *dharma* and politics (*rājaprakarna*) cannot be considered in isolation, and he says : "I do not believe that the spiritual law works in a field of its own. On the contrary, it expresses itself only through the ordinary activities of life. It thus affects the economic, the social and political fields"<sup>20</sup> We have now seen how *dharma*, *satya* and *Rta* are related to each other, how they developed in Indian philosophy as the need for differentiation in philosophical speculation became more obvious. We have also seen how Gandhi finds the way back to the *Vedic* roots of Indian thought by asserting that the search for truth is the *dharma* of Hinduism, that Truth is God, and that God is the essence of the Vow. He has thus restated the divine quality of the "binding truth". From here we have to turn to the problem of right action, the kind of action which is compatible with this system of ontological ethics.

#### *Right Action—the Problem of the Bhagavadgita*

As Albert Schweitzer says :<sup>21</sup> "The *Bhagavadgita* continued what the Buddha began . . . . The supreme inactivity it teaches is when one performs actions as if one did not perform them. . . . . If God himself practises activity in creating and maintaining the Universe, then man also must devote himself to action". This activity—according to the *Bhagavadgita*—must be based on *dharma* with no attachment to the results of action, or any desire for reward. The spirit of detachment advocated is "self-surrender to God". Thus Schweitzer admits : "The charm of the *Bhagavadgita* is due to this idea of spiritualised activity which springs only from the highest motives".<sup>22</sup>

19. M. K. Gandhi, *My Experiments with Truth* (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 10th ed. 1956), p. 453.

20. *Young India*, op. cit., quoted by N. K. Bose.

21. Albert Schweitzer, *Indian Thought* (Boston, The Beacon Press, 1936), pp. 186-187.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 191.

This spirit of detachment, however, involves some deep problems. Behind it are the Indian ideas of *advaita* (non-duality) and *avidya* (ignorance, viz., false consciousness) in their relation to *karma* (action). As we have mentioned, the early *Upanishads* had arrived at a philosophy of non-dualism by identifying subject and object, man and Godhead. The clarification of this concept posed a problem, since it became necessary to explain why duality and diversity are perceived. This is the same problem that presented itself to Western philosophy under the heading "the One and the Many", but with the difference that Western philosophy had to look for unifying factors of the perceived diversity; while Indian philosophy had to look for diversifying factors which might explain the manifold appearance of the One (*Brahman-Sat-Atman*). *Avidya*—false consciousness—was postulated as the source of the manifoldness of perception. All appearance is only an epiphenomenon. But what is the cause of *avidya*? What falsifies the consciousness? Karma—action—falsifies the consciousness.

The *Mundaka Upanishad* says this bluntly :<sup>23</sup>  
Since doers of deeds (*karmin*) do not understand, because of passion (*raga*)  
Therefore, when their worlds are exhausted,  
they sink down wretched . . . . .  
They re-enter this world, or a lower.

Here we have the whole doctrine in a nutshell : the relation between karma and ignorance, the relation between *karma* and passion, the doctrine of rebirth, and the additional manifoldness of a hierarchy of worlds (" . . . this world, or a lower").

This fits well into the general system, since it is easy to reason from the manifoldness of appearance to an ever greater manifoldness beyond appearance (multiplicity of births, multiplicity of worlds), once the direction from the One to the Many (rather than from the Many to the One as in Western philosophy) is accepted.

The statement that there is a lower and a higher world and that action becomes the cause of ignorance because it is accomplished by passion, leads to the conclusion that only dispassionate action—if any action at all—would lead into a higher world, or at the end to the true awareness of identity with the Godhead.

23. R. E. Hume, *The Thirteen Upanishads* (London, Oxford University Press, 1921), p. 369.

- The *Bhagavadgita* recommends dispassionate action following the lines of "swadharma". The *Mundaka Upanishad*, however, recommends the extermination of action:<sup>24</sup>

Having scrutinised the worlds that are built up by work, a *Brāhmaṇa*

Should arrive at indifference. The (world) that was not made is not (won) by what is done.

All later commentators had to face this problem. They had to take a stand for either the one or the other opinion, or they had to re-interpret one position in the light of the other, or *vice versa*. Shankaracharya, as a *Vedanta* Monist has interpreted the dispassionate activism of the *Gita* to fit in with his Monistic essentialism. He accomplishes this by maintaining that the *Gita* presupposes a higher and a lower level of '*Brahman*'. The device of the two levels is of course not without support in the *Gita* itself, since Lord Krishna presents himself the greater part of the time as a human incarnation, but once, on Arjuna's request, reveals his awe-inspiring form as Godhead, which is unbearable to human finitude. The hypostasis of the two respective levels of perfection is, however, Shankara's own contribution to the reading of the *Gita*. From there he can go on to point out that for the man who has overcome 'avidya' there can be neither "action" nor "non-action". Accordingly the action prescribed in the *Gita*—including the personal God—is only an epiphenomenon; the true, the higher message of the *Gita* is that of renunciation in general, the ideal type toward which it is aimed is the *sannyāsin*, the ascetic.

The interpretation of the *Gita*, however, remained a touchstone for ethical philosophers. And everyone who dealt with the subject after Shankara had to discuss the question of the two levels, and if he advocated action he had to combat the subtleties of Shankara's arguments. Once action is advocated the question of the standards of right action arises. In a spiritual sense action can be right action only if it does not lead the soul into bondage by clouding the spirit with 'avidya' and chaining him to the wheel of rebirth by the accumulation of *Karma*. Action, therefore, must be not only dispassionate but it must be made a *yajna*, an offering to God. This reflection on right action became of course of great importance in the struggle for national independence. Tilak,

the orthodox nationalist, therefore, wrote a great commentary on the *Gita* while he was in prison. He wrote, "Action alone must be our guiding principle . . . and self-sacrifice would be necessary for such action". Whatever a man does must be taken to have been done by him for the purpose of sacrifice (*yajna*). In order to prove the authenticity of this idea Tilak quotes the *Gita*: "Actions performed for the purpose of *yajna* do not create bondage".<sup>25)</sup> According to Tilak the *Gita* expounds the "science of right action"—*Karmayoga*. Thus Tilak asserts: "Shri Krishna says in the *Gita* that there is nothing in all the three worlds that he need acquire, and still he acts. He acts, because if he does not the world will be ruined. If man seeks unity with the Deity, he must necessarily seek unity with the interests of the world also, and work for it. . . ".<sup>26</sup> Tilak was so unflinching in his emphasis on action that he was not contented to see *Karmayoga* (the science of action) as one possible path to perfection—equal to the paths of devotion or of contemplation—but would demand action in all cases and in all phases.

Tilak emphasized the importance of non-attachment to the results of right action; but Gandhi went deeper into the matter and tried to find the root of non-attachment. He saw that there had to be an attachment to something else in order to arrive at a detachment from the results of actions. This attachment, he found, should be to truth and *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa*, however, means non-violence; and that fact created a new problem of interpretation, since, after all, in the *Gita* Krishna admonishes Arjuna to fight on the battlefield. Gandhi, therefore, accepted (like Tilak) the "*Karmayoga*" of the *Gita*, but on the other hand he refused (like Shankara) to take the text of the *Gita* simply at face value. Thus he says that on a closer study of religion and the *Gita* he discovered that the *Gita* does not refer to any physical warfare, that non-violence rather than violence is the central theme. Thus according to Gandhi Arjuna never discussed war with Krishna, he merely recoiled from killing his own kith and kin. Therefore, Lord Krishna says to Arjuna: "Thou hast already done the killing. Thou canst

25. Tilak, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73, and 70-71.

26. Ram Gopal, *Lokmanya Tilak*, (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1956), p. 344.

not all at once argue thyself into non-violence. stressed here is not merely a physical act but Finish what thou hast already begun".<sup>27</sup> Lord Krishna thus advised Arjuna to follow his *swadharma*—the essential duty of the warrior (*kshatriya*). Non-violent Krishna could give Arjuna no other advice. "But to say that the *Gita* teaches or justifies war . . . is as wrong as to say that *himsa*, (violence, killing) is the law of life," says Gandhi.<sup>28</sup> And then he transposes the teaching of the *Gita* to a higher level and points out : "The field of battle is our own body. An eternal battle is going on between the two camps (of higher and lower impulses). Krishna is the Dweller within, ever whispering in a pure heart."<sup>29</sup> In this context Gandhi also notes 'Abhaya'—freedom from fear—which the *Gita* teaches. He says, "He who fears, who saves his skin . . . must fight the physical battle, whether he will or not, but that is not his *dharma* . . . *Himsa*—violence will go on eternally in this strange world. The *Gita* shows a way out of it. But it also shows that the escape out of cowardice and despair is not the way. Better far than cowardice is killing and being killed".<sup>30</sup>

Gandhi boldly declared that the *Gita* tries primarily to prove the futility of physical warfare, and that it shows an excellent way for man to become "like unto God" through renunciation of the fruits of action. He thinks that the *Gita* pronounces this in a definitive language : "By desireless action, by renouncing the fruits of action, by dedicating all activities to God, i.e., by surrendering oneself to Him body and soul, man can make his body the temple of God".<sup>31</sup> In keeping with this declaration, Gandhi once said that if only the first verse of the *Isha Upanishad* were left intact in the memory of Hindus, Hinduism would live for ever, and he translates this verse thus : "All that we see in this great universe is pervaded by God. Renounce it and enjoy it or enjoy whatever He gives you, do not covet anybody's wealth or possessions".<sup>32</sup> He tries to read this verse in the light of the *Gita* and finds the *Gita* to be a commentary on the contents of this verse. According to Gandhi, the act of renunciation which is

"represents a second or new birth. It is a deliberate act—not done in ignorance. It is therefore a regeneration . . . Do not covet anybody's possessions. The moment you carry out these precepts you become a wise citizen of the world living at peace with all that lives".<sup>33</sup>

#### *Freedom from Bondage by Restraint*

Two major foundations of detachment, as emphasized by Gandhi, have been mentioned above : truth and *ahimsa*. The concept of truth has been described earlier, and we know that since truth contains the highest being (*Sat-Brahman*) it follows that attachment to truth can be considered as complete freedom, perfect detachment. Being bound by truth means freedom from all other bondage.

*Ahimsa* was mentioned as another foundation of detachment. With this term Gandhi draws on the Buddhist and Jainist tradition. Lord Buddha says : "Never in this world does hatred cease by hatred—hatred ceases by love . . . let a man overcome anger by kindness, evil by good".<sup>34</sup> And the highest sacrifice according to Buddha, is "love of humanity and mortal life".<sup>35</sup> Similarly Lord Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, declares: "*Ahimsa*—non-violence, non-killing—is the first principle in the *dharma* of the saint and sage, the first step to the self-mastering by which the great *yogis* lift themselves out of the range of normal human action".<sup>36</sup>

Gandhi adopts the well-known Buddhist formula "*Ahimsa Parmo Dharma*" (non-violence is the highest duty) as his own. He gives a more universal meaning to *Ahimsa* and points out that *Ahimsa* "may entail continuous suffering and the cultivating of endless patience". Any evil thought, undue haste, hatred and wishing ill to anybody—not killing alone—have to be avoided by the votary of *Ahimsa*. Finally he widens the meaning of *Ahimsa* to the general meaning of love, and he tried to incorporate the essence of the Sermon on the Mount into *Ahimsa* as well.

Truth and non-violence, however, have to be achieved by discipline of mind and body. This

27. M. K. Gandhi, *Hindu Dharma*, (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1950), p. 155.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 156.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

32. Gandhi, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

34. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1923), Vol. 1. p. 475.

35. *Ibid.*, p. 692.

36. Heinrich Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

discipline is described as "sannyasa"—the equanimity of mind and soul (As Samni—literally "renunciation" in which the state of mind is completely at rest).<sup>37</sup> This state implies restraint as a most important foundation of detachment, and leads us to the core of "yoga". As far back as the *Vedas* it is mentioned that one can obtain supernatural powers through the practice of austerities, and in this connection the word *Tapas* appears to have been used in place of *sannyas*.<sup>38</sup> The mystic way of knowing Brahman—Truth-God, as described in the *Kena Upanishad*, is thus: "Austerity (*tapas*), restraint (*dama*), and work (*karman*) are the foundation of it (viz., the mystic doctrine). The *Vedas* are its limbs, Truth is its abode".<sup>39</sup> The *Upanishads* thus speak of *Tapas* as capable of producing great inner strength; it is this inner strength that Gandhi stresses. Fasting and observing celibacy and other aspects of bodily discipline are only the outward means to the attaining of this strength. In this way he refers to the ethical preparation (*yama* and *niyama*), which he also terms the "eternal guides of conduct" as the essentials for the realisation of truth. He enumerates: (1) *ahimsa*, (2) *satya* (here verifiable truth), (3) *asteya* (non-stealing), (4) *aparigraha* (non-possession), (5) *brahmacharya* (celibacy—originally the first stage of life, that of a student). These he calls the "five restraints".<sup>40</sup> It is clear that these controls are set up voluntarily—we might almost say, in the same way as a scientist sets up his controls for an experiment. Unfortunately this part of Gandhi's teaching has been misinterpreted, even by sympathetic writers. Thus Frank Moraes sees in it "a repressive attitude which saw life as a series of taboos".<sup>41</sup> But as we have seen in the preceding pages it is freedom from bondage not repression, conscious self-control not "taboo", that is the aim of Gandhi's

life and thought. Only if we keep this in mind can we understand his "*satyagraha*"—his summary of all that we have tried to discuss up to this point.

#### "Holding fast to Truth": *Satyāgraha*

*Satyagraha* emphasized not only *satya* but also the means of holding on to it; and in these means Gandhi again drew on the entire Indian tradition, from the oath or vow (*vrata*) of the *Vedas* to the *tapas-samnyāsa* of *Vedanta*, from the detached action of the *Gita* to the *Ahimsa* of Buddha and Mahavira.

The vow is of importance in the *Vedas*; the *Rigveda* calls a pious and devoted man "*Anuvrata*".<sup>42</sup> In Gandhi's *Satyagraha* the vow is the starting point; it constitutes a "bulwark of strength", as he says. And he insists on purificatory vows such as fasting and celibacy which demand self-control, since voluntary discipline and restraint are the essential prerequisites of *Satyāgraha*. Gandhi resorted to the vow of fasting whenever he felt a need for self-purification, and he called such a fast *Tapas* (austerity). His fasts on behalf of the Harijans were intended to purify the hearts of the higher castes from the evil of Untouchability. He had "faith that it must lead to the purification of (him)self and others and that workers (his co-operators) would know that true Harijan-service was impossible without inward purity".<sup>43</sup>

In short, *Satyāgraha* itself assumes the character of a vow. And it also assumes the character of *ahimsa*, since non-violence was another prerequisite; it commanded action, since the "karmayoga" as recommended by the *Bhagavadgita* was also a prerequisite. The Mahatma sums up these prerequisites by saying that the *Satyāgraha*-leader must be a "man of God who will compel reverence and love even of the opponent by the purity of his life, the utter selflessness of his mission and the breadth of his outlook".<sup>44</sup>

37. Bohlingk-Roth, "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch," Vol. VII, (Kaiserl. Akad. St. Petersburg, 1855-75), p. 654.

38. S. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-10. And also Luders, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 644ff. Luders points out that in RV. X—190-1 *Rta* and *satya* are said to be born out of *tapas*.

39. Hume, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

40. M. K. Gandhi, *Hindu Dharma*, *op. cit.*, p. 291-292.

41. W. N. Brown, "The Basis for the Hindu Act of Truth", *The Review of Religion*, Vol. V, Nov.-May, 1940-1941. Columbia University, p. 41.

42. Frank Moraes, "Gandhi ten years after", *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1958, pp. 257-258.

43. Gandhi, *Hindu Dharma*, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

44. Gandhi, *Satyagraha*, (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1951), p. 203.

This character of *Satyāgraha* implies certain violence, restraint and self-control are interrelated lines of procedure, and thus Gandhi demands of the *Satyāgrahi*. "All his actions must be transparent through and through. Diplomacy and intrigue can have no place in his armoury".<sup>45</sup> Consequently *Satyāgraha* cannot be conducted secretly : the *Satyāgrahi's* intentions have to be clearly stated and publicly announced. The *Satyāgraha*-campaign can also become a mass movement only to the extent to which every participant is willing to comply with the prerequisites which have been mentioned above.

With this short survey we hope that we have shown how Gandhi and his programme were an integral part of the Indian tradition, and how *Vedic* and *Vedantic* truth, detached action, non-

in this tradition, and in the Mahatma's life-work. We can now perhaps understand better why Nehru considers Gandhi to be the "link between all the past and all the future revolutions of India":<sup>46</sup> it was because Gandhi intuitively grasped the "existential" content of the *Vedas* as well as the later achievements of Hindu thought and pitted them against the petrified social customs of contemporary Hinduism. We may say that he could do this because he derived his insight into the Hindu tradition not from the study of numerous commentaries but rather from the living folk tradition; this was his source of inspiration and at the same time the basis of his intimate communication with the common people.

45. M. K. Gandhi, *Satyāgraha*, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

46. Tibor Monde, *Nehru : Conversations on India and World Affairs*, (New York, Braziller, 1956).

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## BORIS PASTERNAK

By ANNADA SANKAR RAY

There was a time when the name Pasternak was understood to mean the famous artist Leonid Pasternak. He was a professor at the Moscow Art College and a close associate of Tolstoy. It was Leonid Pasternak who drew the pictures for "Resurrection." His wife, Rosa Kaufman, was a well-known pianist before her marriage. Tolstoy brought his daughters to her flat to hear her play.

The eldest son of this artistic couple, Boris Pasternak, was brought up in the atmosphere of music and art. He filled his eyes with pictures. He filled his ears with melody. He sat at the feet of the gifted and great. Tolstoy was a presence in his home from the start. For twenty years he lived and breathed in an atmosphere permeated by that great man. Once a young foreigner came to visit him. Boris Pasternak was ten years old at the time. He was returning to Moscow with his family. The young foreigner and a lady travelled by the same train. The train stopped between stations to allow

them to get off. A carriage and pair had come from Tolstoy's residence to receive them. They got into it and drove away. The boy Boris did not know the name of the foreigner at the time nor the name of his companion. He did not know he was a poet. Ten years later a book dropped out of a book-case he was tidying and fell to the floor. He picked it up and began to read. Rilke's poems. The poet had presented the book to Leonid Pasternak. Another of Rilke's books came in the mail not long after. This one also was a present. Who was Rilke? His father said he was the young foreigner who had travelled with them.

The internationally famous Russian composer Scriabin took a dacha in the country near the Pasternak's. His music moved young Boris to the point of deciding to become a composer himself when he grew up. Like Ekalavya, unknown to the master Drona, he devoted himself to the study of music. Any other mother and father would have placed obstacles in the way of their

son. But Boris's parents were of a different kind. They did not object to their son earning his livelihood by music. He met Scriabin again after he had spent six years in intense study. Scriabin made no comment at all when one of Boris's compositions was performed for him. He merely advised him to study philosophy at the University of Moscow instead of law. Boris received his first shock when, at the age of nineteen, he realised he had no future in music. Then where was his future? In law? No. In philosophy? who could say?

Self-confidence, once destroyed, is not easily restored. If fate had not helped Pasternak he might not have found a way out. When one bank of a river is washed away the other is built up. He used to frequent the gatherings of a group of young men who welcomed him not because he was a poet but because he understood music and art. Poets were among them. He made their acquaintance. When he discovered Rilke's poetry he read it out to them. Rilke's poetry was the gift of God in his time of crisis. Two more years passed. One day his mother put two hundred roubles into his hand and said, "I have saved this money over a long period of time and with a great deal of privation. Take it and go abroad." The gift was a surprise. The chief centre of neo-Kantian philosophy at the time was the University of Marburg in Germany and Boris had wanted to study under Hermann Cohen there for a long time. But he lacked the means. No money. With the money his mother gave him he decided to spend the summer vacation at Marburg. The University is open in the summer. German Universities follow a different schedule.

He was progressing nicely at Marburg. He liked Cohen very much. But a strange and unanticipated thing happened. In Moscow he had been tutor to a young lady of wealthy family. The young lady and her younger sister passed through Marburg while travelling in Europe. They were unchaperoned. This was his chance to test his old flame. Pasternak plucked up his courage and proposed. His sweetheart, as

politely as possible, told him he had no hope. The world was a different place for Pasternak from the very next day. It was his second blow. At the age of nineteen he had lost music. At twenty-two he lost love. But poetry came, by unknown ways. Pasternak found himself writing poem after poem. Goodbye Marburg! Goodbye philosophy! Very little was left in his pocket. He managed to see Venice and Florence. Then he returned to Russia and graduated from the Moscow University in 1913. In the same year he dedicated himself to poetry.

The First World War started a year later. His lame leg proved a blessing in disguise. He had fallen off a horse and broken his leg at the time Scriabin was their neighbour. When his leg healed he found it shorter than the other. Such a man was not eligible for military service. His friends of the same age all left for the army. His poet friends too. He was a member of a branch of the Futurists called Centrifuge. And he had already made the acquaintance of Mayakovsky and become his friend. Mayakovsky belonged to another group. In those days differences were accented to the exclusion of similarities and it was the custom for one group to invite another and rail wittily at it. There was a movement called the Imagists. They were really rowdy. Esenin was their best poet. Mayakovsky was the star of the extreme Futurists. Pasternak's group was moderate. He was, compared with the others, less advanced for he had begun to write poetry later.

When the February Revolution took place Pasternak was very far from Moscow, working as a clerk in a munitions factory at the foot of the Ural mountains. The closest post office was a hundred and seventy miles away. When the news came he set out in a troika for Kazan. From Kazan he travelled by rail to Moscow. His book, "My Sister, Life," was written that year. It was not published until five years later. Pasternak took his place beside Mayakovsky and Esenin on the post-Revolutionary heights the day it appeared. Blok was dead. The days of the Symbolist poets

were gone. Gumiliov, the leader of Acmeism, had been killed. His wife, Akmatova, was alive but their movement had lost its influence. Only the Futurists and Imagists were prominent. They accepted the Revolution. But Pasternak did not become the voice of the Revolution as Mayakovsky, and Ecenin did. Never, at any time in his life, did Pasternak take part in politics. He did not concern himself with it at all. In 1905 he was fifteen years old and from then on he knew that a revolution was inevitable. One of his books is written around the events of this year. War and revolution are to the life of man what storm and flood are to the life of nature. This was Pasternak's philosophy of life.

If Pasternak had been opposed to the Revolution he would not have stayed in Russia for he might have lost his life if he had. One by one his relatives and friends left Russia. His parents left in 1921. Pasternak had to work as a salesman in a writers' bookshop. The following year he became famous as soon as his book, "My Sister, Life" was published. He married and took his wife to Berlin to meet his parents. They stayed in Berlin a year and it was there that his son was born. His second book, "Themes and Variations", was published in Berlin and Moscow simultaneously. Pasternak could have stayed of in Germany if he wished. He spoke German almost as well as Russian. He was under no obligation to return to Russia. He had no property there, no job, no house. Why then did he go back when everyone who could was leaving? The answer is that he composed poetry in the Russian language, the language not of books but of the people, the language fresh on their lips. He was a magician with the spoken language heightened into literature. And he was spiritually akin to the common people of Russia. Although he was not a Tolstoyan he had been brought up under the influence of Tolstoy. His place was with the common people. And he also liked to experience the tug and pull of historical events. He was a Russian fish in the stream of Russian history. To live abroad was for him to be a fish out of water.

Lenin was still alive. Though Lenin

was a Russian moujik to the bone he was also a European intellectual as Marx himself was. He did not want Russian thinkers to be cut off from the main stream of European thought because a revolution had taken place in their country. During his long residence incognito in the different countries of Europe Lenin had felt and become familiar with the greatness of this thought. He himself thought, argued and wrote with complete freedom. No one denied his freedom as an individual. He had become a Marxist of his own accord, as a free man. He hoped and believed others would also become Marxists in the same way. He did not want to force the creed upon anyone. Of course it would have been easy for him to subject the intellectuals of Russia to various pressures but the intellectuals of Western Europe would have been alienated if the first peasant and workers' state in the world set such a bad example. Revolution, in that case, would not spread; it would be limited to Russia. If the spread of revolution were checked it would not be safe even in Russia. It was imperative that revolutions occur in Western Europe. The intellectuals of the European countries should be drawn in and the surest way to attract them was to establish the individual freedom of Russian intellectuals.

Gorky was Lenin's adviser in literary matters. He also, like Lenin, believed in individual freedom and association with the West. Therefore all the miscellaneous 'isms' of Russian writers and their various groups remained the same after the Revolution as before. Those opposed to the Revolution left of their own accord. Those who remained or came back were all free writers sympathetic to the revolution, even if they were not themselves revolutionaries. Lenin and Gorky acknowledged them. Pasternak was able to write in his own way. He wrote, much even after Lenin's death: poetry, narrative verse, short stories, an autobiography in prose. He refused to be like anyone else and his difference gave him distinction. It even became popular. Gradually the temper of the country changed. First Ecenin committed suicide, in 1925. In 1930 Mayakovsky did the same,

In 1932 Pasternak withdrew of his own accord. The vow of silence he took at that time was broken briefly when the country was attacked during the Second World War. He resumed his silence when, after the War, he observed the attitude the victors took towards cosmopolitanism. Those who had been his friends before the War became his enemies. An Iron Curtain was drawn to keep the West out. European culture also. They insisted upon no less. The Slavophils had advanced the same claims in Czarist Russia. There had always been a body of opinion in favour of participation in the main stream of European thought and culture and there had always been a body of opinion devoted to the soil of the country with a patriotic fervour that inculcated hatred for the West.

It should be said that although Pasternak stopped all original creative writing his pen was not altogether idle. He translated the work of others, the poems and plays of Goethe, of Shakespeare, the poetry of Shelley and of his Georgian friends. He maintained his connection with European culture as a whole in this way. He had not become a fish out of water by running away from his country and he did not become a frog in a well because he remained in it. He was not therefore any less a Russian. His roots were in his native soil.

There is much to be said from Stalin's point of view. Lenin, Trotsky and their associates believed that revolution would spread to other European countries and that the Russian Revolution would thereby become established and secure. But there were no signs of a revolution taking place anywhere else even after a wait of eight or ten years. How then could Stalin be sure of the Russian Revolution? How far could Russia go alone? Enemies surrounded her. A big change in the Kremlin took place. The results were far-reaching. Everything and everybody was mobilised. No sphere of life, no part of society, was exempt, neither poets nor poetry. Did anyone think he would be excused just because he had accepted the Revolution? Stalin was not to be taken in. If a man

knew how to write he must write about factories, about machinery, about mines, about big industry. Whether he liked it or not. Whether he understood or not. He might be a poet of the heart, a poet of visual experience or a poet of aural experience. He might be one who refused to cultivate the mind lest it spoil his poetry. All objections, whatever they were, went unheeded. He had to learn Marxist dialectic, at least some slogans and catch-phrases. Did he hope to be let off? No. If one were exempted others would claim the same privilege. Everybody would have to be exempted. Whoever a man might be, however great, he was not given any consideration.

Gorky was still alive in 1936. But towards the end he was helpless and unhappy. The steam-roller had crushed him. The turn of others came later. One by one the literary groups were broken up. All 'isms' were replaced by a single one—Communism. Groups and sub-groups were all absorbed into one single organisation, the Russian Proletarian Writers' Association. Later it became the Writers' Union. This Union, off-stage, bossed over the writers. Its wishes were obeyed. But Stalin was really a kind man. Even though Pasternak had forgotten to write he was made a member of a delegation and sent to Paris to the Anti-Fascist Writers' Congress. He was given a **dacha** to live in at a writers' colony not far from Moscow. But Pasternak was as inflexible as he was stubborn. When he was asked to sign a declaration approving the death sentence passed on Marshal Tukhachevsky and others he refused. At that time, that is, in 1937, Gorky was no longer there to protect him. In that year and the year following many people were liquidated. Not a few writers were among them. Pasternak's friends too. Many committed suicide or disappeared.

Where physical existence is precarious spiritual survival is even more difficult. Pasternak survived both in body and spirit. He also took a young dramatist named Afanogenov under his wing. Would this have been possible if Stalin had not been merciful? But the person to whom he showed

mercy was a satyagrahi. And not only a hope of re-establishing contact with the satyagrahi. His greatness as a poet is attested by Prince Mirsky in the Fourteenth Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Mirsky writes :

"Boris Pasternak (b. 1890), unquestionably the greatest living Russian poet (principal book of lyrics, *My Sister, Life*, written in 1917, published 1922) is externally connected with some aspects of Futurism, but in substance he is nearer to the traditions of Tyutchev and Fet. His poetry is marked by an absolute freshness of perception and diction combined with a tensity of lyrical emotion that is to (sic) found only in the greatest. His prose (*Tales*, 1925) is also of the highest order, and being concerned with the realities of the soul stands apart from that of his contemporaries." (*Russian Language and Literature, Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, Vol. 19, p. 757).

Mayakovsky was still alive when Prince Mirsky wrote these words. He did not give him either the first or the second place. The second place is given to Marina Tsvetayeva.

Revolutionary critical circles did not acknowledge Pasternak's rank. What could they do with poetry that was patently of no use in the struggle to reform the state and society, the futurism of which was confined to literature? It was true that Pasternak did not write poetry with an eye to the needs of the state or society. He was concerned with truth, with the individual, with beauty, with passion, with statement, with the meaning of statement, with life and what is relevant to life. His sense of history was keen. He did not want to ignore history. But what could he do with poetry that deviated from the objective of poetry? In this matter he had grave differences with the rulers of his country, with the critics, and with the vocal section of the people. After suffering for a year or more from insomnia Pasternak, in 1935, began to show signs of mental disturbance. How many of his associates committed suicide, disappeared, were executed or exiled! Marina Tsvetayeva, the brilliant poetess, lived a rootless existence abroad from 1922 to 1939. No sooner did she return in the

soil of her country than the poor woman's husband was arrested and shot for anti-revolutionary activities in the past. Her son was sent to the battlefield and died there. Her daughter was arrested and dispatched to an unknown destination. Marina herself was commanded to reside in a small country town where she could not obtain employment even as a charwoman. In 1941, she bade her country a final farewell and hanged herself.

Were those so lost, who were defeated, who were silenced, who broke down, who, though they survived physically, were dead souls, never to be heard? Who was to speak for them? Who had enough courage? Who was to give voice to the voiceless? Pasternak. No one else was there. Must he therefore break his self-imposed silence? Pasternak took time. The whole of the decade of the forties passed. He was in no hurry to begin *Dr. Zhivago*. He was a poet. The novel was not his medium.

Yet there was no peace for him until he wrote it. He was suffering intolerably. He had to pour into literary form all that had accumulated in his heart during the past twenty years, to empty himself. The appropriate form was the novel. Only so could he find release from his pain. Stalin was still alive. Who knew how long he would live? There was no hope of publication. Still the book had to be written. The writing itself was publication. Stalin died during the course of its composition. His death was followed by a 'thaw' in the literary world. A novel by a new writer, Dudintsev, was published within a year or two, *Not By Bread Alone*. Would not *Dr. Zhivago*, by a writer of Pasternak's standing, also be published? The MS. was sent to a journal, *Novy Mir*. To publish it in book form would be easier after it had appeared in a magazine. The time was 1956.

*Novy Mir* returned the MS. for alteration. The editors objected to certain passages. They explained their objections. They showed no disrespect to Pasternak. They did not intend to reject the MS. outright. They published Pasternak's poetry after

this incident. If there had been any ill-will this would not have been possible. And truly the writer of **Dr. Zhivago** had kept nothing back, he had not glossed over anything nor made any effort to please. The writing of the book would have brought him no release from pain and no peace of mind if he had done so. How long could he keep the truth about life concealed? He was sixty-six. How much longer did he have to live that he should risk keeping the book hidden in his heart? Pasternak had always been plain-spoken. Here is an example:

... "In time to come, I tell them, we'll  
be equal  
to any living now. If cripples, then  
no matter: we shall just have been  
run over  
by 'New Man' in the wagon of his  
'Plan.'

And when from death the tablet doesn't  
save us  
then time will hurry on more freely still  
to that far point, where 'Five-Year Plan'  
prolongs the dissertations of the soul.  
Don't kill yourselves, don't grieve. I'll  
still be with you  
that day; by all my weaknesses I swear.  
And the strong men are promised their  
survival  
From the worst plagues that have  
subdued us here."

—(Second Birth, translated by  
J. M. Cohen).

**Dr. Zhivago** is written about a weak man. But the man who wrote it was a man of great strength. In soul, in heart and in body, he survived a massacre. Nothing had been able to weaken him or defeat him. He had not lost hope. He had not become embittered.

If the international situation had not changed suddenly and the 'thaw' brought to an abrupt end **Dr. Zhivago** might have been published in Russia first. Pasternak was not skilled in international affairs. He had already consented to the publication of an Italian edition. Why should the Italian publisher forego his rights? He ignored the

ban imposed by Russian authorities and the book appeared. Pasternak's heart was immediately laid bare to Europe, to America, Asia, Africa, Australia. His own country was the only exception. The same thing happened once to Tolstoy also. One of his books could not be published in the Russia of the Czars. It was printed in Paris, in French. The Czar did not dare to lay hands upon his person. In revolutionary Russia also a similar incident had taken place. The publication of Pilnyak's **Mahogany** was banned. It was printed in Berlin. Pilnyak was expelled from the Writers' Union. Eight years later, in the purge of 1937, he disappeared. It is rumoured that he was shot.

Pasternak's plight became desperate when **Dr. Zhivago** was published abroad. The people of his own country were alienated and people in foreign lands began to dance him about on their heads as if he were a saint born into a family of demons. The sight might well have driven him to pray, "God, save me from my friends!"

The motive behind the exaggerated adulation of his admirers was not to honour Pasternak so much as to decry Soviet Russia. Pasternak's rejected novel became a stick in the hands of the anti-Russian propagandists. As if no novel by anybody in any country has ever been rejected by a periodical before! Mahatma Gandhi's **Hind Swaraj** and Rabindranath Tagore's **Letters from Russia** (English edition) were both at one time banned. We need not mention the banning of **Ulysses** by James Joyce and of **Lady Chatterley's Lover** by D. H. Lawrence. An amusing fact is that Forster's **A Passage To India** was not allowed into India at first. The reprinting of most of Dostoevsky's books was suspended in Soviet Russia itself. Only recently has the attitude to him changed. Sholokov's novel **And Quiet Flows The Don**, published in 1929, was expurgated some time after its appearance. Strange statements were made during the farrago over Pasternak's novel. It was claimed that the book was in the tradition of Tolstoy's **War and Peace** and belonged to the same category. Strangest of all, Pasternak was spoken of and came to be

regarded as an opponent of the Revolution. If that were so why had he not left the country like Bunin and Tsvetayeva? It was during the days of the Revolution that he discovered himself as a poet. His life would have been most uneventful if the Revolution had not taken place. Would he have found his vision? That does not mean that he was either a revolutionary or an advocate of revolution. He was an individualist. Because he was an individualist he could not consent to write to order. The conflict was not a political one. His countrymen also misunderstood him. He was called a traitor. That in itself would not have harmed him for he was too well-known a Brahmin of his country to be adversely affected. But those who, up to that time, had not regarded him as worthy of the Nobel Prize and who had awarded that prize to many lesser writers, suddenly remembered him. What happened is what happens when butter is added to a fire. Pasternak was expelled from the Writers' Union as a matter of course. He was told, "Go and take your prize. You need not return." To the Soviet Union.

A writer writes a book to give expression to an inner truth, not to win a prize. There is no objection to the acceptance of a prize which is given without any ulterior motive. The Nobel Prize was awarded to Pasternak at a time and in circumstances that for him to accept it would mean that he had been rewarded for betraying his country with two hundred thousand pieces of silver. His enemies would most certainly have made the allegation and perhaps these new friends of his would also have done so. They knew nothing about his antecedent achievement, extraordinary as it was, or they would have proposed his name for the Nobel Prize years earlier. In that case Russia as well as Pasternak would have been honoured. But to confer an honour on the novelist Pasternak overnight for the picture of darkness and light he draws in this book was to reward him for showing the shadow that had fallen across the face of Russia. The honour bestowed upon Pasternak was therefore not Russia's. To reward him in such a manner was to censure Russia.

Pasternak had grown wise through the practice of silence. In the words of Sholokov, he was a 'hermit crab.' He had consistently shunned fame, public acclaim and prizes. When his book of poems was running into edition after edition and passing from hand to hand Stalin issued a statement acclaiming Mayakovsky as the greatest poet of the post-Revolutionary era. Pasternak wrote Stalin a personal letter of thanks. Why? Let me quote a passage from an essay which gives the answer:

".... for it protected me from the inflation of my role; this began about the time of the Writers' Congress in the middle thirties. I am satisfied with my life and fond of it. I like it as it is, without any extra gold leaf. Nothing is further from my mind than a life stripped of privacy and anonymity and displayed in the glass glitter of a showcase."—(An Essay in Autobiography, translated by Manya Harari, Collins and Harvill, p. 119).

This essay was written after he had finished *Dr. Zhivago*, as the preface to a new edition of his poems. Did he know then that his novel would be published in a foreign country and bring him the Nobel Prize and with it a great deal of 'extra gold leaf'? He defended or tried to defend the privacy and anonymity of his life by rejecting the dubious benefit.

In the same essay he says that all the poetry he had so far written was a preparation for and culminated in *Dr. Zhivago*. Many are of the opinion that the hero of the novel is Pasternak himself. This is incorrect. As much of his own life as he cared to show is told in the essay mentioned above and in *Safe Conduct*, an autobiographical study written much earlier. The truth portrayed in this novel is not the truth about himself but truth about life. It is also a kind of *My Sister, Life* in an extended, final, well-concluded and refined form.

"My sister, life's in flood today, she's broken her waves over us all in the spring rain, but people with cheap watchchains go on grumbling and, like snakes in the grass, politely sting."

The older folk, of course, have got their reasons, but really your reason's quite absurd, for in the thunder eyes and lawns are lilac and the horizon smells of reseda.

For when it's May, and in the railway carriage you read timetables on a local track, they are far grander than the holy scriptures or coachseats that the dust and storms made black. . . ."

(*My Sister, Life*, tr. J. M. Cohen, Pasternak Prose and Poems, Benn p. 260).

In the poems written not long after the February Revolution flood and revolution are accepted without assigning any reason. Storm and lightning is intermingled with fragrance and beauty. The Time-Table of travel is exalted above the scriptures. Pasternak was not a preacher or a propagandist; he was a poet. His pen sang and drew at the same time. What he says is oblique and symbolic. Let me quote what he has to say about his methods of composing poetry:

" . . . my concern has always been for meaning, and my dream that every poem should have content in itself—a new thought or a new image. And that the whole of it with all its individual character should be engraved so deeply into the book that it should speak from it with all the silence and all the colours of its colourless black print. . . . I was concerned neither with myself nor with my readers nor with the theory of art. All I cared about was that one poem should contain the town of Venice, and the other the Brest . . . railway station." (*An Essay in Autobiography*, ibid, p. 81).

Pasternak preserved his own dharma with the greatest care. He kept his eyes fixed upon nature, upon history and upon his own role through revolution and famine, planned industrialisation and collectivisation, world war and cold war. He never thought of exiling himself even in the days of greatest sorrow. Was he to leave his country for a reward, for acclaim?

Was he to abandon for the sake of a prize the weak, the defeated, the helpless people whom he had never abandoned in any circumstances? There were many who derived moral strength from his moral strength. Was he to let them down? Pasternak could not do it. He refused to accept the Nobel Prize. Was that rude? No. It was self-denial, the self-denial which had become a part of his nature.

Pasternak's life is scoured with self-denial. He gave up music. He gave up philosophy. He gave up a means of livelihood which suited him when he was very young. About a year after he made the acquaintance of Mayakovskv and devoted himself to poetry he began to feel that he lacked the poetic gifts of the latter. He thought of giving up literature. He became obsessed with the idea that he had to give up something, that unless he did there was no hope for him. The passage given below is taken from *Safe Conduct*:

"But a whole conception of life lay concealed under the Romantic manner which I was to deny myself from henceforth.. This was the conception of life as the life of the poet. It had come down to us from the Symbolists and had been adapted by them from the Romantics, principally the Germans. This conception had influenced Blok but only for a short period. It was incapable of satisfying him in the form in which it came naturally to him. He could either heighten it or abandon it altogether. He abandoned the conception. Mayakovskv and Esenin heightened it. In the poet who imagines himself the measure of life and pays for this with his life, the Romantic conception manifests itself brilliantly and irrefutably in his symbolism, that is in everything which touches upon Orphism and Christianity imaginatively. In this sense something inscrutable was incarnate both in the life of Mayakovskv and in the fate of Esenin, which defies all epithets, demanding self-destruction and passing into myth. . . . When *My Sister, Life* appeared, and was found to contain expressions not in the least contemporary as regards poetry, which were revealed to me during the summer of

the revolution, I became entirely indifferent as to the identity of the power which had brought the book into being because it was immeasurably greater than myself and than the poetical conceptions surrounding me." (*Safe Conduct*, tr. by Beatrice Scott, Pasternak Prose and Poems, Benn, p. 110).

It is now apparent that Pasternak's fate was different from the fate either of Mayakovsky or of Esenin because he did not choose to go the way they went. What is called self-denial is a kind of choice, the choice of a destiny. Through the things he denied himself Pasternak fashioned his own fate. The refusal of the Nobel Prize was also a fateful choice.

No one can safely pass through storm and revolution without unusual power of self-denial and wisdom. For mere physical survival elaborate preparation is not necessary. If a man compromises, if he submits to commands and talks like a parrot, he will continue to reside safely in his body's cage. But the soul dies. In Pasternak the soul of Russia lives.

Since the Revolution it has seemed to me that the whole of Russia was singing in unison, a single tone in hundreds of throats, without a second note. I thought Tolstoy's stream was lost in desert sand both in the life and literature of the country. Pasternak's writing corrected me. I shall not go so far as to say that he was exactly in the Tolstoyan tradition. There is no reason why the poet Pasternak should be influenced by the novelist Tolstoy. Mirsky has mentioned the influence of two 19th century poets, Tyutchev and Fet. Others speak of Rilke. Both are right. Tolstoy undoubtedly influenced Pasternak as a man and probably influenced him as a teller of tales but not as a poet. The man Pasternak was the direct descendant of the man Tolstoy. In the ascertainment of truth, in the telling of truth, in true living, in living by the truth, Pasternak had Tolstoy's interest and keenness. Therefore he considered no sacrifice too great. How great a sacrifice was his vow of silence! How painful!

Pasternak said to Padmakanta Tripathy, "Perhaps you do not know that my poetry was in the syllabus of the Moscow Univer-

sity in 1933. Professors of Russian language and literature considered me a great poet at that time and construed a single poem in at least four different ways. But suddenly the same professors announced that I had moved too far away from the common people, that I was an egocentric, that I was a symbolist. The influence of bourgeois culture, it seemed, was still strong in me. A certain journal wrote that the poetry I composed was intelligible only to myself. And after that . . ."

"After that . . ."

"After that I no more remained a poet, not only that, I never existed as a poet."

"What did you do then?"

"Nothing. I stopped writing. I ceased to be a writer. The Writers' Union gave me a very important assignment. To write about the oil workers at Baku. I could not do it. Why not? Baku was known to me and I also knew something about the workers there but I had forgotten how to write. I told them I had lost my ability to write. The Writers' Union pityingly acknowledged the fact and threw me aside like an egg that has gone bad. The great Stalin was kind. He did not send me to prison."

Pasternak seemed to return to memories of the past. He was silent a long time. The visitor lighted another cigarette. Suddenly he said of his own accord, "Do you know what it means not to write for twenty-five years? Sometimes I think of myself as a football player in whose right leg a ligament has been torn. He cannot lift his leg any more to make a kick. For twenty-five years he watched others play. Little boys who did not even know how to raise their feet became famous players. Fame, wealth, state protection—they had everything. Then his leg healed but he could not go back to the playing field."

"Why not?"

"Because the rules of the game had changed. And he did not want to be a player as long as the new rules were in force. Even though he knew he would not win either fame or wealth or anything else!"

(*Pasternak, An Interview*, Padmakanta Tripathy, Desh, 29th Nov., 1959).

How heartbreaking! Yet how heroic! Pasternak was strong because he was spirit-

ual. Otherwise he could not have held himself aloof from the game. He would have played on any terms. Or he would at least have kept on writing secretly. But he did not do even that. Once he had declared that he had forgotten how to write, that he had lost the ability to write, he really had to stop creative work. Otherwise it would have been said that he was not writing to order although he knew how to write and was therefore disobedient to official directives. Does anyone in Soviet Russia have two heads to lose that he dare disregard official directives? For the sake of the truth he had to become incapable of writing. He did not pretend to be unable to write, he really was.

This was not, however, his greatest sacrifice. There is not enough proof with me but from what I can gather a greater and sadder sacrifice was made in 1923, when he came back to Moscow from Berlin. His relatives did not return nor did they intend to return. They did not trust the Revolution. To them it was a troublesome nuisance. To Pasternak it was a natural phenomenon. Did he ever find any compensation after his return to Russia for this break with his people and the loneliness that comes with such a break? I have an idea that this break eventually led to the disruption of his marriage seven or eight years later. In the whole of Moscow there was no place where he and the woman who was to become his second wife could stay. He was forced to become the guest of a poet friend, Yashvili, in Tiflis, the capital city of Georgia. Yashvili committed suicide in 1937.

**Zhivago** was unable to get over the suffering of family separation. He was defeated. Pasternak recovered and won through. **Dr. Zhivago** is not a historical novel. In all countries and in all times the fate of the bird whose nest is broken by the storm, whose home is swept away as flood waters destroy the shore which was its sanctuary, is tragic. All this is real. The flood is real, the nest is real, the bird is real and the disaster is also real. Tolstoy was a soldier and a witness as well. He both saw war and fought. Pasternak was not a revolutionary. He witnessed revolution and shared in its effects.

5

But however great a reality a storm may be it does not last for ever. When he broke his silence Pasternak wrote a poem about the aftermath. It is unpublished in the Russian original. An American of Russian extraction, Prof. Kayden, received the poem from Pasternak himself as a gift and translated it into English. Let me quote the whole of it:

"The air is heavy with the passing storm,  
The earth lies calm and free and glad again.

Through all its pores the flowering lilac  
bush  
Drinks deep the pure cool freshness of  
the plain.

The world's reborn, transfigured by the  
storm.  
The gutters shed a flood of rain. Now fair  
And vast the blue beyond the shrouded  
sky,  
And bright the ranges of celestial air.

But more exalted far the poet of power,  
Who washes clean the dust and grime  
away,  
When by his art emerge transformed the  
harsh  
Realities and truths of naked day.

Then memories of decades with the storm  
Retreat. Free from the past of tutelage  
Our century demands the time has come  
To clear a passage for the coming age.

No swift upheaval swelling of itself  
Can make the way for our new life to be;  
Our hope—the message of a spirit kindled  
By truth revealed and magnanimity."

(tr. Eugene M. Kayden, *New Statesman*,  
27th December, 1958)

Before Pasternak took leave of the earth the conviction was born in him that if death is real resurrection is equally real. In that sense he was a Christian. He sat in the theatre of history and watched the drama of death and resurrection unfold in an eternal play upon the vast stage of the

universe. All his sorrow and all his grief softened and merged into a single feeling of appreciation. "When The Blind Shall See" is the name of a drama in the composition of which he was engaged at the time of his death. I do not know whether he was able to complete it. But the blind shall see. They shall. They shall see. They will see for themselves some day, understand by themselves. And they will remember the man with eyes. They will place a sprig of lilac on his grave. Pasternak also will be resurrected.

—:O:—

The following lines from one of his own poems make a fit epitaph for him:

"So that he'd master well his life in bondage,  
In famine, in defeat, without a fault,  
And thus abide a model through the ages,  
A man in sturdiness as plain as salt."

—(tr. Eugene M. Kayden, New Statesman,  
27th December, 1958)

Translated from the Bengali by Lila Ray.

## THE CHEAT

By PREMENDRA MITRA

EVEN in daytime, the light had to be turned on there. searching for money, then cried out piteously, "Where has my money gone?"

The house was dilapidated and old and seemed haunted. Through one of its dark corridors, you had to get access to the shop.

It was a tea shop. They did not advertise, but business was good. It opened in the morning, and remained open till midnight, but there was no dearth of customers.

By sheer good luck, I discovered the shop. But, by far more amusing was my discovery of Apurba.

It was not easy to ascertain his age from his face or his figure. He was slender, almost thin, and his face was lined and wrinkled all over, due perhaps to a very dissipated life. But there was a sort of sweetness in his expression.

The day, I first met him, he sat down by my side and suddenly threw into his mouth a small round ball of opium, as big as a boy's marble. After swallowing it, he looked askance at me and said, "Don't get frightened, it is nothing but a digestive pill."

We became more intimate in a curious way. He had two cups of tea, one after another. Then came the time to pay for them. He put his hand in his pocket to take out the money. Then he stood up in consternation and amazement. He turned his pockets out over and over again,

The proprietor of the shop was standing in front of him, stretching out his hand for the money. "In which pocket did you put it?" he asked. "It has perhaps fallen through?"

"How can it fall through? My pocket has no hole in it. There was one ten-rupee note and some small change. Everything's gone."

The shopkeeper lost his temper now. "I don't care what has happened to your money. You just give me the price of my tea."

Apurba repeated his words in mimicry, "Give you the price of your tea? How? Where shall I get the money to do it?"

"What? You had the tea, without paying for it, and now you are showing your temper?"

Apurba suddenly caught hold of my arm, crying, "I am ashamed to ask you, but you see with your own eyes, the sort of insult, I am subjected to. And for a filthy two anna bit! If you would kindly—"

I paid the two annas and came out of the shop. Apurba too, walked out with me expressing his gratitude vociferously, "You don't even know me. Still the way you saved my prestige—words fail me. Please, let me know your address."

I said, "Oh no, no need of that."

"No, please, let me have it. Your two annas

are worth two ten-rupee notes. Still I shall try to pay back as much as I can."

Even on that first day, I thought the man very garrulous; still, somehow I liked him.

But when I came back home, I could not find my money bag.

The very next morning Apurba arrived in person, at my house. He was wearing a tattered "Punjabi" (Indian style shirt) and torn shoes. He came in and smiled broadly. "I have thought about you all night," he said. "Had you not been there, what indignities would I have been subjected to, in that den of thieves! And for a paltry two-anna bit too!"

"You are making too much of that two-anna bit, Apurba Babu," I said. "You make me feel ashamed."

"It is not at all a paltry matter, Sir. For two annas these people can commit murders. You don't know how awful that place is."

"How do you come to know so much about them?"

Apurba smiled slightly and said in a low voice. "We have to know these things."

"Why?"

His voice became still lower, "These jobs in the police force, Sir, mean no end of trouble. Now I am off to a drug addicts' den. My life is hanging by a thread. Even God Almighty does not know, whether I shall succeed in capturing anyone, or be captured myself."

"Are you a detective?"

"Please leave out the name. I know it is a dirty job. But I have to do it, because I have to eat."

He took out my money bag from his pocket, and placed it on the table in front. "Because we do this dirty work, you people can go about in ease and comfort. That is our only solace, look it over isn't it yours?"

"Where did you get it?" I asked in amazement.

"We have to play the thief, over other thieves all the time," he said, "Do you remember when you lost it?"

"No", I said.

Apurba smiled and said, "I had to retrieve it out of the shopkeeper's pocket. When you paid that fellow for the tea, the wallet never went back to your pocket."

Apurba was adamant that day. He insisted

on paying that two annas back, thanked me about two hundred times and delivered a long discourse about the frightful risks one ran in those dope fiends' dens, when out to capture those criminals. Finally he decamped, with my cigarette packet, pushing it inside his pocket as if unmindfully. He took two hours about it. When alone, I opened the wallet, and I found it empty.

After this Apurba turned up again and again at my "mess". He was over talkative, still he had something about him which charmed people very easily. In a few days, he became quite intimate with everybody in the house, as if he knew them for ages. He could show magic tricks, talk incessantly about his ability for crime detection and so acquired a special place for himself in our midst.

He had many faults, one has to admit. There were times when I returned in the evening to find my room open, and many articles of my best dresses missing. I knew that he had come and dressed himself in these and gone away.

But he would never give one time to accuse him. He would come the very next day and apologise a thousand times, till one got thoroughly embarrassed.

Benoy Babu, who lived in the next room, came in once and said, "Apurba Babu says that he is a detective, and so, then why is he so short of money all the time?"

"How do you know that he is short of money?"

"He owes everybody money. Some five rupees, some ten rupees. Only the other day I found him borrowing five rupees from the cook. He borrows from us all. I don't mind that, but if he borrows even from the servants, it hurts our prestige."

I became angry, and decided to take him to task, about this.

But the man must have been a thought-reader. He was just entering my room, when he stopped suddenly as if reminded of something. He got out again, saying, "Just a moment, my friend, I must go and pay back the cook his five rupees. I was in such dire distress, that I had to borrow even from him."

He came back and told me such a tale of dire distress, that one could not but believe him.

He flung himself into a chair, very tired and depressed. "To hell, with this spying business. I

feel like throwing it up altogether. One has to be so cruel at times."

It was a piteous tale. The police had got information that someone was selling cocaine in an Anglo-Indian quarter of the town. But they could not arrest anyone. Apurba went there in course of business and found out that a small Anglo-Indian girl of about eight years was the central figure in this drama.

Apurba's eyes filled with tears as he went on speaking, "She was such a small kid, my friend, could not have been more than seven. Small bare feet, white as lotus petals. These reminded you of the feet of the image of Lakshmi, even when stepping through the dust and dirt. Her dress was tattered and dirty, and two big eyes looked out of a pale face. The eyes were so full of innocence and fear. Even a flint-hearted villain would have felt pity for her. If you looked at her face, you would think that she had been crying a minute ago, and had just wiped her eyes. If you found her selling the drug, you would not believe your own eyes. I understood then why the police failed to find the culprit. The girl went about begging. She would stretch out her hand before a likely customer and if she was paid, would ask, 'It is not a fake, is it?' The common answer would be, 'It is quite all right,' and the man would pass on. But there are some, who would answer, 'No, it is not all right, I shall change it.' This is the signal. Then the drug changed hands and the girl was paid.

"But I had no alternative. As soon as she took out the cocaine, I had to arrest her. Her arms were so thin, one wrench would have broken them. As I caught hold of her arms, she tried to pull away, crying, 'Let me go!'

"I tried to be stern and said, 'Why are you selling drugs?'

"The girl began to weep then. It was hard to endure the sight of tears rolling down her pale cheeks. I took out the packets of drugs from inside her frock and let her off. I did not want to succeed any more. Others had failed to find the culprit, I too shall fail.

"But the girl stood there crying. She would not go.

"I was surprised, 'Why do you cry?' I asked, 'You are free to go.'

"She did not want to tell me anything at first. I tried to comfort her as best as I could and

coaxed her for a length of time. Then she said, 'If I don't sell these and take the money home, they will kill me.'

"I knew who 'they' were. They always employ such innocent and weak people to do their nefarious work, and if there was any hitch anywhere, there was nothing that these criminals could not do. At first I thought of capturing the whole gang with the help of this little girl. I would have done it too, had it been anybody else but this child. But I knew very well that if I did so, the little girl would be in imminent danger of death. So I asked, 'How much was the drug worth?'

"She said, 'They wanted ten rupees.'

"I had only five rupees with me. Where could I get another five? I came here, and as I was in great hurry, I borrowed the five rupees from your cook."

He finished his tale, then said, "If the police come to know about it, I shall lose my job, and my life also will be in jeopardy."

I did not disbelieve him, but there was somewhere a false ring in it. A small girl of seven, now a Bengali, then a Hindusthani or an Anglo-Indian, appeared all the time in his stories.

When the cook brought up our dinner that night, I asked, "Did Apurba Babu pay you back?"

He looked embarrassed and said, "No, sir."

Apurba appeared, as usual, next morning. I was terribly displeased and said, "You are making up stories all the time. You never gave the cook his money back."

He appeared extremely surprised and aggrieved. "I never said that I had given it back to him. When I went down, I did not find him in the kitchen, so how could I pay him back? I have just paid him."

Finally, one day he was thoroughly exposed. All his stories about crime detection were made-up stories. Benoy Babu rushed in, extremely excited and burst out, "I knew all the time that Apurba was a swindler and a rascal. I have just been cheated out of twenty-five rupees, because I relied on your word."

Benoy Babu went on abusing Apurba for a few minutes more, then said that Apurba had just been arrested for attempted murder and selling cocaine. He was never a detective. He was a receiver and disposer of smuggled drugs. He lived in a prostitute's house and carried on his

nefarious business. He fell out with her on some pretext, and the woman threatened to expose him to the police. In his rage, Apurba had tried to murder her, by putting poison in her betel. The woman did not die, but she divulged everything before the police when she was taken to the hospital and the police arrested Apurba at once.

Through some legal fluke, Apurba was acquitted of the murder charge, but he was sent to prison for three years on a charge of selling illicit drugs.

In course of that three years, I had nearly forgotten all about Apurba. But suddenly one day, as I entered my room, after my bath, I found Apurba lying quite comfortably on my bed.

He sat up as soon as he saw me. "I know what you are going to say. But believe me, this time I am really going away from here."

I was really displeased, but I could not show it. He gazed at me for sometime, trying to fathom my thoughts, then said, "I do not want to irritate you. If you want me to go away, I shall do so."

"You don't have to go away", I said, "Did you have your lunch?"

He smiled rather sadly. "I was let off from prison, only yesterday," he said.

So he had lunch with me. After finishing it he said, "Please don't mind, if I stay on for a bit. As soon as the afternoon is over, I shall go away."

"Where will you go?"

"I shall go to my village." His eyes began to fill with tears. "I had no news of them for three years. I don't even know whether they are still alive."

His gaze wandered away from my face. Then again he looked at me and said, "I have been lying to you, all along. The first day I cheated you out of two annas for that tea. It was I, who stole your wallet and made up a story about my being a spy. So if you disbelieve me now, I cannot blame you. But please my friend, believe me to-day for the last time. I am not lying."

"I did not say, that I would not believe you."

"You have not, but I know how hard it is for you to believe me."

He went on talking, incessantly. I inter-

He wanted fifty rupees. His wife and children lived in his village home. For three years, he had heard nothing from them. He was frantic now for a sight of their faces, especially of his youngest daughter.

If I would just give him the train fare and a few rupees over and above that. He could not go otherwise.

"Allright," I said, "I shall give you the money. But on what are you going to live, when you reach home?"

"I have some cultivable land, I shall manage with that," he said.

I smiled. "Are you going to give up your old profession?" I asked.

A sad smile was his only answer.

He flung himself on my bed, and went on talking about his youngest daughter, Dolu. She was only seven, but had such high spirits, that everybody at home, and even the neighbours were afraid of her.

"You won't believe me, my friend, but the child is absolutely fearless. If her mother says, 'Don't be naughty Dolu, the bogey will catch you,' Dolu would retort at once, 'Where is it? I want to see it'."

I laughed and said, "Children always seem like that to their own parents."

Apurba sat up excitedly and protested, "Certainly not," he cried, "Why, there are the other children. There is that eldest boy of mine, is he like that?"

One should not say anything more at this stage, so I remained silent. Apurba went on talking. "You could never scold her for anything. She would raise hell at once. But if you explain things to her in mild terms, she is all docility."

He remained silent for a time, then went on again, "Once she became ill. I was in a fix, I can tell you. She would allow no one else than her father to sit by her. Nobody could make her swallow the barley water. But whenever I said, 'Please Dolu, take your barley water, else you won't be able to eat rice soon and you won't be allowed to go for walks with me,' she would comply at once."

He stopped again and asked, "Are you sleeping?" "No," I said, "I am thinking of your Dolu."

"I should never have come, leaving her behind. I would have gone back as soon as possible. But this craze for quick money obsessed me. I thought if I could collect enough to last me all my life, that would be just grand. I did not think I was really injuring anyone. But let that go."

But Apurba could never remain silent for any length of time. He burst out again, "As soon as she sees me, she will come running and ask, 'Have you got lockets (A kind of fruit), for me?' Once I took this fruit for her, she liked it, and wanted it whenever I went. But this is not the season for lockets, I don't know where I shall get them."

I laughed and said, "Your daughter is no longer a child of seven, Apurba. She would be a girl of ten now, and might not want locket fruits."

His face clouded over at my words. He looked at me with a bewildered expression, then turned his face away. But he thrust away this sadness and said, "And she is so very fond of me. She would not allow anybody to touch my things, not even her own mother. 'Don't touch believing me. I tell you, he has no wife, no them', she would say. 'These belong to my child. I have had enquiries made.' father".

"But who are you?" someone might ask.

"I am Apurba's mother" she would answer."

Apurba went on in this strain, the whole heaven and earth for that child of seven. All his afternoon. In the evening, he started on his crimes and sins, had not been able to erase her way back. As I gave him the money he suddenly caught hold of my hand and burst out crying, "I have no words to thank you, for the service you have done me."

As soon as he had gone, Benoy Babu came in, asking, "Who was that? Was not he that swindler and murderer Apurba?"

"Yes," I replied.

"He came for money, I suppose? Oh, I have seldom met such a shameless fellow! And the impudence of it! How could he ask you? What did he say?"

"He says he wants to go home to see his wife and children, whom he has not seen for ages."

"And did you give him the money?"

I smiled rather wryly and said, "Yes, I did." Benoy Babu looked petrified with amazement. Then he said, "You believed him and gave him money? Just because he said that he wanted to go and see his family? You have some faith in mankind. The brazen liar! He does not have any wife or children. I know all about him, I have had enquiries made."

"About what?" I asked.

"About everything," he said. "He does not have anybody, anywhere. He did marry once, but that wife committed suicide ten years ago, due to his ill treatment of her. He had one daughter, aged seven. But he took her to some fair and there lost her. He said he had lost her, but I believe he was lying. He must have sold the girl to somebody. These villains are up to any sort of crime. But why did you believe him and waste so much money? He has

"I knew everything, you have told me," I said. "You knew it? And still you gave money to that swindler? But perhaps you are not really believing me. I tell you, he has no wife, no them", she would say. "These belong to my child. I have had enquiries made."

"But I have some more information Benoy

Babu. For ten years, he has neither wife, nor child. But these ten years, he had been moving

Apurba went on in this strain, the whole heaven and earth for that child of seven. All his afternoon. In the evening, he started on his crimes and sins, had not been able to erase her way back. As I gave him the money he suddenly caught hold of my hand and burst out crying, of a child of seven he has run there and fondled her. He has asked impossible questions. He does not even realise that she, whom he had lost,

would now be a girl of seventeen and no longer a child of seven. He is a fool. on this point.

All the tales he told me might be false. but his heartache for this child of seven is not false."

Benoy Babu did not like my long harangue and left the room in displeasure.

I have never met Apurba again. I do not know whether he ever got back that child of his, who remained for ever a child of seven.

Translated by Sita Devi from the original Bengali.

## DEMOGRAPHY AS AN AID TO HISTORY

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

1. The influence of geography is well known; and it has been demonstrated in the case of the Greeks. The formation of the vast Empires in the Indo-Gangetic plains of Northern India is aided by the geography of the region. "The northern plains, the Aryavarta of the old books, and the Hindostan of more recent times, always have been the seat of the principal empires and the scene of the events most interesting to the outer world. The wide waterways of the great snow-fed rivers and the fertile level plains are natural advantages which have inevitably attracted a teeming population from time immemorial. The open nature of the country, easily accessible to martial invaders from the North-West, has given frequent occasion for the formation of powerful kingdoms ruled by vigorous foreigners. The peninsular, tropical section of India, is isolated from the rest of the world by its position, and in contact with other countries only by sea-borne commerce, has pursued its own course, little noticed by and caring little for foreigners. . . . No southern power ever could attempt to master the north, but the more ambitious rulers of Aryavarta or Hindostan often have extended their sway far beyond the dividing line of the Narbada."—(Vincent Smith, *History of India*, p. iii.)

2. Various kinds of evidence indicate that man's numbers become adjusted to the food-producing capacity of the land in ancient times—increasing as it rose and declining as it fell. The emergence of cities was dependent on, and became complimentary to the development of primitive agriculture. But the emergence of nomadic societies in Central Asia, South-West Asia, and North Africa created an antagonistic type of economy. At the start, pastoral economies were stimulated by the development of animal husbandry in association

with agriculture. Once they were established, the tendency of the expanding nomadic populations to raid or invade the lands of sedentary peoples became a recurrent source of calamity, since any extension of cultivated land reduced the reserves of the nomads. The hard grass lands were not adapted to cultivation by digging sticks or hoes, and the later plough culture was excluded from these lands by the prior occupancy of powerful nomadic tribes. Recurrent military invasions by forest dwellers and by desert nomads checked the growth of population in the Mediterranean region, South-West Asia, India and China until the expansive force of the nomads was broken by the re-establishment of European power in the Mediterranean region and by the expansion of European civilisation on the Russian plain.

3. About 1360 A.D. Samarkand was invaded by the Jat Tartars. There was no prince to lead them, and the people defended themselves as best as they could.

"Then by the will of God a plague spread among the horses of the Jats. Three-fourths of the horses died, so that they lacked even mounts for the couriers. They retired from the country, most of them with quivers and packs on their backs and their swords on their shoulders. Surely never before in this world was an army of Jats seen walking afoot."—(Horace Lamb, *Tamarlane*, p. 96.)

Timur "was 34, when he set upon the white felt (i.e., throne) at Balkh in the year 1369. And beyond his borders, in all the quarters of the four winds, warfare smouldered. Upon the track of the Black plague that swept from Asia into Europe earlier in the century, unrest stirred, and dynasties fell. The trade caravans turned aside into new channels. Men sought the armed camps, and horsemen appeared in deserted fields, and flame moved through

the darkness. Into this vaster battle-ground it was inevitable that Timur should go.—(Ib., p. 67).

No doubt part of the dramatic success of Timur was caused by the depopulation of the areas he invaded.

The Arab conquest of Spain in 712 A.D. was aided by famine and pestilence. Beloch estimated the population of Spain at the death of Augustus (14 A.D.) to have been 6 millions. It is generally recognised that the total population of the Roman Empire increased during the first two centuries after Augustus. It reached the peak at the death of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (180 A.D.). According to Vandellos the population of Spain rose until about the middle of the second century it reached a peak. The initial decline which followed has been ascribed to "intrinsic circumstances." Thereafter, invasions from Europe and North Africa presumably caused decreases alternating with slow increases. The estimated population was 10 million at the end of the fifteenth century, about the time of the expulsion of the Moors from Spain; but had declined to about 6 million at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The Goths were defeated at the battle of Xeres; and when Tarik proceeded to occupy the central and northern parts of Spain, the will and strength to resist was gone. "That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence," writes Gibbon (Ch. 51, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*).

4. These demographic effects on movements of population are on a large scale of battle time and space. Even within limited space and a short period of time population strengths of rival states, and their consequent resources go very much to explain the historical drama played by them; and may enable us to appraise their conduct. The fall of the Athenian Empire after the siege of Syracuse was hastened by the shortage of Athenian man-power.

5. We all admire Rana Pratap's heroic resistance to Akbar over many years. But our admiration is heightened when we compare the relative resources in men and money between Mewar and Moghul India.

In 1594 the land revenue of Akbar's twelve subahs amounted to Rs. 9,07,43,881; and that of Sarkar Chitor (=Mewar) to Rs. 7,51,041 as given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* or in the proportion of 12:

6. The population of India at the death of Akbar has been estimated by Moreland to be 100 millions. Kingsley-Davis thinks it to have been a little higher, say 110 to 120 millions. We have after comparing the progress of land-revenue during the Mughal period come to the conclusion that it was about 110 millions.

Northern India's share has been estimated by Moreland to be 70 millions. This seems to be a little too high. The population of India under Akbar's control (C. 1580) could not have been much more than 50 millions. This is a cautious estimate. The relative population strength of Akbar's Empire to Mewar as we shall try to show presently was of the order of 500 : 14 or 37:1. It may have been greater in favour of Akbar.

7. We shall now try to estimate the populations of Rajputana and Mewar about that time. The populations of Rajputana and of Mewar have changed thus during the fifty-years 1881—1931 :—

	Variation per cent	
	Rajputana	Mewar
1881-91	+20.6	+23.5
1891-01	-20.5	-44.8
1901-11	+ 6.9	+25.8
1911-21	- 6.5	+ 6.7
1921-31	+14.2	+14.6
1881-1931	+ 9.3	+ 4.9

The Goths were defeated at the battle of Xeres; and when Tarik proceeded to occupy the central and northern parts of Spain, the will and strength to resist was gone. "That strength had been wasted by two successive seasons of famine and pestilence," writes Gibbon (Ch. 51, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*).

The variation between 1881-91 has been estimated by the Census Commissioner for India in 1921 to have been 3.5 per cent. Deducting this from the over-all increase, the net increase is:—

	1881-1931
Rajputana	+9.3—3.5 = +5.8%
Mewar	+4.9—3.5 = +1.4%

8. Rajputana is an arid land; and its western half is a desert; the rainfall is scanty and erratic. It is subject to frequent famines and severe scarcity, during



Russian Film actress Rufina Nifontova  
Photo by D. Kozlov

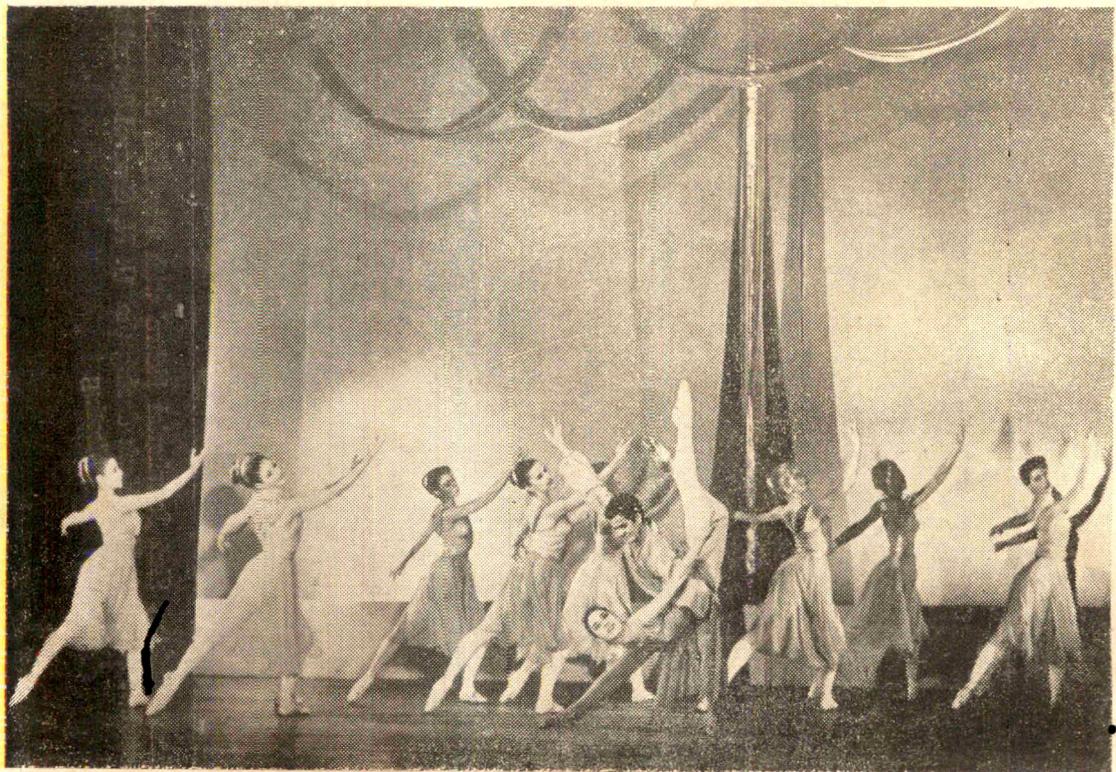


The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru with President Soekarno  
and President Naser at New York during the U. N. General Assembly  
Meeting



A still from the film "Nasreddin in Khodzhent".

Photo by K. Farafonov



A class of 'The School of Performing Arts', New York, presents the classical ballet, "Les Sylphides."

the fifty years 1881-1931, there has been de-growth of population twice. In historical times it has frequently suffered from famines.

"A terrible famine, as bad as any recorded in the long list of Indian famines, desolated the whole of Hindostan or Northern India and Kashmir for three or four years from 1595 to 1598." (Vincent Smith—**History of India**, p. 362). He then quotes a minor historian :—

"A kind of plague also added to the horrors of this period, and depopulated whole houses and cities, to say nothing of hamlets and villages. In consequence of the dearth of grain and the necessities of ravenous hunger, men ate their own kind. The streets and roads were blocked up with dead bodies, and no assistance could be rendered for their removal."

In 1630-32, "an appalling famine of the utmost possible severity desolated the Deccan and Gujarat." "It extended to Persia and many parts of India."—(*Ibid*, pp. 393, 394.)

1647—This year the rains failed in Rajputana and "occurred a famine, in so much that those parts either by mortality or people's flight, became wholly depopulated or impassable."—(Moreland, **From Akbar to Aurangzeb**, p. 209.)

Todd in his **Annals of Rajasthan**, Vol. I, p. 310, gives a vivid description of the horrors of famine as experienced in Mewar in Samvat 1717=1660-61.

"The Rajput War (of 1679-80) was a drawn game so far as the actual fighting was concerned, but its material consequences were disastrous to the Maharana's subjects; their corn-fields in the plains were ravaged by the enemy; they could stave off defeat but not starvation. So, both sides desired peace. Maharana Jai Sing personally visited Prince Muhammad Azam (14th June 1681), and made peace with the Empire."—(Sir Jadunath Sarkar, **Short History of Aurangzib**, p. 182).

The above list is not exhaustive, but illustrative to show the frequency and the severity of famines in Rajputana, often accompanied by pestilence.

9. The populations of Rajputana and

Mewar in 1931 were 1,12,26,000 and 15,67,000 respectively.

Assuming the growth of population to have been uniform or linear during the previous three centuries and a half, the estimated populations in 1580 and 1530 were :—

	1580	1530
Rajputana	80 lakhs	75 lakhs
Mewar	14 lakhs	13.8 lakhs

If we assume the growth to have been in geometrical progression, as is more likely, the respective populations were :

	1580	1530
Rajputana	75.5 lakhs	71.3 lakhs
Mewar	14.2 ,,	14.0 ,

10. The strength of the various castes, tribes or races of the Rajput origin in Rajputana in 1931 was :

Pure Rajputs	..	6,69,516
Jats	..	10,42,153
Daroga	..	1,77,104
Dangi	..	50,898
Sondhia	..	34,257
Total ..	..	19,73,928
Total population	1,12,25,712	

The Rajput tribes form 17.6 per cent of the total population. Assuming a uniform distribution throughout Rajputana, and assuming further that the proportion to have been the same throughout the last three or four centuries, for Mewar's population of 14 lakhs, the strength of the Rajput tribes would be 2.46 lakhs, and of the pure Rajputs 83,000.

11. Sündborg has shown that men between the ages of 15-50 are always half the total; so one-fourth of the population is between these ages. One-fifth to one-sixth of the total population is regarded as men of military age. In medieval times when physical strength and endurance were more important the proportion is likely to be less.

12. We shall now try to estimate the strength of men of military age about Akbar's time:

1580	0-15	16 th	15 th
Newar			
All Rajput groups	62,000	41,000	49,000
Pure Rajputs	21,000	13,800	16,600
Total population	3.5 lakhs	2.3 lakhs	2.8 lakhs

Rajputana	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs
All Rajput groups	3.5	2.3	2.8
Pure Rajputs	2.2	0.8	0.95
Total population	20	13.3	16

13. Rana Sangram Singh met the army of Babur in 1527 at the battle of Khanua with "an enormous host composed of the contingents of 120 chiefs, and including 80,000 horses with 500 war elephants."—(Vincent Smith, *History of India*, p. 323.)

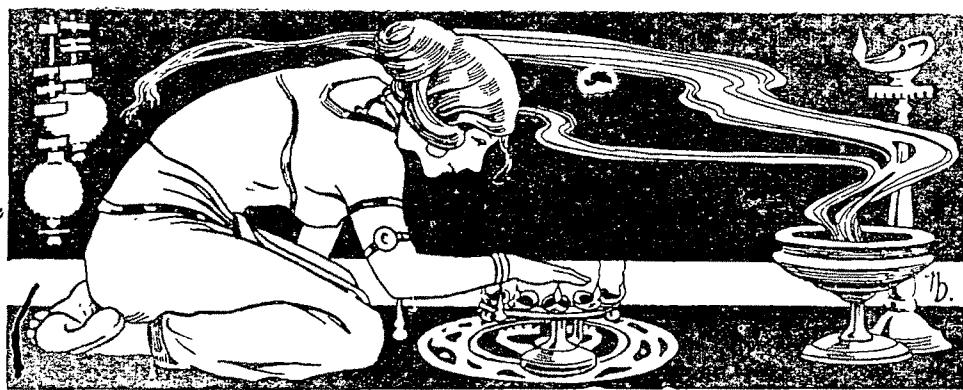
In 1568, Akbar captured Chitor, the Capital of Mewar. Apart from the garrison and the women, who perished in its defence or in the dread rite known as jauhar, "Akbar was so enraged by the fierce resistance that he massacred 30,000 of the country people who had taken part in the defence." (*Ibid.*, p. 350). In 1576, Rana Pratap of Mewar was defeated at the

battle of Haldighat. He met the Moghuls with an army of 22,000, of whom 14,000 were slain.

**Ain-i-Akbari** (1595) says:—"The present local militia consists of 16,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry, but Mewar formerly controlled much more extensive territories, so much so that Rajah Sanga (Sanga) possessed a force of 180,000 cavalry and a numerous infantry." (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition, p. 276.)

14. If we assume that Rana Sanga's army represented the entire Rajputana, he enrolled almost all the men of military age of the Rajput groups. Similarly Rana Pratap inspired not only all the Rajput groups but other non-Rajputs in fighting the Moghuls. We know as a matter of fact that he was helped by the Bhil archers at the battle of Haldighat.

15. There are errors in our estimates of the populations of the several categories; and our knowledge of Rajput history is meagre. But from what we have stated we can gather the intensity of Mewar's resistance to Moghul aggression. It was not merely the heroism of Rana Pratap but a national resistance to Akbar for preservation of their independence; and the entire manhood took up arms to resist the aggressor.



## THE CALL OF STATESMANSHIP

By JOGES C. BOSE

IT is definitely no good taste to have caught hold of the Assam disturbance in order to admonish the Bengalis on what they are charged of, e.g., superiority complex, brash boasting, parochialism, etcetera. Assuming that the accusation is not, altogether, without a foundation, the occasion is singularly inappropriate. Just as they were dumb-founded by a mean, brutal, concerted attack, without a check from an imbecile Government, both local and Central, it was a jolly good time to have a dig at them and, if possible, trump up a feeling. Were the aberrations, caviled at, of a nature and kind that the homilies brooked no delay? Whatever it is, some points of the rapier-thrusts call for scrutiny.

In no spirit to justify that two blacks make one white, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, it may be stated, has invariably drawn the largest number of Ministers for his Cabinet from U.P. and so also recruits for Foreign and External Affairs Service; he has, for what 'nationalistic elements' there were in the Sepoy Mutiny, which his historical sense refuses to call any other than 'a feudal rising', trotted out 'my own city and district of Allahabad'. Is this parochialism? My answer is one absolute 'No'.

In proof of the charge of parochialism, they allege that the Bengalis lose their temper should anybody criticize Tagore or Netajee Subhas Bose. And yet the incontrovertible history is that either has had to face sharp, truculent criticism, nowhere so acutely as in his province—not unoften belittled, lampooned, caricatured. But at the same time, there has been no dearth of Bengalis running into hysterics over Gandhiji—hero-worship as often gliding to idolatory. It is the privilege of a normal human being to be capable of deep emotions, but it is, certainly, no good of any people to be swayed by the stir of blood or gusts of emotion in judging of men and things and, particularly, in taking decisions on crucial matters. Has Bengal defaulted in this respect?

Tagore categorically warned India to help save being stamped into 'the age of stone', but, nonetheless hailed Gandhiji into the field of Indian politics as 'truth itself', 'so much distin-

guished from quotations.' Bengal energetically endorsed either; as much the appellation 'Mahatma' Tagore gave him. Despite ideological conflict, another Bengali, Subhas Bose, hailed Gandhiji as the 'Father' of our nation, even if it is too obvious an anachronism historically. It is, however, an unsavoury bit of history that nowhere, except in Bengal, is Surendranath Banerjea called 'Rastraguru', the Bengalis delight to honour him with. The acid test in matters like this is whether the Bengalis have been chary of or remiss in rendering unto Caesar what is Caesar's. Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak was ploughing a lonely furrow, and some of the Western India leaders had the effrontery to characterise his utterances as 'whining'. They pooh-poohed him as 'the boss of the market place'. He was hauled up to answer the charge of sedition—and the word 'sedition' carried with it a sense of terror in those days. But Bengal, at the instance of Surendranath Banerjea and Rabindranath Tagore, took the initiative to raise funds for his defence; and had him defended by eminent Calcutta Counsels. Such, in fact, was the awesomeness of the ruling power and the mentality of the local leaders that in the 1897 Congress at Aniraoi, there could be no resolution on Tilak's imprisonment. But in the open session of the Congress, Surendranath Banerjea, as he was speaking on the resolution regarding Nattu brothers, brought in Tilak to say, 'Though I am here physically, my soul is in gaol attuned with Tilak's; the entire nation is in tears for him'. The house rose to a man in one spontaneous outburst of *hallelujah*, 'Tilak Maharaj ki Jai'. The ice broken, Tilak, since now, trod on the Indian scene with the sure-footed trod of a giant.

In the first decade of this century, Bengal launched Boycott and Swadeshi to fight her Partition and set out to live anew in affirmation of India's right to Freedom. 'The dramatic appeal of Bengal', says Hector Bolitho in his official biography of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, 'against the British startled all India'; it galvanised the Congress 'so mild up to then'; and leaders like Gokhale and Nourajee had to assume a more

belligerent look'. In the stress and urgency of a major challenge, Bengal evolved the techniques of Civil Disobedience. She had on the 7th August, 1905, started the ball of anti-Partition agitation rolling and in April, 1906, she raised at the Barisal Provincial Conference the cry, 'Here and now was the beginning of the end of British rule'. In fact, the real issue, since now, was not, as Sir Valentine Chirol has noted in his *Indian Unrest*, whether Bengal should be one unpartitioned province or two partitioned provinces under British rule, but whether British rule itself was to endure. Events moved in the track of a century and heralded for Bengal an epoch of crowded glory. Without pushing the comparison to any extreme, her answer to the proud claims of racial domination may fitly be likened to Martin Luther's voice of protest at the Diet of Worms. Luther struck the Pope at the crown and the monks in the belly. Lord Curzon had already given up all respectable pretence and enunciated Britain's policy of administration and exploitation pushing ahead cheek by jowl. Bengal struck at the British rule and trade all at the same time and breathed into the pages of history a new life for India.

It was now that Imperialism, as though brought to bay, tore off the velvet gloves, which had all but concealed the mailed fist. It resorted unabashed to the policy of scorpion whips and iron bars, heavily puttressed by the most ingeniously, stringently organised Black and Tan, passing for communal barbarities. Much worse, however, than all the flash and steel of an open war, mediaeval fanaticism was, without let or hindrance, geared to make the common man act as a fuse for barbarous explosions. Nothing daunted, Bengal steadfastly toned up the struggle by an all-round economic and cultural reorientation. It saved the sudden onrush of patriotic enthusiasm any fizz. In fact, it is an accepted truth that no economic or cultural regeneration of a country can be achieved, unless national consciousness provides the necessary setting. It was for the impetus of this Swadeshi movement that the old cloth mills of Bombay were rehabilitated on modern lines and new mills set up in Bombay, Nagpur and Bengal. Banking, insurance, pharmacology and the industry of leather had their foundations laid truly and well. Dr. Meghnad Saha, whose name remains associated with our Five-Year Plans, says that but for the atmosphere created by the

Swadeshi Movement, the Tatas would not have been able to raise within so short a time the requisite capital for their Steel Plants. Regarding the cultural drive of the movement, Ramsay Macdonald, who came to India for an on-the-spot study of the situation, devotes much thoughts in his *Awakening of India*—how Bengal was paving the way for a bloodless revolution. He sums up her efforts by the eloquent tribute, 'Bengal is idealizing politics into Art and Literature'. Gopal K. Gokhale said at a public meeting at Manchester in October, 1906, that all the repression on Bengal was for the reason that she would not let Britain go back on promises given in the past; and spoke of the Bengalis as, 'intellectually one of the finest people of the world'. He did not let the grass grow under his feet and told Lord Minto on the floor of the Indian (Imperial, as it was then called) Legislative Council, 'What Bengal thinks today, India thinks tomorrow'. I, however, sincerely wish that Gokhale had not said this. It has fostered a sense of flamboyance in some Bengalis; and it has stuck in the throat of some non-Bengalis, who do not feel happy in having to contemplate what made Gokhale say this so feelingly. Either has proved bad.

Parallel to the national struggle, moving apace over Swadeshi-cum-Boycott and Civil Disobedience, as the exigencies of the moment justified, there forged ahead the Revolutionary Movement in order to force the issue. They took to living dangerously and across their path the shadow of the hangmen fell. By now, the two movements created forces which constituted, as Great Britain was constrained to admit, 'danger' to her rule in India. Prime Minister Asquith spoke of the India Act, 1909 (Morley-Minto Reforms) in the House of Commons as 'a step which will avert the danger confronting us for the last few years'. Fairly thirtysix years after, i.e., almost on the eve of the British Parliament passing the Indian Independence Act, 1947, under which Britain quitted India, Professor Sir Reginald Coupland gives a clue to the Morley-Minto Reforms in his *India—A Restatement*. "The Indian Act, 1909," he says, "was an attempt to control and canalise the now fast-flowing current of nationalism." If ever it is true that History is made by a minority with conviction, here is one such—Bengal generating 'the fast-flowing current of nationalism' at a time, when 'the rest of India', as Gandhiji so handsomely

acknowledges, 'was almost asleep'—Prayer meeting, 23rd August, 1947, i.e., seven days after India had won her Freedom.

In 1911, the Bengal Partition, which was like the veritable Pandora's box to the ruling power was annulled. It was, however, Bengal's Pyrrhic victory, inasmuch as three of her Bengali-speaking Hindu districts Manbhoom, Singhbhoom and Purnea were made over to the newly-created province of Bihar and Orissa. This brilliant, master device of Lord Hardinge made the entire Bengal statutorily Moslem, i.e., non-Congress—precisely what Lord Curzon intended his new province East Bengal and Assam to be. It was, in fact, the crowning fulfilment of British policy, which made no bone of its pleasure to split the Bengalis in such a manner that the nationalists might not form a majority in Bengal. To anticipate events, by the way, Sir Samuel Hoare—later on Lord Templewood—chuckled in the House of Commons, while sponsoring the India Act, 1935 (Hoare-Willingdon autonomy) that he could not imagine of a 'landslide' by which Bengal would run counter to British interests. What a position for the rebel Bengal! And what a triumph of British statesmanship—'statesmanship', as Lady Minto understood it, in connection with her husband's part in incorporating the Separate Electorate into the Indian Statute!!

As though to make the cup full to the brim, Lord Hardinge created the Dacca University in line with Aligarh, nursing pro-British and anti-Congress sibboleths. And by making the Senate and Syndicate function on the basis of separate representation all through, and emphasizing, at the same time, the study of Islamic culture and all that, it was avowedly aimed at strangulating Bengal's composite culture right from the plastic youth of a man. This was, truly, in the nature of a counterblast to Bengal's cultural-cum-political revolt, and in fact, a masterpiece, such as to turn Pericles, in his grave, green with envy. I have my doubts if Bengal leadership, initially, could size up the sinister potentials of Lord Hardinge's two-pronged attack. In any case, it could not oppose the terms of the unselement of Lord Morley's 'settled fact', for the one simple reason that it could not, on the one hand, alienate the Moslems and thus block what chance there was for their entry into the Congress-fold, and, on the other, stir up inter-provincial jealousy. In the circumstances, they displayed, what

I believe, the height of patriotism and statesmanship in trusting, without qualification, to what the 1911 Indian National Congress said in respect of it by Resolution III. The Resolution, which was moved by Tej Bahadur Sapru of U.P. and seconded by Parameshvarlal of Bihar, begged the Government 'to place all the Bengali-speaking districts under one and the same administration'. The British rule did not do it. There was the question of viability of the new province. Necessity was important for the ruling power was to see to it—and the most efficient and well-posted ruler of the day saw to it—that the imperialistic purpose, as explained above, was not stultified. The Indian leadership, naturally, felt satisfied with this move, seeking to undo, as the time came and India was free to conduct her affairs, the great wrong, which was, again, as wickedly designed against the go-ahead, turbulent Bengal. That will of our sires has been without compunction ignored—should one hesitate to use the word flouted—by the Congress Government.

Bihar, after separation from Bengal, introduced 'Domicile Certificate' in order to ward off non-Biharis—evidently the Bengalis—from Government Service and allied walks of life. It was an insidious blow on our national solidarity, which was a slow growth under the auspices of the Indian National Congress in the teeth of so many odds. The Bengalis, who were thus discriminated against are in independent India, as well, face to face with a hard-boned, wanton discrimination in Assam. It has taken a shape and colour, of which untutored savages are likely to have qualms of instinct to blush.

Before, however, I proceed to Assam, I may say, in passing that I have grave doubts if those whose destiny it is to rule India today have any proper understanding of the trials and tribulations of Bengal's baptism for the Nation. The gallows and transportation for life, the deportation and internment without trial, imprisonment, confiscation of property and punitive tax, their cities and villages being honeycombed with spies and dotted with military and the sanctity of their homes invaded, lathi-charge and mounted police galloping full length at them in processions and meetings—all came to constitute a routine of their existence. They stood it admirably well, as much they stood the blandishments to draw them away from the national struggle and all attempts to waylay and circumvent its headlong

ecuse. The eminent jurist Dr. Rashbehari Ghose, who would not commit to an allegation of oppression, particularly in so far as it relates to the policy of playing off the Moslems against the Hindus, unless he was cent per cent satisfied as to its veracity, indicates its character but not the extent in his 1906 and 1907 Congress addresses. It is observable that Ambikacharan Majumdar while thanking the Government for annulling the Partition—the achievement over which they were so voluble with hiccups of gratitude and self-satisfaction—could not help saying, 'Let suspicion and distrust, malice and rancour, rage and repression—those evil spirits that revel in darkness—vanish from the land and let civil and calumny be hushed into silence'. The Bengalis might be pardoned for their 'chauvinism' if they would not let the memory of those days willingly die.

Assam, originally a division of Bengal, was made a separate administrative unit in 1874, with five districts of Surma Valley, four hill districts and three districts of Bengal—Sylhet, Cachar and Goalpara. It is, therefore, noteworthy that Assam, since when it came into being, is cut into well-defined ethnic and linguistic groups. A common system of education and the use of English language for official purpose giving the one tangible incentive for its cultivation, did go a long way to compose the differences. The national-cum-political sphere of life was, no doubt, being controlled for a long time by the Bengalis. Gradually, however, as Bengal tended to cut adrift from British moorings, English civilians, tea-planters and missionaries applied themselves with an unwearied zeal to drive a wedge between the Bengalis and the rest of the people. Since then, the notion of an interloper, clinging round a Bengali, was fast coming into vogue. As the Hoare-Willingdon autonomy was ushered into existence, Assam came under the sway of the Muslim League, headed by the blindfold, pro-British Sadullah. Patel yielded to the stern insistence of Subhas Bose, the man of vision, and this is how Bardoli came in as the Chief Minister of a Congress-controlled Government. Despite Abul Kalam Azad's coaxings, Bengal rejected the Cabinet Mission Plan because it was manifestly unjust to Assam being linked with Bengal and thus being thrown into the orbit of the Muslim League. Then came the days of unexampled stress for the Partition. And, by now, it is no longer a secret that Assam deliberately pushed down Sylhet to Pakistan in order to cut

down the numerical strength of the Bengali Hindus. It is no use blinking at the fact that the unfortunate part of this episode is that the Prime Minister of India is alleged to have been consulted in the matter; and he agreed to this. I, for one, shall feel happy to see this involvement of Mr. Nehru being contradicted. After all, by virtue of his position and intellectual catholicity he is regarded as an ally of each and every community of India.

In the 1951 Census, the Assamese jumped to 4,972,493 heads from 1,992,346 of the 1931 Census. The Central Government, all the same, swallowed this biological impossibility. There was a mass-scale attack on the Bengalis in Goalpara on the eve of the State Reorganisation Committee visiting Assam. The Central Government again took no note of it. During the last riot the hooligans were openly incited to violence with the assurance that, just as in the last Goalpara riot, no action would be taken against them. Why is this hostility of the Assamese against the Bengalis and what all this pother is due to?

In independent India Assam's Governor Akbar Hydari had the incredible folly to call the Bengalis there as 'settlers'. Any semblance of regard being had to the facts and circumstances of the Bengalis being in Assam, the Central Government should have pulled the Governor to nullify this.

There is and can absolutely be no difference from the standpoint of the 'sons of the soil' between the Bengalis and the Assamese there. The canard that the Bengalis have been dominating the economy of Assam\*, and filling up top posts in the state service† has been discussed threadbare with statistics and nailed to the counter. The *Vigil* of New Delhi, dated 27th August, has made an illuminative, instructive study of the question under the title 'Aetiology of Assam Atrocities'. In the sum-up is the issue clinched—that it is an attack of the 'Assamese sons of the soil' on the 'Bengali sons of the soil', because the former have been worsted in competition with the latter in every sphere of life. "Not a single Assamese", says the paper, "have, since its introduction, been able to find a place in the all-India

\*Big traders in Assam are all Marwaris.

†The Bengali I.G. of Police belongs to Goalpara; and the Chief Secretary to Cachar.

I.A.S. Examination. They wanted reservations for them in that service when Pandit Nehru was in Assam early this year. The minimum qualification was lowered for them for service in the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs and other Central undertakings. Four of them were included in the selection of ten Engineers sent to Rumania for training for the Oil Refinery at Gauhati by lowering the standard of qualifications. But the Bengali sons of the soil usually come out at the top in all competitive examinations including the University<sup>‡</sup>. Yet the Assamese are taken into the state service by unconstitutionally discriminating against the Bengali sons of the soil, a practice condemned by the States Reorganisation Commission. Thus there is no unemployment in Assam—educated or uneducated—and no frustration on that score. The only frustration is generated by a reverse complex of the idea of being the ruling race, so carefully fostered since independence and the amputation of Sylhet.”

It has been proved to the hilt that the recent outbreak of savagery in Assam was no sudden, sporadic, cutaneous eruption. It was premeditated, preplanned and carried out with the rigours of a military discipline. And, above everything else, it was endemic. The most melancholy, inglorious part of it is that the Home Minister of the Indian Union, as the chief custodian of Law and Order was posted well in time with at least such facts and circumstances that to imagine that he could not foresee the happenings—may not be to the extent—is to insult his intelligence. Yet India is not vouchsafed any information as to what actually he did to avert the crisis of singular cruelty, when for days together no life, no property of a Bengali in Assam was worth a moment's purchase. No less amusing is that Assam's Minister of Law and Order was all along smoking peaceful pipes on a stack of dry hay; and he left for Kashmir just as the inevitable spark was to ignite hooliganism ablaze. It is difficult to imagine of a more scandalous incompetence of a State as to suggest, even by implication,

that things would not have happened in the manner they did if the Chief Minister were not ill, and the Law and Order Minister away from the place. Is there a state of interregnum in administration? Anyway, the Congress Government of Assam has by a shameful abdication made history. And the Central Government owes it to the people of India to compel the maker of history to make suitable amends. According to all canons of democratic rule both Mr. Pant and Mr. Fakhruddin should have tendered their resignation, unless, of course, we should be prepared for a new type of democracy—it is totalitarian democracy.

Article 15 of the Constitution of India lays down that, 'The State shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them'. But, because of Article 16(4) nothing shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. It is, therefore, abundantly clear that the Central Government having discriminated against the Bengalis in favour of the Assamese, without having, by an Act of Parliament, placed them in the category of people, who are entitled to a differential treatment, has violated the Constitution. What is suicidal, they have fostered a belief in the mind of the Assamese that they are a pampered lot. I am prepared to concede that it is in no spirit of violating the Constitution that they have done it. It is the curious amalgam of Mr. Nehru's Messiah complex and 'I am the State' complex, which has to answer for it.

Be that as it may, it is not yet too late for Mr. Nehru to retrace his steps and endeavour to see that the 'Rule of Law', which India has so recently installed is not in anyway hurt. That 'Rule of Law', it is an accepted principle of civilized jurisprudence, revolves on the two pivots—the one of which is embodied in the maxim, 'Justice delayed is justice denied'; and the other is 'Right to Equality', which, again, is the A.B.C. of democracy and given the priority consideration in the Constitution of India.

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<sup>‡</sup>In the 1960 Matriculation Examination, eight out of the first ten places were occupied by the Bengalis.

## ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

By SRIMATI B. SHALINI DEVI, M.A.

For some time past public opinion has been slowly but steadily gaining ground for abolishing capital punishment and the recent case of Caryl Chessman has further intensified this agitation. Once again a hue and cry has been raised over this punishment all over the world, capital punishment has been severely criticised and condemned and the demand for its abolition has increased. This case attracted a lot of public attention all around, more because of Chessman's success in staving off the punishment for twelve years, through legal technicalities. He utilised this period, besides other things, for putting his jail experiences into writing thereby converting his personal fight into an issue against capital punishment. As a result, overnight he became a hero and while his victim was still suffering in a lunatic asylum, attempts were being made by the public to save him from the gallows. Demonstrations were held outside the prison condemning capital punishment and demanding a reprieve for him. We are even told that a film will be shortly made on him, in which emphasis will be laid on the horrors of capital punishment. All this is bound to create a great impression upon the public and it looks as if the demand for the abolition of capital punishment will increase in the future.

The conception of crime and criminal having undergone a vast change since the beginning of this century, it is not surprising that public opinion to-day seems to be in favour of the abolition of capital punishment. But while the gathering of the momentum of public opinion for the abolition of capital punishment is understandable, one wonders if it is wise to give in to this agitation and abolish it completely, and whether the reasons put forth for its abolition are weighty enough to justify its abolition.

Capital punishment is only one of the modes of punishment and so a discussion of capital punishment necessarily involves a discussion of the general theory of punishment. The whole theory of punish-

ment is closely and proportionately related to the theory of crime. It is as a result of this that only the most heinous of crimes are declared in law as capital crimes. So, while advocating the abolition of capital punishment, its possible repercussions on the whole theory of crime and punishment must be taken into consideration. If capital punishment is to be abolished the whole theory of punishment in proportion to the theory of crime might have to be changed, for if this is abolished then there might be an equally intense agitation for the decrease in the other kinds of punishment as well and this may have an adverse effect on the crime situation.

It is contended that in the States where capital punishment has been abolished capital crimes have decreased and hence the argument that the abolition of the capital punishment would lead to increase in capital crimes has been proved groundless. But as against this it must be said that in the States where capital punishment is abolished, capital crime was very rare and consequently capital punishment was seldom awarded. Further, the rise or fall in the homicidal rates of any particular country depends on a plurality of causes in which the social, economic, industrial and educational factors play a predominant part. As such, it is only the professional and the vicious and unscrupulous murderers who, perhaps, think of this punishment while committing murder. But those who commit this crime due to some impulse, inferiority complex or some other mal-adjustment seldom think of this institution. To him who is engrossed in his own troubles and who in an unguarded moment commits this act, the existence of this instrument of punishment is immaterial, for he never thinks that he will have to answer to the State and society for the act he has committed. It is only the professional murderers and those murderers who murder after premeditation who think about this instrument of punishment and take precautions to escape the law.

Much importance has been attached to

the retributive nature of capital punishment. But capital punishment being only one of the modes in the theory of punishment, if the retributive nature is to be attributed to capital punishment, then it is equally applicable to the whole theory of punishment. Hence if capital punishment is to be scrapped off, the theory of crime has to go also. The rule of law, State and Government will also disappear, society will degenerate and it will become in the Hobbesian phrase "brutish, unbearable and nasty."

It is further contended in support of the abolition of capital punishment that such a punishment is not sanctioned by the scriptures. Scriptures are quoted as saying : "Thou shalt not kill" and that man shall not sit on judgment upon another man. But it is completely forgotten by those who quote scriptures that the injunction of the scriptures is meant only for the individuals and not for the State. The State being an abstract entity, sin or virtue cannot be attributed to the State. The Modern State is a welfare State: as such it is neither irreligious nor anti-religious but is only a Godless State. Its duty is to create an atmosphere for man in which he can grow materially, morally as well as spiritually. The sayings of the scriptures which are quoted above also say : "Thou Shalt not covet other's wealth." This includes human property as well as life. And it is to protect this human life and property and create an atmosphere in which man can develop himself morally and spiritually without any fear that the State has come into being.

Another important fact which seems to be forgotten while scriptures are quoted in support of the abolition of capital punishment is the common religious belief—to be found in all religions—that the man who commits sin cannot escape retribution in one form or other. There is the famous dictum of the scriptures that man reaps what he sows.

Humanitarians advocate its abolition on the ground that it disregards the progressive view-point of reforming and rehabilitating the criminal. How far is this true? Is there a better substitute which will not

only serve the ends of justice but also tend towards reforming and rehabilitating the criminal? If capital punishment is abolished then the highest punishment would be imprisonment for life, i.e., twenty years of imprisonment. Is this a good substitute for capital punishment from the point of view of the humanitarians? It is said that prison turns man into beast. Separated from his family, relatives and friends and leading a life of repression and hard labour for twenty years is bound to sap his strength and kill his initiative. Added to this there will be the mental worry he will have to undergo for this long period on account of his family—any dire misfortune might befall his family in his absence—and also about his own future after he is released from jail. All this is sufficient to make him a broken man mentally and physically and it is this broken man, his strength sapped and initiative killed, who will have to face the world, after his release from prison and take up the threads of life he had left behind him. Will it be easy to rehabilitate such a man? Will not life and life's problems be too much for him to face, immediately after such a long period of repression driving him to despair and even perhaps to suicide, or to his old game of crime? Is this method of long period of imprisonment more humane and more in tune with the progressive point of reforming and rehabilitating the criminal?

Another reason put forth for the abolition of capital punishment is that it has not that much of the desired deterrent effect, as its protagonists claim. This also cannot be said to be true. Capital punishment is usually associated only with murder. Murderers are usually said to be of three types, viz., the professional killers, those who suffer from some kind of inadequacy, mental, physical or cultural and those who commit murder under the stress of some intense emotional crisis. And the contention is that capital punishment will act as a probable deterrent only for the professional killers and not for those belonging to other categories, as these murderers are not in the least affected by the fear of capital punishment. This contention cannot be accepted.

Professional killers know that, if caught, they have to pay the penalty. So only those who are ready to suffer this punishment usually opt to become professional killers. As to the murderers belonging to the other two categories it must be remembered that not every murderer is sentenced to death. Every consideration is shown to them by the jury and the court and very seldom is a death sentence passed on such murderers. Capital punishment does serve as a deterrent, if not for the majority, at least for a small minority, as man, uncertain of the attitude of the jury and the court, will not resort to this short cut, viz., murder, for the solution of his problems but will try to face his life's problems. The abolition of this punishment will lead to unfortunate consequences, for the man will offer the least resistance to his life's problems and will take the easy way out. Not only this, its abolition will deprive the State of the power to punish the unscrupulous and vicious killer who kills for the sake of killing or for material gain and mints money on human sorrow and misery.

Further, if the argument that capital punishment has not the desired deterrent effect is to be accepted then the same argument holds good as regards other modes of punishment as well. Just because thefts and other kinds of crime are in existence in spite of punishments, it cannot be argued that these punishments should be abolished. Then there would be no theory of crime or of punishment and consequently no law and peace and no security of life and property. The State and Government would be a cipher and it would simply mean the survival of the fittest, for crime is usually aimed against the weak by the strong.

Yet another reason put forth for the abolition of capital punishment is the untold suffering it inflicts upon the family, relatives and even friends of the criminal, as a result of the stigma which attaches to them because of the crime committed by the murderer. But this does not seem to be a sound argument for modern society is progressive, as is reflected in its treatment of the criminal with consideration and sympathy and in its demand for the abolition of capital punishment. In these conditions it is hard

to believe that society will stigmatise the relatives of the murderer as such and inflict untold suffering upon them. But even if this is true, will the abolition of capital punishment relieve the relatives of this stigma and the consequent suffering? Further, are relatives stigmatised because of the capital punishment the murderer has to face? Is it not true that the stigma is more due to the crime committed than due to the punishment inflicted? Other crimes like forgery, theft, etc., are not capital crimes and yet the relatives of those criminals are branded with the stigma. It is not only the family of a murderer who undergo untold suffering but also the family of any other criminal. So infamy is connected not only with capital punishment but also with other modes of punishment. Crime by itself is a tragic thing and once it is detected and punishment follows, then the suffering it inflicts on the criminal and his relatives is inevitable.

Finally, it is argued that capital punishment does more harm to the rest of the society than to the criminal himself. It is said that it has immense potentialities for harm in brutalising the community and lowering its sense of ethical values. This aspect was stressed by viscount Templewood while testifying before the Royal Commission on capital punishment. Said he: "It makes people gloat over crime and I think, however much you safeguard the actual carrying out of executions, they also pander to those morbid feelings that lie very near the surface in most of us and that would be much better repressed."

This might have been true in olden days when executions were held in public and the criminal was treated like a hunted animal. But modern executions take place within the closed walls of the prison and in the presence of a few prison officials including the chaplain and the doctor. Also the criminal is treated with great sympathy and consideration by the society. In fact, public opinion to-day seems to be swaying to the other extreme. The society is more in sympathy with the murderer than with the victim and demonstrations, if any, are held for demanding a reprieve for the condemned criminal rather than for hang-

ing him. Further modern society is no more narrow in its outlook. It is too engrossed with its diverse actions and ideals to have time to gloat over crime. Modern society is interested in a murder only when the murderer or the victim, or sometimes both, happen to be prominent members of society and then too only in so far as the crime affects it.

To sum up, are the reasons put forth for its abolition weighty enough to justify such an action? Its retributive nature cannot be regarded as of much importance, for, punishment as such, in whatever form it is given, contains a retributive element. Scriptures cannot be quoted in its favour as their injunctions are for the individuals and not for the State which is only an abstract entity. The humanitarians who advocate it on the ground of reforming and rehabilitating the criminal have yet to discover a substitute which satisfies the ends of justice as also the humanitarian principles. Its deterrent effect is not capable of being measured from the point of view of statistics and it must also be admitted, that its existence does serve as a possible deterrent if not for the majority at least for the minority. The murderer's family is no longer stigmatised by society. In fact, when the modern society's sympathy lies more with the murderer than with the victim and when it is demanding the abolition of capital punishment it is surprising as well as incredible that it should stigmatise the relatives of the murderer. Nor does modern society gloat over the horrors of capital punishment.

The only possible argument against capital punishment is perhaps its inhuman nature. And even here as the years have advanced this aspect of the punishment has been changing. The old crude forms of stoning to death, mutilation, hanging by the neck, etc., have been abolished and the modern gas chamber has been introduced. This form inflicts but little pain on the sentenced criminal. This system is introduced only in a few States of America but it is sure to be introduced all over the world within the next few years. Another step that could be adopted for lessening the inhuman nature is by reducing the forward for its abolition. The reasons for

ing him. Further modern society is no time to the greatest extent possible between the actual passing of the death sentence and the date for which the execution is fixed, thereby lessening the mental agony of the condemned prisoner. This suffering is something which could be done away with great benefit, for it does no good either to the criminal or to the State and society. So the prolongation, of the date of execution only results in the prolongation of the agony of the condemned man as well as his near and dear ones. Further, some prisoners, we are told, who are condemned to death suffer acute mental agony owing to the fear of death. This fear of death is common to man and it is only a few who at the last moment conquer this fear and face death bravely. This is more so to those who are told the time and date of their death and some condemned criminals become nervous wrecks by the time the actual date of execution comes and many instances are to be found where some had to be carried forcibly to their doom. This sort of agony does not benefit anyone and can be done away with completely either by drugging the prisoner before his execution or by withholding the actual time and date of execution from him until the last crucial moment. The judge while sentencing him can declare the period before which he should be executed, instead of specifying the date and time of the execution. The prisoner can then be told of the execution only at the last moment or it will be better still if he is put to death without his knowledge, i.e., he could be electrocuted in his sleep. Finally, the scope of capital punishment could be limited to the barest minimum possible. It could be limited only to those vicious and unscrupulous murderers who kill for the sake of killing or for material gain and become rich on human misery. These are some of the steps which deserve serious consideration of the authorities, for once the scope of capital punishment is limited and its inhuman nature minimised to the greatest degree possible, then much opposition to capital punishment is bound to disappear.

To conclude then, capital punishment has to continue in spite of all the reasons put forward for its abolition. The reasons for

its continuance are weighty enough to maintain the institution. Capital punishment should be regarded as a mode of punishment and should be treated as such. It does not seem to be as cruel an institution as it is depicted by the advocates for its abolition. The modern criminal procedure code is not as harsh as the old Draconian code. It contains many loopholes as it is drawn up on the belief that it is better to allow 99% of the criminals to escape the law than to send one innocent man to the gallows. So where the evidence is insufficient the criminal is given the benefit of doubt even though the authorities might be fully convinced of his guilt. Capital punishment is made more humane today and is reserved only for the most heinous crimes, usually murder. Even here, not all murderers are sentenced to death. The condemned are given a further chance of winning a reprieve from the Head of the State. Further, if it is used with sympathy and consideration and with its scope limited and its inhuman nature minimised as much as possible it will not result in undesirable repercussions, for mere retention of an institution does not necessarily mean its frequent utilisation. All this does not mean that the criminal should not be reformed or rehabilitated. Steps should be taken for his reformation and rehabilitation, but while steps are taken in this direction the various types of punishment should not be abolished. If this happens then the effort to reform and rehabilitate the criminal will not have that much of success as is essential, for its abolition will lead to the changing of the whole theory of crime and punishment as a result of which crime will increase. And especially in modern times when crime is on the increase all over the world the theory of punishment and the administration of justice should neither be weakened nor slackened. So if society is to be protected, law and order maintained and an atmosphere conducive to the development of man, socially, and spiritually, created, then the demand for its abolition should not be acceded to. Instead of inciting public opinion to demand for its abolition the institution of capital punishment should be presented to the people in its proper perspective and it should be retained at all costs, but its scope should be limited and it should be more humane.

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## TWO MARY ANNES

By P. L. STEPHEN

Spanning the nineteenth century there lived two famous Mary Annes—one in America and the other in England. The American was the wife of Abraham Lincoln, and the English woman the wife of Benjamin Disraeli. These contemporary Mary Annes were remarkable not only for their famous husbands but also for many interesting characteristics of their own.

Some four thousand books have been written about Lincoln and many of these have a great deal to say about his Mary Anne; for she was a woman with a definite character. Unfortunately her husband's law-partner Herndon had a dislike for her, and as he happened to be the first important biographer of Lincoln, he set afloat many uncomplimentary observations about Mary

Anne. Scandals and calumnies have always a way of winning their way throughout the world, and hence Mary Anne got a bad name. Stories of her husband's martyrdom at her hands were blindly accepted by people who had no better source of information. But dispassionate later research has shown that many of Herndon's stories were untrue. One of the latest writers D. H. Elletson shows that Mary Anne was quite different from the termagant that Herndon has pictured.

Although Abe was immersed in his work he did not marry in utter blindness a woman of ugly features as Herndon would have it. It is now established that she was "radiantly pretty with clear blue eyes, long dark lashes, a lovely complexion and

ing him. Further modern society is no more narrow in its outlook. It is too engrossed with its diverse actions and ideals to have time to gloat over crime. Modern society is interested in a murder only when the murderer or the victim, or sometimes both, happen to be prominent members of society and then too only in so far as the crime affects it.

To sum up, are the reasons put forth for its abolition weighty enough to justify such an action? Its retributive nature cannot be regarded as of much importance, for, punishment as such, in whatever form it is given, contains a retributive element. Scriptures cannot be quoted in its favour as their injunctions are for the individuals and not for the State which is only an abstract entity. The humanitarians who advocate it on the ground of reforming and rehabilitating the criminal have yet to discover a substitute which satisfies the ends of justice as also the humanitarian principles. Its deterrent effect is not capable of being measured from the point of view of statistics and it must also be admitted, that its existence does serve as a possible deterrent if not for the majority at least for the minority. The murderer's family is no longer stigmatised by society. In fact, when the modern society's sympathy lies more with the murderer than with the victim and when it is demanding the abolition of capital punishment it is surprising as well as incredible that it should stigmatise the relatives of the murderer. Nor does modern society gloat over the horrors of capital punishment.

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Although Abe was immersed in his work he did not marry in utter blindness a woman of ugly features as Herndon would have it. It is now established that she was "radiantly pretty with clear blue eyes, long dark lashes, a lovely complexion and

a winsome dimpled smile." Nor was she any fool. Look at her ideal of marriage. She had said, "I would rather marry a good man—a man of mind—with a hope and bright prospects, a head for position, fame and power, than to marry all the houses and gold in the world." It was this ideal that was tortured into Mary Anne setting her cap for Abraham Lincoln to be the President's wife. After the marriage, again, she did mother Abe a little, and he needed it too; but she was also a good mother to their children. She conscientiously attended to the children's upbringing. To them and to her husband she did make a pleasant home.

Lincoln had his appreciation for all this. When he got his nomination as Presidential candidate he thought immediately about telling the good news to Mary Anne. He said affectionately, "I reckon there is a little short woman down at our house that would like to hear the news."

She had, of course, her own weaknesses. Who has not? She was outspoken. Referring to the first occasion when she met Abe she says he asked her: "May I dance with you the worst way, Miss Todd?" and she remarks, "And he certainly did." She was a spendthrift too. As soon as she became the President's wife she began spending money extravagantly. Nothing was too good for her. One dinner service alone is said to have cost 1,100 dollars. Her dress too became outrageous. On one occasion Lincoln caustically said of her dress, "Our cat has a long tail to-night." Perhaps she was a little too possessive of her famous husband, and rather jealous of the many brilliant women he had to meet and move with.

But when all is said and done, it is now clear in the light of the fuller information that we now have, that she was a true helpmate to her husband. If she had her peculiarities he had them too, with his untidy dress, pockets bulging with papers, annoying forgetfulness of social manners, and abrupt movements and actions often disconcerting to the wife. But as husband and wife Abraham Lincoln and Mary Anne did get on sufficiently well and enjoyed normal domestic happiness.

Disraeli and his Mary Anne were, however, no mere work-a-day couple. They were truly romantic in many ways. If Lincoln was older than his wife by twelve years, Disraeli was younger than his by a dozen years. She was, besides, a widow, with quite a tidy sum of her own, which led to its being even suggested that Dizzy married her for her money. But that was not true, though the money was, of course, useful to him. He married her because he found in her qualities that made it possible for him to love her ardently and remain attached to her all through the many years of their long lives.

In one of his letters to her he wrote about it. He said: "I found you, as I thought, amiable, tender, and yet acute and yet gifted with no ordinary mind—one whom I could look upon with pride as the partner of my life, who could sympathise with all my projects and feelings, console me in the moments of dejection, share my hour of triumph and work with me for our honour and happiness."

If there was thus a sort of wise calculation in the choice of his wife, Disraeli was by nature romantic in his attitude towards the partner of his life. In spite of his busy political life and the demands on his time with his many preoccupations he was ever eager for the company of his beloved. He hated separation. On one occasion he wrote: "My present feelings convince me that there is no hell on earth like separated love." On another occasion he wrote: "I wish to be with you, to live with you, never to be away from you—I care not where in heaven or on earth, or in the waters under the earth."

Usually such an extra passionate attitude brings on a certain kind of nemesis—quarrels and other misfortunes. But Disraeli and Mary Anne had a perfectly happy domestic life continued unimpaired until the very end. Disraeli had made quite a good judgment of Mary Anne's character. She was entirely devoted to him and studied how fully to meet his needs. In all his activities she took an intelligent interest, and aided and helped him most effectively. She was a careful housekeeper and she had

an eye for glamour. If Disraeli was flamboyant she kept up with him. Even at fifty-four she was glamorous at court functions, as shown by her own description of her dress on one such occasion: "A point lace dress over rose-coloured satin and deep point lace flounces with rosettes and diamonds; bodice of rose satin trimmed with point lace, stomachin of black velvet studded with diamonds. Head-dress a wreath of splendid diamonds, green velvet leaves, feathers and lappets." This might appear ridiculous to others, especially as she was an old woman; but it suited her husband all right; and what does a loving woman need more? So they lived their life for thirty-three years, an unusual example of love and harmony in a high and in many ways stormy life. When she died there was nothing but a chorus of praise for the way

she had remained an ideal wife. James Antony Froude declared: "She was a heroine if ever woman deserved the name. She devoted herself to Disraeli with a completeness which left no room in her mind for any other thought. She was his helpmate, his confidante, his adviser."

But then married happiness, like many other things, is a two-way traffic. The husband and the wife have to respond to each other if happiness is to be ensured. And that is what happened in the life of the Disraelis. If she was devoted to him, he in his turn, "In defeat or victory he hurried home from the House of Commons to share his vexation or his triumph with his companion." No wonder Gladstone in spite of all their political antipathies declared that he would honour Dizzy for his behaviour to his wife.

## SOVIET CINEMA—ITS ACHIEVEMENTS AND WEAKNESSES

By YURY KHANYUTIN

At the Cannes Festival the Soviet Union was awarded the prize for "best participation" as to say the least, well worthy of attention. The country which, all in all, had contributed the most interesting films.

These and other films justify our claim that the Soviet cinema is thriving—but, of course, this does not mean that we have no unsolved problems! All is still far from well in the film world.

For one thing, the obvious gap between our best pictures and the common run of films cannot but alarm us. Recently both critics and audiences have been repeatedly stressing that trite, commonplace and mediocre films are still appearing.

Some of our film workers consider this no cause for worry.

"What do you expect?" they ask. "You can't expect the screen to be filled solely with masterpieces!"

They stress the great increase in output of films, the large number of newcomers among script writers, directors and so on: "It is only natural that there should be many things they are unable to do!"

### *Make no Allowances*

These reassurances were sharply rejected by



A still from the film "Captain's Daughter." Actress I. Arepina as Masha Mironova

Apart from *Ballad of a Soldier* and *The Lady with a Dog*, highly praised at Cannes, a

producer Ivan Pyriev at a meeting of the Film Workers' Union organisational committee, held it with his mother. some time back.

"We must not make allowances for inexperience," he stressed, "nor be complacent in the fact that we produce many good pictures."

"It's true that failures are to be expected—but if we are going to justify mediocre pictures, if we don't sound the alarm every time such a picture appears, there will be more and more poor films."

After critically analysing a dozen or more unsuccessful pictures, it became clear to the committee that the main trouble was not technical weakness, poor direction or action, but primarily poverty of thought.

In the past, there have been two points of view on this.

Some believed that the most important thing was the subject matter of the film.

If, for example, it was devoted to a tremendous construction job, to space flight, or to the life of a huge factory, then this alone invested it with significance.

But others argued that the subject did not matter nearly as much as the thought—if any!—that lay behind it.

Practice confirms the correctness of this second point of view.

Take, for example, one recent film, *Ardent Soul*.

At first glance this film seems to have an extremely important theme: a steel mill, the struggle there for new progressive methods of work, the clash between people hanging on to the old ways and bold men with initiative and the pioneering spirit.

But all this is only on the surface of the film. In reality the plot and the principal conflict are woven round the traditional love triangle. The characters are stereotyped and no serious problems are posed.

#### *Real Insight*

On the other hand the film *A Ballad of a Soldier* apparently deals merely with an unimportant story: a soldier who performs a heroic

Through this simple story, however, the makers of the film succeeded in depicting the life of the nation in the trying war years, and showed real insight in their character study of an ordinary Russian lad.

The significance of a film, it was clear, depended not on the situation or the scene of its action, but on the weight of the problems it poses.



A still from the film "The Story of Fiery Years."

Actor N. Vengranovsky as Ivan Orlyuk

Photo by B. Petov

Shallow themes (an expression current among our critics) mean shallow thoughts. And certain films, it is regrettable, have more than their share of shallow thoughts.

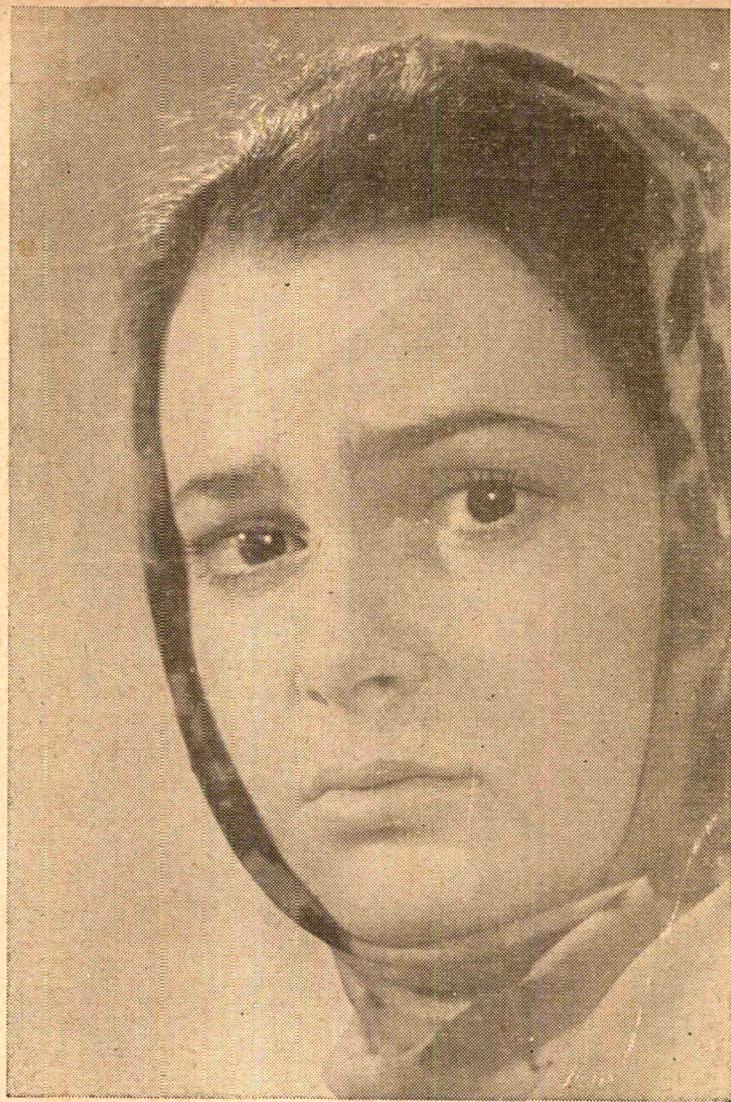
Sergei Gerasimov and other Directors strongly disagreed. The chief damage done by such pictures, they said, was precisely the fact that they discredited an important theme, and damped public interest in it.

The debate was even hotter with regard to the superficial themes of most of the comedies.

Comedies are usually very popular, but although we have produced a number of highly entertaining pictures, the general standard leaves much to be desired. Here too there are different standpoints.

#### *Providing the Laughs*

"Shallow themes? What has that got to do with comedy? Who says that comedies must



Elina Bystritskaya as Aksinya in the film "And Quiet Flows the Don"

Photo by Mikhail Trakhman

contain profound ideas? The filmgoer wants a good laugh in the cinema—and it's our job to provide him with it."

This, roughly, is the gist of the argument put forward by some comedy producers. But their opponents demand comedy with content. Stale gags, they say, are no substitute for thought.

Of course, no one can possibly disagree with those who say that a comedy must be gay and enter-taining. And, personally, I make no complaint if a highly amusing comedy, played with good taste, contains no important moral idea.

But if that type of comedy becomes the prevalent type, if entertainment is its main or sole purpose, then this is a bad thing.

What Sort ? Laughter? Yes, of course, we want it. But what sort of laughter? There is the laughter of

Rabelais, Swift, Griboyedov and Shchedrin. There is the humour in Chaplin's pictures and the humour of *Charley's Aunt*. That comparison requires no comment.

The discussions and debates now going on

among film workers cover a wide field. There is the question of national form, the attitude to neo-realism, the problem of evolving a modern style and a host of others.

But the main direction of all the discussions noble sentiments.

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## IDEALS OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

By C. R. RATHEE

Vice Principal, Nehru College, Jhajjar (Rohtak)

The period that has elapsed since the advent of freedom is too short to enable one to measure the extent of the changes that have taken place in the various aspects of our national life. It required years of toil and struggle to achieve that freedom, but the responsibilities it has brought in its train call for an even greater and more sustained effort from all who value that freedom, because of the opportunities it has placed within our grasp.

We are here concerned with only one branch of national activity namely, university education, which unfortunately has not attracted as much attention as it deserves. Until recently, the scholar and the scientist, both here and in the West, were so deeply engrossed in their own work that they rarely came in contact with the bustle of business and politics in the world outside. The average citizen saw little of them, and knew less about their achievements, which lay buried in learned tomes and in scientific journals, and, if they caught the public eye at all, it was only on rare occasions such as the award of a Nobel Prize. This was the outcome of an unrealistic approach to life on the part of both the academic man and the man in the street.

Fortunately, forces have been at work which have broken down the walls shutting off the activities of the workers in the universities from the common gaze. Democracy was the most important of these. Next in importance was the impact of the two World Wars. The Wars only hastened the action commenced by Democracy, and

the scientist who had previously been leading a sheltered existence within the four walls of his laboratory was dragged out by the force of circumstances and compelled to align himself with the ordinary citizen to share in the life, and death struggle in which civilized humanity was engaged to make the world safe for freedom.

Although India was not in the thick of the fight, she could not but become aware of the importance of scientific research and training to national security and welfare in the world as it is constituted today. Now that she is free to shape her destiny with her own hands, she can no longer afford to be indifferent to the need of reorganizing university education in the context of her freedom. The existing universities and those which are springing up in several parts of the country are responsible to the nation, not merely for conserving the best that was in India's glorious past in the domains of the mind and the spirit, but also for providing the instrument of progress in her material prosperity by training up leaders of men and of scientific thought.

What is required for a proper integration of universities with national life is faith in the function and purpose of university education on the part of the powers that be, and self-confidence and determination to fulfil their high destiny on the part of the universities themselves. It was the realization of this fact that elicited from Sir Ernest (later Lord) Simon the remark that "the most exciting thing in the United States is their faith in education as measured by the amount of money they are pre-

pared to spend on education in general, and on university education in particular." As everyone knows, our country is poor, and it has to depend chiefly on the State for the supply of the necessary finance for implementing its educational programmes.

As university education in India has been freed from the control of the foreigners, it need no longer aim at supplying an army of quill drivers and minor officials to run and oil the administrative machinery of Government. The Indian universities have for many years ceased to be the recognized agencies of Government for examining candidates and awarding them certificates for employment, which they were for a long time under the old regime. They have now come into their own, and are free to perform the function which universities in all advanced countries are intended to fulfil. Proper planning is, however, essential, on both a short-term and a long-term basis. In the desire to work out an elaborate plan, which may take years and years to implement, the immediate needs cannot be overlooked.

Looking at things from the point of view of immediate needs, it is clear that a young republic like ours, with an immense manpower and considerable potential material wealth, but suffering from various major wants, such as those of food and other necessities of life, physical health, literacy, or technical skill, should devote its efforts to the removal of all these deficiencies with the utmost speed. India has yet to build up a strong army, an efficient navy and an up-to-date air force to defend her frontiers against attacks by enemies. She has also to tap her rich mineral and other natural resources, increase the production of consumable goods and improve her means of transport, if she is to compete successfully with other progressive countries in the world's markets. All this requires the efficient training of an army of engineers, metallurgists, chemists, doctors, teachers, managerial staff, and officers for the fighting forces. A programme which leaves these needs out of account would not only be unpractical but ill-conceived.

At the same time, it must be remember-

ed that university education to be worthy of the name, must have a high purpose. As a French writer once put it, a university is built of men (*bâtie en hommes*). It is the students and the teachers who constitute the university. No university education can be said to achieve its purpose, if it does not help build the personality of its alumni. Character building, though important at all times, is most important to India at the present moment, when she has to work out her own destiny among the world's nations. With the deterioration of moral standards everywhere in consequence of the anti-social elements which gathered strength during the last war, and which are thriving today in spite of legal inhibitions in the shape of post-war controls and emergency measures, the inculcation of civic responsibility and integrity of character is a matter of the highest importance to the community. The students need to be trained to become not only worthy patriots but also true citizens of the world. The building up of a sound national character must be in the forefront of the aims of university education for without it the other aims, such as the conservation of learning, the diffusion of knowledge and the extension of its frontiers, are valueless.

To achieve the object indicated in the preceding paragraph opportunities should be provided for greater contact between teacher and student, and student and student. In non-residential universities this contact is only possible through corporate life outside the classroom, social and literacy activities, sports and games in which both teachers and students can meet on equal terms. The best results can only be expected where the teachers, or at least some of them are persons who can inspire their students with their own ideals and zeal. This can only happen if the best intellects are drawn to the teaching profession by attractive conditions of service and adequate salaries.

Unfortunately, the teaching profession has not hitherto received its due recognition from either the public or the State. The teacher's economic and social status leave much to be desired. Curiously enough, the

average citizen expects the university or college teacher to lead a life of selfless service abjuring the comforts of life which money can provide, forgetful that lofty idealism which spurns material comforts is not frequently to be met with, and that there is no justification for condemning an important section of society to a life of comparative poverty coupled with strenuous intellectual effort. The teachers in the ancient Indian universities were treated with the greatest respect and consideration by the public and by their own students. They enjoyed the privilege of occupying the best apartments in the monasteries housing those universities, were waited upon by their students and were honoured by being carried about in sedan chairs in recognition of their dignified status. The picture today is quite different. The average teacher in a modern Indian university or college is distinguished by the badge of poverty, and, if he asks for the betterment of his economic condition, he rarely receives a sympathetic hearing. A contented teaching profession is indispensable if we expect our universities to impart instruction of a high quality and to influence the lives of their students through teachers from whom they can catch the fire of inspiration.

It is not enough to improve the economic condition of the teachers. They must be made masters in their own houses. The legislation and administration of the universities must be left in their hands. They must be given a free hand in shaping the courses of study, in selecting persons for teaching posts and in managing the affairs of the universities. It is unthinkable that they should be prevented from offering themselves for election to the executive bodies of universities on the ground that they are academic men as contrasted with men of the world. Consistently with their duties and obligations they should be free to express their opinions on all matters connected with their subject, whether in the classroom or in public.

The universities cannot produce the best results unless they enjoy full autonomy

in all matters which concern them. University education is the joint responsibility of Government and the people. There is a vague feeling among the public that the State in India is not keen on encouraging university education in spite of the increases which have been made in Government grants since the end of the last war. To allay all apprehensions in the public mind, it would be worthwhile for the Central Government to make a public declaration of policy by means of a Resolution, indicating its faith in and desire to support and encourage university education, and assuring the public as well as the universities that Government have no desire to interfere with the autonomy of the universities on the plea that financial assistances must be accompanied by control of some kind or other.

The universities have a very important mission to fulfil in India's national life. That is the mission of cultural unity. Appeals to narrow loyalties are harmful especially at the present time when unity is essential for the progress of our country. Disruptive tendencies which, before the declaration of Independence were kept in check in the desire to present a united front to foreign rule, are now becoming a source of danger. The 'Two Nation' theory was responsible for the division of India less than thirteen years ago and we have not yet got over the effects of partition. While we are trying to eradicate the evils of communalism in all possible ways, new forces of disintegration, more dangerous because they wear the semblance of unity based on linguistic or regional loyalties, are weakening the bond of national unity. One would perhaps meet with as little success in resisting the advancing tide of sentiment based on such loyalties, as Mrs. Partington did in trying to keep the Atlantic out of her house with a mop. The only safety lies in clinging fast to the unfaltering ideal of India's cultural unity and what better custodians can there be to take charge of this ideal than the Indian universities?

## ANIMALS AND FOOD SUPPLY

By S. C. GARG, M.Sc.

### *Menu of our Ancestors*

The existence of man on the surface of the earth has largely been dependent upon the animal life existing besides him. Nothing definite can be said about the stage or date in history, when man began the use of animals as food. The fact that thousands of years ago, man consumed the animals and also domesticated them becomes clear from the study of contents of caves and tombs. Man became more and more dependent upon animals and their products as he began to step up on the ladder of civilisation.

History tells that the Aryans settled in India as agriculturists and their wealth was assessed in terms of cattle. This sort of association naturally led our ancestors to give a due importance to these creatures, so much so that in many of our religious books, a good bulk is devoted to animals.

In the modern era, nearly half of the total food supply of man is contributed by mammalian, avian and aquatic life. The various foods of animal origin are meat from domestic and wild animals, eggs from domestic and wild birds, milk from cattle, goat and sheep and lastly fish of varieties. Besides these major food products, various other animals are consumed in different parts of the world. In countries with abundant land areas where animal life can be more economically maintained, the tendency is towards higher consumption of animals and animal food products.

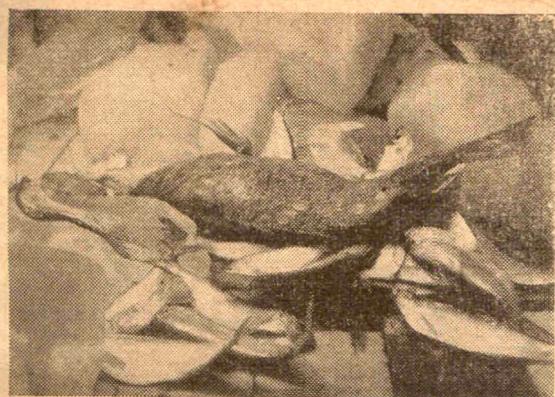
### *Fish as a source of food supply*

Next to Agriculture and Animal Husbandry comes the fishing industry. Fish forms a valuable source of easily digestible animal protein for human diet and this must have led man from very early times to regard it with esteem. Fishes are caught from every piece of water and consumed by human beings in various ways. At some places it is consumed fresh while at other places it is eaten after being salted, smoked or preserved in one way or the other.

Fish abounds in all kinds of waters of the world. Of course the marine fish excels in quantity since sea alone covers about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of the surface of the globe. Apart from the seas, there are the fresh waters of the land like the rivers, streams, ponds, lakes, etc., containing a host of fish. Today more than 20,000 different species of fish are known to the scientists and many more are discovered every year.

Fish has solved the food problem of various nations of the world particularly in the Western countries. In India, it is only after the war that fish has been looked upon as an important food for millions of people. Even to-day fish is not taken as food in many communities due to their religious prejudices. "In 1928 F.A.O. carried a survey and the Royal Commission of India commenting on the fish as an article of diet observed and reported our failure to develop the fisheries as a source of food. They further reported that in certain parts of the country, there are religious prejudices to use the fish as an article of diet, but in Assam, Bengal and Orissa it is readily taken and much relished by  $\frac{4}{5}$ ths of the population. In U.P., Bihar and other states percentage of population take it when they can get it." In the Punjab there had been, since the war, an increased demand for it.

In India the total annual consumption of sea fish is estimated at about 156 lakh maunds. The marketable surplus of fresh water fish amounts to about 90 lakh maunds. A considerable quantity of preserved fish is imported in India but practically no import of fresh fish is made. In India the average consumption per capita of fish is very low. It is only 3.45 lbs. as compared to 23 lbs. per capita annually in the United States. However the fish is a very popular item of food for a Bengali and the per capita consumption of fish in the state is about 6.75 lbs. while the consumption of fish in the Punjab is the lowest being only 0.09 lbs.



A part of the catch of fish in the cold storage hold of Ashok, a fishing vessel

Broadly speaking, the word fish includes not only the members of the finny tribe but also crustaceans like prawns, lobsters and crabs and molluscs like oysters, clams and pearl oysters. Prawns constitute a very important part of our fisheries and in some places are more important than any other kind of fish. The economically important prawns are the sea prawns, some of which grow to a size of one foot or more in length. Apart from the sea prawns, there are the prawns of the fresh waters which are fished in the lakes, jheels, rivers, etc. Prawns and their relatives all constitute about 10.5 per cent of the total sea fish consumed.

Shell or Oyster fisheries are more or less a monopoly of the poorer class of people along the sea coast. The clams are cheap and tasty and are generally marketed alive. The fishing of clams is generally done at low tide and largely by the womenfolk. Oysters are known to be delicious and easily digestible but in India, they are not liked by higher communities. They are fished from November to March when they are exposed to low tide. After the collection of the oysters, their shells are opened and the meat scooped out which is stored in sea water in earthen pots.

Fishing industry to-day in India is mainly dependent on the fisherman community which is an illiterate, poor, socio-economically low community in the country. Further, the fishing industry has not been developed due to the

existing caste barrier in our country and it still remains a cottage industry with the minimum of organisation and capitalisation. During the last few years some attention has been given to the development of fisheries in order to cope with the ever increasing demand of food stuffs. It is only about 0.75 per cent of the population of our country that is interested in this industry. There is no doubt a relative abundance of various types of fishes in the country and the industry can be expanded to a very great extent by making use of the educated young men and women who are facing the problem of unemployment. In the Third Five-Year Plan, a sum of Rs. 33 crores has been earmarked for the development of marine fisheries. Fish culture should be encouraged to its maximum in the country. Centralised fishery research stations should be set up at various important places in the country to guide the fisherman community in the proper use of various types of fishing grounds. The various types of fishing methods may be improved and introduced in the industry.

#### *Birds and Food Problem*

Like any other class of animals, birds also provide man with a variety of products. The most popular are the fowl and eggs. In the present century, poultry farming has assumed the status of industry largely by the demand of its products and also by the relative economy of its production. Varieties of poultry besides fowl include turkey, peacock, duck, goose and various pigeons and partridges. In the United States, during the last fifty years, the consumption of eggs and poultry products has increased almost two and a half times. The improvement methods of breeding and feeding on balanced diet have brought about an entire change in the poultry industry. It is remarkable, that the poultry industry of the United States has grown to such a proportion that this country leads all other nations from the standpoint of poultry population and the number of eggs produced annually.

In the modern era, poultry farming occupies an important place in agriculture. This is due to the fact that poultry utilises enormous quantities of waste products including grains, the value of which can hardly be recovered otherwise in

as efficient a manner as in the production of eggs and poultry meat.

In India, poultry farming is more or less in a neglected state and has hardly attained the status of cottage industry. Poultry keeping is only confined to villages except a few cities. Many people in India have tried poultry as a business but sooner or later, every one failed due to inexperience and lack of capital. During the present decade, government has been helping private enterprises to start poultry farms but hardly any success could be claimed in this direction.

Many suggestions could be made for improving poultry farming in rural areas. Poultry keepers do not provide proper accommodation to birds and it is not so because it is expensive but they are ignorant about it. Many birds in this condition become the prey of jackals, cats, etc. So for improving poultry farming in the rural areas, it is very important to provide proper accommodation to the birds. Furthermore, in *kacha* houses or *khadas*, the birds become infested with various types of ecto-parasites like ticks and lice; and once the birds become infested with such creatures, the escape from death becomes impossible. Feeding is the most neglected part of poultry keeping in the villages. Experiments conducted in this direction have conclusively shown that good food alone will improve the egg laying capacity and the rate of the growth of the fowl. Another improvement that can be brought about in poultry farming is the introduction of improved varieties of male birds.

#### *Mammals as a Source of Food Supply*

Various mammals which supply food to us include beef cattle, dairy cattle for milk, pigs, sheep and goat.

*Beef* : Beef is the principal product of the beef cattle. The dietetic value of beef is well known and it occupies an important place in the human diet by virtue of its taste, health giving qualities and its calorific value. In European countries, the prosperity of the people depends upon the supply of more and better quality beef. The flavour of beef stands at the top of the list of all other meats in its appeal to the human palate. It is this quality of beef that accounts for its larger consumption as food in so many countries. The annual per capita consumption

of beef varies widely in different countries. In the United States, during the last five years, its consumption has varied from a minimum of about 45 lbs. to a maximum of 70 lbs. per capita annually.

*Veal* : Veal is a bye-product of dairy industry rather than a product of beef industry. No doubt calves produce the highest quality of veal but it is not profitable to market them as veal. This is due to the fact that the cost of producing them is higher than the value of calf as veal. The veal has a milder flavour than beef and the annual per capita consumption in the United States was 8 lbs. in 1938. Practically there is no consumption of beef or veal in India due to the fact that in our country slaughtering of beef cattle is against Hindu religion. In 1942, the annual per capita consumption was only 0.85 lbs. and it must have considerably decreased since then.

*Milk* : Milk is the principal product of dairy cattle and beef and veal are the bye-products of this industry. When man first began the use of milk as food is not known but the earliest writers have inferred that it was used as a whole in the early ages of civilisation and the other products were tried later. It is a valuable food product and is well suited for direct consumption. The consumption of milk in India is much higher as compared with its yield from the cattle maintained in our country. The composition of milk is 3 to 6 per cent fat, 4 to 5 per cent sugar and 3 to 4 per cent protein and 86 to 88 per cent water. Because of its wide variety of nutrients and their high digestibility, milk is a wholesome and healthful food.

In the United States, the annual per capita consumption of all dairy products in terms of milk varies around 800 lbs. and to produce this supply of milk, 25,000,000 cows are maintained for milk production. On the other hand, India produces about 800,000 maunds of milk a year. This is the second largest country in the world in the matter of production of milk, the first being the U.S.A. But the quantity per capita is so small that in India each person gets about 7 ounces of milk or its equivalent in milk products daily whereas each person in the United States gets about 35 oz. of milk daily. Nutritionists have estimated that daily average diet of a growing child must contain about 32 oz. of milk while that of the adult about half of it.

Each cow in India on an average produces 625 lbs. of milk annually and if this yield is increased to three times, only then it will be possible to meet the minimum needs of our people. This can be done either by increasing the number of cows or by enhancing the yield per cow by giving them more food of quality. As for the former suggestion, to increase the number of cows, it is not possible because there would come up the problem of food for those extra cattle. Hence for increasing cattle population, food resources must be increased likewise. The greatest need of milk lies in the villages since the villagers have to put in very hard work in the fields. Hence it should draw the attention of all those persons who are interested in national or public health and human nutrition.

*Pork* : Pork and lard are two food products which are got from pigs, hogs and swines. Pork is the highly flavoured food for human beings because of its taste and its suitability to curing and smoking. The annual per capita consumption of pork varies widely in different countries of the world depending upon its availability, cost, taste preference and, in some instances, on religious beliefs. During the last fifty years, pork consumption in the United States has varied from a minimum of about 50 lbs. to a maximum of 80 lbs. per capita annually.

*Lamb and Mutton* : Lamb and mutton are meats of very high flavour but not so much liked as beef or pork. The consumption of pork and mutton is largest in those countries where conditions favour the economic production of sheep and the lowest in those countries where other kinds of animals can economically be maintained. The consumption of lamb and mutton is also influenced to some extent by religious beliefs, for instance in India where beef is not taken by Hindus, lamb and mutton find man's favour. Orthodox Jews who do not take pork, eat larger quantities of lamb and mutton. Taste also determines the consumption of lamb and mutton, as for example in Britain 30 lbs. of mutton per capita annually is consumed while in the United States only 6.6 lbs. per capita annually is the consumption.

In India sheep and goat are a valuable wealth. It has now been conclusively shown that four or five goats can easily be maintained

as cheaply as a cow and comparatively with a larger yield of milk. Furthermore goat's milk can be digested more easily as compared with cow's milk.

### *Other Animals as Human Food*

It has been known since many centuries that insects are eaten as delicacies in many parts of the world. Honey has been regarded as a prized food from times immemorial. Even to-day honey is highly appreciated as food in India as well as abroad. It has been conclusively shown that honey builds haemoglobin in the blood of infants. Almost every animal from fly to a man was consumed by Australian aborigines. Apart from insects, man has consumed shell fish like mussels and cockles. Before the penetration by the Arabs and whitemen, primitive Africa was almost without food of plant origin. At many times they even consumed lizards, porcupines and even monkeys. In Tropical Asia, all sociological and economic stages of development from primitive food gatherers to the highly specialised agriculturists are still co-existent. Many of the peasants of China and Japan improve their daily rice meals by addition of small quantity of meat of any kind of animals from toads and mice to insects. In Burma, fried locusts are considered a delicacy while in the middle-East, locust and honey form an important item of food.

### *Conclusions*

From the foregoing account, it will be seen that animals are an important source of human food supply. In India also, animals can play an important role in solving the food problem. No doubt India's population lives mostly in the villages and the prosperity of the country depends upon the maximum production from their agricultural land by introducing better methods of farming, etc. But animals as an important source of food supply must be given their due share. Side by side with the main profession of agriculture, a few animals must be maintained by every grower which can be used for food purpose and such animals so maintained can be an extra source of income to the grower. Not only that, such animals can provide food to the ever increasing population in our country. India

is passing at present through a phase of development and the country's future is being moulded through the planned developments like the Five-Year Plans. For such an era, it becomes very essential for every citizen to explore all possible means for getting food. Animals are an immense

source in this direction. Hence in a country like ours which is passing through a development phase, animals and particularly the food animals must be considered a national wealth and should be given a due share of attention which they deserve.

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## PROBLEM OF STAGING SANSKRIT DRAMAS ON MODERN STAGE

BY DR. J. B. CHAUDHURI

WHEREAS the origin of Sanskrit dramas is still shrouded in mystery, it is evident that Sanskrit dramas gained in popularity by the beginning of the 3rd Century B.C. Bhasa and Asvaghosa are the first two celebrated names in the long and chequered history of Sanskrit drama. Since then, there has been an incessant succession of Sanskrit dramas, composed with various objects—some for ceremonial shows, some for celebrating royal conquests, some for general merriment, others again for religious propagation and so on. As regards the last category, not a few Sanskrit dramas were composed by the Gaudiya Vaisnav Saints for propagating their religion and philosophy and all these were frequently staged on various occasions and proved to be a very popular medium for the spread of religious teachings amongst the masses.

While discussing the question of staging Sanskrit dramas on the modern stage, we shall have to deal with the problem of staging two kinds of Sanskrit dramas, viz., ancient and modern.

### *Ancient Sanskrit Dramas*

First, let us deal with the ancient Sanskrit dramas. There are eight points that require our serious consideration.

Firstly, though Sanskrit is understood by many, it being the source of almost all provincial languages of India, the Prakrits, very many in form, are not quite intelligible even to Sanskrit-knowing people. Still, as they form an essential feature of ancient Sanskrit dramas, there are

some who do not like to have the Prakrit portions Sanskritized for modern stages.

As to this, our feeling is that the original Prakrit should be retained and not Sanskritized while staging ancient plays. The Prakrit is an important branch of Indian Learning, and through dramas, it has survived conspicuously. By eliminating Prakrit portions from Sanskrit dramas, we should not render disservice to this Literature.

Secondly, though there are 10 varieties of *Rupakas* and eighteen varieties of *Uparupakas*, still one is bound to feel that the plots of Sanskrit dramas are rather stereotyped in nature, e.g., the Chief Queen is usually tolerant and not infrequently agreeable to the marriage of her husband with some lady who is her relative—often a very close relative, a first cousin or maternal uncle's daughter, not previously recognized by her as such for some reason or other.

As to this, our reaction again is that Sanskrit dramas are not so frequently staged as to create a sense of repetition of plots; the feeling of lack of variety of plots is really an academic one and does not very much bother the audience.

Thirdly, the verses in which Sanskrit dramas abound are reproduced on stages in different ways in different provinces in India. In some provinces they are simply recited, and in others again, they are, without exception, set to tune.

In recitation or singing of verses of ancient Sanskrit dramas many of course follow its tradition in different parts of the country. We do, however, feel that those verses which have not been marked out as songs by the dramatists themselves should only be recited in order that

the audience may distinguish; between these two categories, *viz.*, verses for recitation and songs.

Fourthly, intonation and pronunciation are different in different provinces.

Really, this is not a big problem at all. Practice makes one perfect. It is not at all difficult to get over these difficulties if one is only willing to do it. All attempts must be made for accuracy in this connection.

Fifthly, the description of Nature in most ancient Sanskrit plays is much too lengthy, and at times, hackneyed.

Here, again, we do stress that the prolonged description of Nature in Sanskrit dramas may profitably be shortened in a modern adaptation of an ancient Sanskrit play. We must, however, remember that Nature plays a very important role in Sanskrit dramas and we should allow its preponderance even in our modern adaptations.

Sixthly, in some dramas, there is not much action and matters move very slowly for modern taste.

As to this, our reply is that ancient Sanskrit dramas are, as a rule, quite lengthy and in our modern adaptations, we can easily choose those portions which would infuse in the whole play a feeling of good dramatic action and of rapid developments of situations.

Seventhly, the question of costume, music, atmosphere, etc., as befitting ancient times is a difficult one.

Certainly, the costumes, etc., should represent those ages in which the respective dramas were composed. Even then, these are bound to vary from province to province as we have never been uniform in India with regard to our dress, etc., at any time.

Last, and though not least, it is, as is natural, quite difficult to get good actors and actresses for Sanskrit dramas, for it is often found that

those who act well cannot speak Sanskrit properly and *vice versa*.

Here also the question is that of perseverance and practice. As a rule, those who volunteer for Sanskrit acting, are dedicated to the cause of Sanskrit Learning and would leave no stones unturned for the sake of their own perfection.

### *Modern Sanskrit Dramas*

Some new problems arise in connection with the staging of modern Sanskrit dramas as well. In this connection, the fundamental point for consideration is how far a modern Sanskrit dramatist should deviate from the rigid rules laid down in Sanskrit rhetorical works.

As to this, our reply is that new scientific discoveries have brought in new developments in technique. A modern dramatist must also cater to suit the tastes of his own time. Nor need he take up the same subject-matters as prescribed in the *Rasasastra*.

Regarding language itself, the use of Prakrit must not be deemed compulsory now-a-days for a modern dramatist. Really in these days of feminine franchise and mass consciousness, no distinction should be made between men and women, nobles and serfs—by putting Sanskrit in the mouth of some and Prakrit in that of others.

It is indeed a matter of great gratification that within a very short span, the staging of Sanskrit dramas has become very popular all over India and this definitely proves that, like English and Vernacular dramas, Sanskrit dramas also may serve the purpose of both enjoyment and instruction even in modern times. The importance of the staging of Sanskrit dramas can hardly be overrated from the point of propagating Sanskrit Learning amongst the masses in particular.



## ELECTIONS IN KERALA—A FACTUAL STUDY

By K. R. RAJAGOPALAN

THE nucleus of the present State of Kerala is composed of the twin States of Travancore and Cochin. Both were princely States with long traditions comprising together an area of 9,144 sq. miles and a population of 9,280 thousand. In 1935, the Maharaja of Cochin had formed a Legislative Council with a majority of elected members and in 1937 a new constitution was introduced by which the "Nation-Building Departments" were assigned to a minister chosen from among the elected representatives of the Council. In Travancore also, there was a representative assembly called the Moolam Sabha. But the main role of these Councils was advisory and the real power was vested with the Diwans appointed by the Maharajas. Both States were fortunate in having a series of able administrators, had not the backwardness usually associated with Indian princely States. The Maharaja of Cochin was the first to hail the merger of princely States. Elections based on adult franchise were held in 1948 in both the states separately.

For the first time, an Interim Constitution Act was promulgated in Travancore by which Pattam Tharu Pillai, leading the Congress Party in the Legislature with 65 out of 96 members, formed the first popular ministry in March 1948.

But this Ministry resigned, following factions within the Congress Party and a new leader Parur T. K. Narayana Pillai was asked to form the Ministry towards October 1948. The two States were merged into the United State of Travancore-Cochin on 27th June 1949 with the Maharaja of Travancore as the Rajpramukh. The same Narayana Pillai ministry continued with two more ministers from Cochin State in the cabinet. At this time, the Congress Party had a strength of 44, Socialists 12, Communists and Allies 32, other parties 9 and Independents 11.

Within 3 years, however, this ministry too resigned and a care-taker ministry led by Kesavan was functioning till March. After the General Elections of 1952, the

Congress party formed a Ministry led by A. J. John. This Ministry continued for nearly 18 months and failing to get a vote of confidence from the Legislature, had to resign in September 1953. The Assembly was also dissolved and fresh elections were arranged by the Central Government.

In February next year, elections took place and the first Praja Socialist Party (P.S.P.) ministry was formed by Pattam Tharu Pillai (who headed the First Congress Ministry in 1948) on the basis of the support from the Congress Party. But this too fell, owing to a vote of no-confidence in February 1955. The same month saw the formation of another Congress Ministry headed by Panampilli Govinda Menon but after only 13 months in office, this ministry in turn, had to make way for President's rule from March 1956.

The reorganisation of States followed and elections to the new Kerala State took place along with elections all over the country in 1957 and the First Communist Ministry was formed (headed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad) in April, 1957. This Ministry was dissolved by the President taking over the Administration in July-August 1959 and the Second Mid-term elections or the fourth election after the merger were held in February 1960. Congress Party then returned with a majority and a Government formed by both the Congress and the P.S.P. members had been installed in office.

The aim of this article is to present an analysis of the results of voting or expression of popular will in the Four Elections of 1952, '54 '57 and '60. The first two were for the erstwhile Travancore and Cochin State only but before the Mid-term elections took place, there had been a good deal of changes in the constituencies following fresh delimitations. Thus these two results too are not strictly comparable. Elections of 1957 and 1960 were for the enlarged state and after another delimitation of constituencies. So of all the Elections, only those of 1957 and 1960 are comparable.

## 1952 Elections

A number of parties contested with a large number of Independents which is characteristic of Indian elections. The important among them were: The Congress, Socialists, the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), Travancore Tamil Nad Congress (T.T.N.C.). The last one was a State-party formed on the eve of elections asking for separate representation on the basis of languages. There was a ban on the Communist Party which was lifted only a few days before the elections and so the members of that party had to stand as Independents mostly. Out of the 12 seats to the Parliament, Congress won six, the R.S.P. and the T.T.N.C. one each and the remaining went to the Independents. There were 47 contestants in all. Polling was quite heavy with an average of 71 per cent. Electoral participation was highest in the Kottayam constituency, (which was a record for the whole country), with more than 80 per cent of voters casting their votes. Congress won 35% of votes, the Socialists 13 per cent, the R.S.P. 6 per cent and other parties and Independents 46 per cent.

For the Assembly which had 108 seats, there were 441 contestants or roughly 4 per seat. Nearly 34 lakhs of valid votes (percentage 70) were polled in the Assembly Constituencies also and the following table gives the details of candidates sent up, votes won, votes polled, etc., along with percentages:

TABLE I.

	Seats		Votes		
	Contest- ed	Won	Per cent	Secured	Per cent
Congress	104	44	40.8	1204364	35.4
R.S.P.	11	6	5.6	118333	3.5
Socialists	70	11	10.2	485194	14.3
T.T.N.C.	14	8	7.4	201118	6.0
Others	242	39	36.0	1389184	40.8
	441	108	100.0	3398193	100.0

Electoral participation was highest (92.6 per cent) in the Bharanikavu Constituency (again, All-India record for Assembly constituencies). It will be seen from the above table that Congress, T.T.N.C. and the R.S.P. have won a larger percentage of seats than votes and for the other two groups—Socialists and others including Independents—it is the converse. There were only four districts, viz., Trivandrum, Quilon, Kottayam and Trichur. Analysing the results districtwise, the Congress has come out successful only in Kottayam securing 14 out of the 20 seats; and fairly good in Trichur securing 13 out of the 27 seats. In the Trivandrum district out of 24 seats, Congress had secured only 3, Socialists bagged 7, T.T.N.C. 6 and the Leftist group 6. In Quilon (the merged Cochin State formed part of this district) out of 36 seats, Congress secured 14 and the Leftist group 17 seats. We look at this from another angle also. A win will be characterised as an 'outright' or a 'majority' win if the winning candidate polls more than 50 per cent of votes cast in that constituency—or alternatively he polls more votes than all his opponents put together. In the other case, the win will be characterised as one by 'split of votes'. For the sake of this analysis only 83 seats have been considered excluding the double-member constituencies, and uncontested returns. For the whole state, 34 have been 'outright' wins and 49 have been 'split of votes' wins. Congress had 10 of the first category and 21 of the second kind. Socialists had 3 each and for the other parties the distribution was—R.S.P. 1, 5, T.T.N.C. 4, 1; others 16, 19. It is clear that the Congress had benefited largely from split of votes securing 68 per cent of its wins by 'split' only. The smaller group of T.T.N.C. had registered 'majority' wins in 4 out of 5 cases showing its strength in those constituencies. The highest votes secured by a winning candidate were in Karthigavally where a Socialist won and in Alleppey where an Independent won, each polling more than 70 per cent of the votes cast in that constituency. The lowest percentage was 24 in Nagercoil

## 1954 Elections

After a fresh drafting of the constituencies, elections in February 1954 were for 117 constituencies and the Rajpramukh had the power to nominate one Anglo-Indian Member to the Legislative Assembly. When another election was held immediately after the first, the percentage of voters increased to 80. The total electorate increased by about 2 lakhs but nearly 5 lakh more votes were polled than in the 1952 elections. The number of contestants was very small, being only 260 for the 117 seats (average 2.2 candidates per seat, compared to 4 in 1952). The number of contesting parties and independents was also smaller—the Congress, T.T.N.C. and the Leftist parties—who had electoral understanding amongst them. The Communist party, for the first time, contested the elections under its own name. All the parties were eager to see that Congress was not elected to power and in as many as 90 constituencies,

the fight was a straight one between the Congress and one of the Leftist parties. There were only two constituencies which had more than three candidates in the field. The Socialist party was fighting this election under its new banner, viz., the Praja-Socialist Party (P.S.P.)—again led by Pattom Thanu Pillai, the veteran. It made an Electoral 'Arrangement' (and not an 'Alliance') with the Leftist parties to avoid multi-cornered fights and hence splitting of the votes. After the Elections, the P.S.P. was able to secure the active support of the Leftist parties in the seats where it was pitted against the Congress—but it had not committed itself in supporting the same group in the Post-election Assembly. But it was widely believed that the P.S.P. would not support any Ministry which might be formed by the Congress, if it failed to secure the majority mandate from the people. The details of seats contested and won, votes secured, with percentages, are given in the table below:—

TABLE II.

Party	Contested	Won	% of seats	Seats		Votes	
				Polled	% of votes	Average No. Per candidature	
Communist	35	23	19.7	641,046	17.0	18,316	
Congress	115	45	38.5	1,762,939	45.0	15,330	
P. S. P.	38	19	16.2	631,622	16.0	16,622	
R. S. P.	12	9	7.7	212,354	5.5	17,686	
T. T. N. C.	16	12	10.2	237,408	6.0	14,838	
Other parties and Independents	44	9	7.7	403,182	10.5	9,163	
Total	260	117	100.0	3,888,551	100.0	14,955	

As in the 1952 Elections T.T.N.C. and R.S.P. and to some extent the Communists also secured a larger percentage of seats than votes. The P.S.P. had the percentage as before and the Congress and the 'others' group won more votes than seats. Comparing the figures with those in Table I, we see that the Congress had been able to secure practically the same number of seats as before—but this out of 117 seats compared to 104 seats in 1952. It has already

been remarked that most of the Congress seats in the previous elections were won by 'split of votes' and in this election (1954), there were only few (27 to be exact) seats which did not have a straight fight. The Congress polled  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lakh more votes. The T.T.N.C. polled almost the same number of votes and the R.S.P. about 1 lakh more votes. The Socialist (P.S.P.) party also polled more votes than before— $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs. Hence the larger number of votes available

through heavier polling appeared to have been shared by the Congress and the P.S.P. mostly. A better indication of the support that each party had, could perhaps be got by taking the average number of votes polled for each party. Working these figures out, we get the figures given in the last column of Table II. These averages show that the Congress and the T.T.N.C. are both at the bottom (excluding the 'others' group). The two leftist parties, the Communist and the R.S.P., concentrated in only those places where they had a good backing and hence secured high averages. The low average of T.T.N.C., which is such a compact group is rather surprising and it may be due to the fact that it was involved in more triangular fights than the others. While the P.S.P., R.S.P. and the Communists had an understanding amongst themselves and against the Congress (and T.T.N.C. too), T.T.N.C. had no such understanding. The P.S.P., as a part, was able to present a better account, mainly by reducing the number of candidates. Congress was able to win only 39 per cent of its contests (compare this figure with the percentages for majority wins in the previous elections, which was 31 per cent). The Leftist parties together won 60 per cent of the votes.

Analysing the results districtwise, we get the following figures :

TABLE III.

## Seats Won By

District	Congress	UFL*	PSP	TTNC	Others
Trivandrum (27)	1	8	8	10	—
Quilon (38)	8	23	7	—	—
Kottayam (23)	15	3	2	2	1
Trichur (29)	21	6	2	—	—

Thus the Congress retained its position in the Kottayam district and gained noticeably in the Trichur district, losing heavily in the Southern Districts of Trivandrum and Quilon. In Trivandrum, the three parties—U.F.L., P.S.P. and T.T.N.C.

\*U.F.L.—United Front of Leftists includes Communists and other pro-Communist candidates.

appeared to be of equal power and in Quilon, U.F.L. led over others.

Thus the picture that emerged from this Mid-term elections was also a nebulous one. The Congress (even taking the T.T.N.C. along with it) got 57 seats, P.S.P. 19 seats and the other Leftists 40 seats with a solitary Independent. It was never expected that T.T.N.C. would make common cause with Congress, and so the position was far from being satisfactory. Soon after the Elections, Pattom Thanu Pillai expressed his support for a U.F.L.-P.S.P. Ministry and was immediately elected almost the leader of the combined group. The T.T.N.C. was a party set up on language considerations and the Leftist parties being more amenable to linguistic provinces than the Congress it supported the Leftist Ministry for its own interest. In spite of the alliance, the Leftist Ministry had a majority (59 out of 117). Moreover the Rajpramukh nominated an Anglo-Indian Congress member. In the political wranglings and bargainings behind the scenes and with a verdict from its Head Quarters the P.S.P. openly repudiated the agreement made with the Leftist groups. Congress was not inclined to form a ministry with the meagre following it had in the Legislature. PSP claimed that it was the only party which could form a clean and good Government—even though it had only 19 seats in a House of 118 and it opined that once it formed the Government, support would come gradually. Congress though not anxious to form a Government, nevertheless wanted 'to avoid President's rule' once again and so it decided to support the P.S.P. Ministry 'without any political commitment'. The Rajpramukh took perhaps the only course possible under the circumstances—even though there were many who questioned this—and asked the P.S.P. to form the Ministry. Thus once again, Pattom Thanu Pillai headed the cabinet with his small following of nineteen and two weeks after the election he was elected the Chief Minister. It was widely acclaimed as a move which had no parallel in the history of Parliament anywhere in the world. This ministry, as has been stated, fell after being in office

only for 11 months, followed by Congress Ministry, which also fell after another 13 months. So, President's Rule had to be introduced once again, two years after the Mid-term Elections.

#### Reorganisation of States

On the 1st November, 1956, most of the States of India were organised on linguistic basis and the present Kerala State was formed by adding the Malabar District and the Kasargod Taluk of South Kanara District from the Madras State excepting the Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, Four Taluks of Trivandrum, and a part of the Shencottah Taluk (predominantly Tamil-speaking areas, where the T.T.N.C. was stronger) were merged with Madras State. Thus for the first time all the Malayalam-speaking peoples were brought under one State. This part of the country has had a cultural and social distinction of its own right through historic times. The density of population is very heavy and the percentage of literacy is also high. The North-Western part is a rich plantation area growing coffee, tea, rubber, pepper, etc., and with the addition of the forest areas of the Madras State, the forest wealth of Kerala has increased.

Consequent on the Reorganisation of States, a further revision has been made in the distribution of constituencies and the New Kerala State sends 18 representatives to the Lok Sabha and has 126 members in its Legislative Assembly.

#### Bye-Elections

Before analysing the other elections, the Bye-Elections that took place between 1952 and 1957 will be briefly reviewed. There was only one Bye-Election to the Lok Sabha from the Meenachil Constituency and the Congress was able to retain its seat. Four Bye-Elections took place for the State Assembly in the following constituencies—Chavara, Chengannur (General and Reserved) and Trichur.

Congress won three of the seats, the lone seat going to the R.S.P., all other parties retaining their seats. Generally speaking polling was higher in the Bye-Elections

#### 1957 Elections—Parliament

All the 18 seats were contested and the parties were—the Communist, the Congress, the Muslim League (ML), the P.S.P. and the R.S.P. and a number of Independents. 58 candidates or a little over 3 contestants per seat were in the contest. The details of votes secured and seats won, with percentages are given below:

TABLE IV

		SEATS	VOTES
Party Contested	Won	%	Polled %
Communist	15	9 50.0	22,67,888 37.5
Congress	17	6 33.3	21,02,887 34.7
M. L.	4	1 5.6	3,51,940 5.8
PSP	8	1 5.6	4,38,459 7.2
RSP	3	— —	3,08,742 5.1
Independents	11	1 5.6	5,80,536 9.7

Thus while for the Congress the two percentages are almost the same, for the Communists, the seat-percentage is much higher. It almost always happens that the party with the majority (or at least, the largest number) of seats in the Legislature will have polled a lesser percentage of votes. The number of independent contestants has been reduced considerably. Out of the 13 whose deposit amount was forfeited, Congress 1, P.S.P. 5 and others 5. No Communist lost his Deposit. In all 63 per cent of 92 lakh voters exercised their franchise. The largest majority secured was by the Communist candidate (108,393) in a three-cornered contest in the general seat of Quilon constituency and the smallest was 1,382 secured by a Congressman in the Tellicherry constituency which was also a three-cornered one. In the Palghat double-member constituency, both the elected candidates belonged to Scheduled Castes, and both had filed their nominations for the Reserved Seat only. The election law provides that in a double-member constituency, when two scheduled caste candidates poll a larger number

of votes than the other, then irrespective of whether their nominations were for the general or reserved seat, they should be declared elected. A number of such cases occurred all over the country during this election wherein both the elected candidates had contested only for the Reserved seat. The matter was taken to the Law Courts also by the contestant candidates for the general seat but the Courts ruled that the procedure was justifiable according to the existing provisions of Electoral Law. The provision still continues on the Statute Book, and we might have many more cases of that type in the ensuing elections also.

#### For the Assembly

More than 58 lakhs of voters participated in the Elections with a percentage of 65.5. The highest figure of 83% was in Karungapally and the lowest of 41.6% was recorded in Kasargod. The table below gives the relevant details of seats and votes for the various parties, one seat (Manjeshwar) was uncontested and so the analysis will be only for 125 seats.

TABLE V

	SEATS			VOTES	
Party	Contested	Won	%	Polled	%
Communist	101	60	48.0	20,59,547	35.3
Congress	124	43	34.4	22,09,251	37.8
M. L.	17	8	6.4	2,70,470	4.6
P.S.P.	64	9	7.2	6,28,261	10.8
R.S.P.	27	—	—	1,88,443	3.2
Independents	55	5	4.0	4,81,605	8.3
Total	388	125	100.0	58,37,577	100.0

Again, the largest single party in the Legislature—the Communists have secured more seats than votes and for the Congress it is just the reverse though the difference is not much.

The Communists have won 60% of their contests and have lost deposits only in 4 cases: for the Congress the percentage was 35 and 4. The full figures of all the parties are given below:

TABLE VI  
Percentage of winning party and  
forfeiture of Deposit

	SEATS			
	Contested	Won	% of Winning party	% of Deposit forfei- ture
Communist	101	60	60	4
Congress	124	43	35	4
M. L.	17	8	47	0
P.S.P.	64	9	14	44
R.S.P.	27	0	0	82
Independents	55	5	9	55

82 per cent of the R.S.P. Party lost their deposits. While in the previous elections they contested for only a dozen of seats, now they have sent up as many as 27 candidates. The P.S.P. also did not fare well. Their position is almost similar to what it was in 1952, when they had 70 contestants in the field. The lesson of 1954 elections (when they sent up only 35 and won 50%) does not seem to have had the desired effect. Thus the record of the P.S.P. is only a little better than the motley group of Independents. Communists have registered a very convincing percentage of success, the Congress lagging far behind. While in 1952 the Congress won 42% of its contests, the percentage went down to 39 in 1954 (45 out of 115) and in 1957 it had further gone down to 35. The Communists who did not contest in 1952 secured 23 out of 35 seats in 1954 (65%); when they had an Electoral understanding with other parties; in 1957, the percentage of wins had been reduced only by 5%.

There were 101 single-member constituencies and 12 double-member constituencies or 24 seats. The Communists won 14 double-member seats, and 46 single-member seats. The figures for Congress were 8 and 35 respectively. Thus the Communists appeared to have won more in double-member areas than in single-member ones. In three constituencies, both the elected members belonged to the scheduled castes alone: thus there were 27 scheduled caste mem-

bers in the Assembly, as against the reserved strength of 24.

The representation of women in the Legislature is good indeed, there being six of them in the two major parties. The only woman member of the Cabinet won a straight fight and in all other cases, the contest was between three or more.

The analysis is carried a step further by examining the nature of wins. There have been only 29 seats in which the contestants were more than three. The number of seats won by each party with majority and without majority (or split of votes) is given below:

TABLE VII

	Without majority	With majority
Communist	28	32
Congress	21	22
M.L.	5	3
P.S.P.	8	1
Independent	2	3
Total	64	61

Thus the Communists have registered a slightly higher proportion of wins by majority than the Congress. The other two minor parties, the M.L. and the P.S.P.—much more so the latter, have won more seats by 'split of votes'. Again out of 23 straight contests (where there were only two candidates contesting), Communists and their supporters won 13 in all, the Congress won 9 only.

We next give a pointer to assess the organisational strength of the contesting parties. Three averages for each party would be computed—(1) A general average vote per candidate of that party, e.g., the 124 Congress contestants in all have polled 22,09,251 votes and so the average would be 17,818. (2) A "Success" average, e.g., the 60 winning Communists have among themselves polled 14,70,136 votes and so the "Success" average for that party comes up to 24,502. (3) Lastly, the 'Failure' average. The votes secured by only the

unsuccessful candidates of that party is divided by the number of losses of that party. The full figures for the four parties are given below:—

TABLE VIII

Three Average No. of votes

	'General' Average	'Success' Average	'Failure' Average
Communist	20,595	24,502	14,735
Congress	17,818	21,398	15,915
M.L.	15,900	17,807	14,224
P.S.P.	9,817	20,912	8,001

Some explanation would be given. So far, in all the analyses of Election, the total votes secured by a party as a whole in the elections has been the main point of consideration for assessing the 'backing' of that party among the electorate. It is submitted for consideration by all concerned that this figure is grossly inadequate for the purpose and usually leads to fallacious reasoning. In a Democracy, it is not enough for a party to have 'some' following in the areas of its operation (as revealed by the total votes it polls) but it must be able to muster such a backing as to win the Election. Usually parties appear to overestimate their strength and send candidates without trying to assess whether they are likely to win or not—perhaps in the fond hope that they might secure a win by the 'splitting of votes'. Also the total votes polled by a party may be 'inflated' unduly by the presence of a few important individuals in the party who would have won the Election on whichever party ticket they contested. Many such instances can be cited in support of it. Voting in India is still largely for the individual (more especially when he is a "big one") than for the party. So, the average vote of the party per candidate will give a better picture than the total votes of that party. Elections are won by the margin of a few thousand votes on the border and so if the party has really good backing among the people, it must be able to poll almost the same number of votes

(on the average) whether its candidates form the Cabinet. On the 5th April 1957, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, a Communist veteran and a member of the Politburo for over 20 years, formed the first Ministry headed by the Communists. It is a fact that the Communists were able to muster only 35% of the voters to vote for them.

From this point of view, the figures for the M.L. alone are pretty close, this is because it has concentrated locally in a few places where there is a large Muslim population, and in other places, it has not ventured to contest. The other extreme is presented by the figures for the P.S.P., where a winning person polls 21,000 votes and a loser has only 8,000 voters behind him. The General average and Success average for the Communists are pretty high—the highest of all parties (more than 3,000 than the next figure in in the table) and even its 'Failure' average is lower only than that of Congress and higher than the others. Thus the success of this party is convincing.

Next we consider the difference between the winning candidates and the next contestant regarding the votes polled. There have been 23 cases where the 'majority' has been more than 10,000 votes and out of these the Communist party has secured 18 seats, Congress 4, the odd seat going to a Communist-supported Independent. Incidentally, this particular Independent (Tellicherry Constituency) has polled the largest percentage of votes—64.20% cast for that election. The next high figure is 63.14% polled by a Congress candidate in the Thodupuzha Constituency.

The picture that emerges out of the foregoing analysis is that the Communist party has quite a strong following in the State and organisationally also it is powerful. The Muslim League too had considerable support in a smaller area. In the P.S.P., the question of only a few individuals matter and as a party it does not have much backing in the State. The number of Independents has been going down at each election and much need not be said about them. The Congress Party appears to be sending candidates in places where it had the least chance of winning.

#### **After the 1957 Elections**

The Communist party being the largest single party in the Assembly was asked to

If elections were held under a more complicated system of Proportional Representation, then only the number of votes cast would assume more importance. This latter system had its enthusiastic supporters in the United Kingdom more than anywhere else in the world and even they have given up this method now. The method is suitable when the number of electors is not unduly large and each of them is politically conscious and discerning in the exercise of his franchise. All these conditions are not satisfactory in our country. But we too have retained the system of Proportional Representation in other restricted elections—such as elections to Legislative Councils, Election of President and Vice-President, etc. Enough material has been presented above to show how to assess the organisational strength of political parties. Considered from this point of view, the Communist Party appeared to be quite a well-knit one. It would be quite pertinent to point out in this connection, that the Congress Party, which holds a very comfortable majority in the Parliament and had formed the Government in almost all the States in the country (after 1957 elections) had been able to secure only 48% of votes cast in the country. None would dream of saying that the Congress Party does not have the backing of a majority of the people.

#### **Bye-Elections**

The only bye-election that took place between 1957 and 1960 came off on 19.5. 1958 in the Devicolum Constituency and there was a marshalling of strength by both the Congress and the Communist parties. Devicolum is one of the few places in Kerala State which has a large Tamil population. (There are even now, parties in Madras which blame the present

Ministry for not insisting that Devicolam and Peermedu should be included in Madras State when the States were re-organised). The State Congress invited a number of Congress leaders of Madras to canvass for them. It was perhaps a strange sight to see the Chief Minister and other Ministers of one State to go and canvass against the constituted Government of a neighbouring State in a bye-election. Both the parties staked a good deal on this fight which was a straight one. Electoral participation was high indeed—72% against 55% in the General Election—and the same Communist candidate won with a comfortable margin of 7,000 votes.

Perhaps this was the pinnacle of popularity for the Communist Party and then the anti-climax started—so much so fourteen months later it was dismissed by a Proclamation of the President. The factors that brought about this state of affairs had been many. But chiefly the following may be mentioned. The 'freedom' given to workers to strike and an 'assurance' that the police would not interfere, corruption in the Communist Party prevailed in all the stages in the Governmental hierarchy. The Education Bill was not very revolutionary, but its provisions were opposed by two very influential sections, namely the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society. A Vimochana Samara Samiti was set up with a view to compelling the State Government to resign and the 82-year old veteran Social Leader Mannath Padmanabhan led this movement. After six weeks of Direct Action, the President's Proclamation followed and the first Communist Ministry relinquished office on 31st July 1959, and Mid-term Elections once again took place.

### Elections of 1960

Election took place in 1.2.1960 throughout the State for the same constituencies as in 1957. The conduct of the election was orderly and satisfactory.

This particular election had many interesting features. This was the first mid-

term election in the country after the re-organisation of States. This was the first time that a non-Congress party Government was dismissed and fresh elections took place even though the ruling party continued to command a majority in the legislature. Till then the voter was required to put the ballot paper in the box containing his candidate's name and symbol. So, each contesting candidate had a separate box. In this election, the voter was required to make a mark against the candidate he wanted to vote for and so there would be only one box per polling booth, for all the candidates together. This was the first time that this 'marking system' of voting was tried for the whole State—even though in many bye-elections this method had been applied. The number of invalid votes in this election had been 89,369 out of 81,93,127 votes polled (roughly 1%). In the last elections, the number of invalid and rejected votes was 47 thousand. This increase was not a significant one. This is the first time in the history of elections in this part of the country that two General Elections have been held for the same constituencies. The electoral participation has been very high indeed as many as 81 lakhs of votes were polled, as against 58 lakhs in the 1957 elections.

The Congress, the P.S.P., and the Muslim League (M.L.) had electoral understanding amongst themselves and contested the elections as a United Front, the candidates themselves retaining their Party symbols and the propaganda was carried on by all the three parties together and the election meetings were addressed by the leaders of all the three parties jointly.

For the 126 seats, the Communists sent 102 candidates and supported 23 other independents. The United Front in all sent 125 candidates. Others in the field included 18 of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (R.S.P.), 14 of the Kerala Socialist Party (K.S.P.), 4 of the Lohia-Socialists, 3 of the Jan Sangh nominees, 2 of the Karnataka Samiti and 21 independents. The average number of contestants per seat was 2.5 as against 3.1 in 1957.

There were 78 straight fights as ported by them and (ii) Congress, M.L. and P.S.P. against 23 on the previous occasion. 58 of these have been won by the United Front and the rest by the Communists. Out of the 42 constituencies in which three candidates contested, the Front won 31 and the Communists 8. Only in 6 cases the number of contestants was 4 and the Front won 5 of the seats. It will thus be seen that the Front has been quite successful in all Constituencies.

Out of 126 seats, 102 are from single-member constituencies and 24 are from double-member ones—with 12 seats reserved for Scheduled Castes. Only 12 scheduled caste candidates have been elected as against 15 in the past election. The Front won 77 of the single-member and 17 of the double-member seats, figures for Communists and the independents were 22 and 7.

The results partywise reveal that the other parties left little impression on the Electorate. All the 14 candidates of the K.S.P., 3 of the Jan Sangh, 3 out of the four Lchia-Socialists and 15 out of the 18 R.S.P. candidates failed to poll one sixth of the votes and so their deposit money was forfeited. As against this, none of the major party candidates lost his deposit money. In the last elections, the results were as follows: the Congress 5, the Communists 4, the P.S.P. 28 and the R.S.P. 22.

It has already been mentioned that 81 lakhs of votes have been polled this time as against 58 lakhs in the 1957 Elections. Out of the extra votes of 23 lakhs, Communists secured 9.2 lakhs; Congress 5.8 lakhs; M.L. 1.3 lakhs; P.S.P. 5.2 lakhs. Thus a large number of the extra votes have been polled by the Communist party which had practically the same number of contestants in the two Elections.

The P.S.P. which polled the lowest number of votes in 1957 occupied almost the first place this time (see table VIII and XII). A better idea could be formed by comparing the total votes polled by the following two groups in the two Elections—(i) Communists and Independents sup-

TABLE IX

	Votes Secured by the Party-groups.		
	1957	1960	Increase
Group (i)	22,51,750	35,50,136	12,98,486
Group (ii)	30,98,982	43,37,248	12,38,266

Since the two groups had sent up the same number of candidates in 1960, the figures in the last column show clearly that the Communists have been able to secure a large number of votes this time.

For purposes of comparison, the percentages of votes and seats secured by the major parties in the two elections are given below:

TABLE X

	Percentages only			
	1957		1960	
	Votes	Seats	Votes	Seats
Communist	35.3	48.0	36.7	20.7
Congress	37.8	34.4	34.5	50.0
M. L.	4.6	6.4	4.9	8.7
P. S. P.	10.8	7.2	14.2	15.9

Thus the larger electoral participation has resulted in higher percentages in the case of the Communists and the P.S.P. only; for the M.L., the figures are almost the same; the Congress has polled a smaller percentage of votes. Again, the largest single party in the Legislature, viz., the Congress has secured a larger percentage of seats. The Congress sent up 124 candidates last time whereas it has sent only 80 this time. Full details are presented below:

TABLE XI

	Number of Seats			
	1957		1960	
	Contested	Won	Contested	Won
Communist	101	60	102	26
Congress	124	43	80	63
M. L.	17	8	12	11
P.S.P.	64	9	33	20

We next have a glance at the average number of votes secured by the major parties. As usual, three averages will be presented—the general average, the success average, and the failure average. The numbers on which each average is based, are given in brackets:

TABLE XII

Average No. of Votes per Candidate

	General	Success	Failure
Communist :			
	29,169 (102)	34,958 (26)	27,189 (76)
Congress :			
	34,891 (80)	36,712 (63)	28,730 (17)
M. L.	33,327 (12)	34,508 (11)	20,339 (1)
P.S.P.	34,728 (33)	35,990 (20)	32,787 (13)

The last two parties may be left out as depending on small numbers. Comparing only the Congress and the Communists, the difference between the two is seen to be about 4,300 in the case of the general average and only about 2,000 in the other two cases. But the difference in the case of the Communist party among the three averages is about 7,700 whereas for the Congress contesting a lesser number of seats, it is 8,000. From this it appears that both these parties are almost equal in their organisational strength, the Congress being slightly more powerful.

Because of the reduction in the number of contestants per seat, there has been an appreciable decrease in the percentage of success by 'split of votes'. In the last Election, there were only 61 cases wherein winning candidate polled more votes than all his opponents put together. This time 107 contests have resulted in 'successes' by absolute majority and out of these 82 have gone in favour of the Front, 24 for the Communists and the Independents with support of the Communists. Out of the 19 'split of votes' successes, the Front has checked 12, while 5 have gone to the other groups.

Lastly, we analyse the 'successes' by taking into account the 'majority' by which the candidate have been elected. The difference between the votes of the suc-

cessful candidate and his next rival is termed the 'majority'. Except in a few cases, contests have generally been won by quite large majorities. There have been 71 cases in which the 'majority' was more than 5,000 votes and out of these 60 have been won by the Front and 10 by the Communists. Only in 19 cases has the winner secured a majority of less than 1,000 votes—out of these the Front got 10 and the Communists 7. Fuller details are given in the following table:

TABLE XIII

Majority	United	Communists	Others
Front			
Less than 100	1	1	1
101—1,000	9	6	1
1,001—5,000	24	12	0
5,001—10,000	25	7	0
Over 10,000	35	3	1

This shows that 'marginal' constituencies are few. The largest majority in a single-member constituency has been 23,647 in Kuthuparamba where the P.S.P. won over a Lohia-Socialist. The smallest is 23 in Tellicherry where a Congress candidate beat down the Ministry of Law in the Communist regime. Among double-member constituencies, in Nileswar the contest has been the keenest—the majorities being 106 and 283 for the two seats. Both have been won by the United Front. In Wynad, both Congress candidates have secured majorities of over 37,000.

103 members of the dissolved Assembly stood for re-election and their party-affiliations and successes are given below:

TABLE XIV

	Stood	Elected
Communist	46	18
Congress	38	35
M. L.	6	6
P.S.P.	9	9
Independent	4	3
	103	71

13 women candidates contested the elections and 7 came out successful—5 belonging to the Front and 2 to the Communist group. In the last election, six women candidates, three from the Congress party and three from the Communist contested; except one Communist candidate, all other five were re-elected.

Thus the success attained by the United Front is quite decisive. But, perhaps, it is mainly due to the fact that it was a 'United' Front. The Communists might have improved their position if they had sent up a lesser number of candidates and concentrated their activities in fewer places. No doubt, as a single party they secured a large number and percentage of votes. But, as has been pointed out earlier, what counts is the winning of seats and not amassing of votes.

The important dates and events in the political history of Kerala and the neighbouring States are given below:

24-3-1948—Interim Constitution Act passed by which Pattom Thanan Pillai formed the first **Congress** Ministry in the Travancore State (1).

19-9-1948—General Elections based on Adult Franchise took place in Cochin.

20-10-1948—Parur T. M. Narayana Pillai was elected leader of the Travancore State Congress in place of Pattom Thanan Pillai who resigned. Narayana Pillai formed the new Ministry (2).

27-6-1949—The merger of the two States into the United State of Travancore and Cochin with the Maharaja of Travancore as the Rajpramukh. The same Chief Minister continues to head the Cabinet.

10-2-1952—The Congress Ministry resigns and a care-taker Government is formed by Kesavan (3).

11-3-1952—Another Congress leader A. J. John forms the Congress Ministry (4).

23-9-1953—Motion for vote of confidence in the Ministry fails and the Assembly is dissolved from 24-9-1953.

15-12-1953—Central Government announces its decision to hold Mid-term Elections before 1st March, 1954.

3-2-1954—Travancore-Cochin Ministry resigns.

15-2-1954—Mid-term Elections begin in Kerala.

16-3-1954—First P. S. P. Ministry formed with Pattom Thanan Pillai as Chief Minister on the strength of the support promised by the Congress (5).

12-12-1954—Congress decides to withdraw support and co-operation to the P.S.P. Ministry.

8-2-1955—The fall of the P.S.P. Ministry following a vote of No Confidence.

14-2-1955—New Five-men **Congress** Ministry headed by Panampalli Govinda Menon installed (6).

11-3-1956—Congress Ministry resigns.

24-3-1956—President's rule proclaimed (7). Dec., 1956-Jan., 1957—General Elections.

5-4-1957—First **Communist** Ministry formed by E. M. S. Namboodiripad (8).

12-6-1959—Direct Action by Vimochana Samara Samiti led by Mannath Padmanabhan.

31-7-1959—President's Proclamation dissolving the Communist Ministry and introducing President's rule for the second time (9).

1-2-1960—Fourth Elections to the State Assembly—2nd Mid-term Elections.



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

INDIA'S DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE EAST : By B. A. Saletoe. The Popular Book Depot, Bombay. 1960. Pp. 524 and 4 plates. Rs. 30.00.

This scholarly monograph is a complement of the author's earlier volume entitled *India's Diplomatic Relations with the West* (1958). The prefatory part (Introduction, Chs. I-II) briefly deals with such topics as Chinese historiography and an outline of Chinese history and chronology, the beginnings of contact between India and China, and a sketch of the political history of India from the downfall of the Maurya Empire to the 13th century. The main portion of the work gives an exhaustive and critical account of the exchange of diplomatic missions by the rulers and of visits by pious Buddhists between India and China down to the 13th century, references being made to the occasional exchange of missions between India and other Eastern lands during the same period. Accordingly, the subject matter is distributed between two chapters, Ch. III ("Early Embassies . . . A.D. 600") and Ch. IV ("Later Embassies A.D. 600-A.D. 1300"). The concluding chapter, which is the most original, is devoted to a detailed study of Indian diplomatic etiquette (based chiefly on an extract from Bana's *Harshacharita*) and its comparisons and contrasts with its Chinese counterpart. Of the three valuable Appendices, Appendix A contains a chronological account of the visits of Indian Buddhist missionaries to China and Chinese Buddhist pilgrims to India between the 7th and 11th centuries A.D., while Appendix C contains a synchronistic table of 77 diplomatic missions between India and China between the 1st century B.C. and the 13th century A.D. A good Index brings this useful work to a close.

It is not possible for us to agree on all French Indo-China). The author has utilized

points with the author, as when he traces back the beginnings of contact between India and China to a time before the 4th century B.C. We are again not very happy over the title of the work, although the author is repeatedly at pains to explain that the exchange of visits between pious Indian and Chinese Buddhists (whom he describes again and again as "pilgrim-ambassadors") had the effect of diplomatic missions. We are again unable to account for the discrepancy between the words of the Preface announcing the beginning of the work from c. 300 A.D. and its contents tracing back its history to the 1st century B.C. We have however nothing but high praise for the author's immense industry and learning, for the independence with which he evaluates current authoritative views on many points, and for his skill in presenting his arguments and conclusions in a clear-cut style.

Upendra Nath Ghoshal

A HISTORY OF CAMBODIA : By Dr. Manomohan Ghosh, M.A., Ph.D. Published by J. K. Gupta, Saigon, Vietnam (1960).

Within 300 pages the veteran translator of Bharata's *Natya Sastra*, Prof. Ghosh (now on deputation in Cambodia) has given a continuous history—political and cultural of Cambodia and her neighbours like Laos, Annam (ancient Champa) and Siam (Thailand). All of them were colonized by the Hindus (2000 years ago); and inscriptions both in Sanskrit and local dialects have been found and published. These have been revised and newly interpreted by Dr. Ghosh who is an expert in Pali Prakrit and Sanskrit. So, we recommend his new book to all interested in the history of Greater India, extending from Burma, Malaya and Indonesia to Champa and Camboj (former

the earlier works—mostly of French scholars—like Barth Finot and Coedes—and also recent studies of Indian savants like Prof. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. B. R. Chatterjee and American publications like **—The Ancient Khmer Empire** by L. P. Briggs, 1951 and **South-East Asia in Perspective** by J. V. King (1956). So, Dr. Ghosh's book is quite up-to-date and scholarly. Always he has given full narrative of Cambodian political history referring to Sanskrit and Khmer inscriptions; at the same time he has discussed the cultural and other conditions. So his book (although disfigured by printing mistakes which should be corrected in the next edition) is very useful and readable to general readers. He is the first to give the inner history of the "colonialist" intrigues of French officials which often remind us of the British Residents and our Indian Native States.

Art and Architecture of the world-famous temples of Angkor and other groups have been ably described and partly illustrated.

We recommend Dr. Ghosh's **History of Cambodia** to the college and university libraries of India.

Kalidas Nag

**OUR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS : THEIR NATURE AND EXTENT.** (As Judicially Determined) : By D. N. Banerjee, Published by The World Press Private Ltd., 87, College Street, Calcutta-12; Pp. 483; Price Rs. 25/- or 37s. 6d. net.

The major part of the material published in this book, under review, has appeared in print in this and other journals, and has been duly acknowledged by the author in foot-notes in appropriate places. It gives in an analytical form the nature and extent of our Fundamental Rights, as judicially interpreted. Its value is considerably enhanced by referring, side by side, to many a case-law of U.K. and the U.S.A. on a particular point or aspect of a question with copious reference to such authorities on constitutional law as Dicey, Bryce, Keith, Kent Willoughby and others. Chapter I, as introductory, deals with the preamble to the Constitution of India. It is as illuminative as it affords food for study and reflection. Such discourses on Nationalism, Democracy, Republic etcetera have an interest all their own. The reader is served well in having them all together in a nutshell.

It is one of the fundamentals of our Indian Constitution that the Judiciary is vested with

absolute power to interpret its Articles in order to apply them to the facts of the case before it. The essence of that system is that the highest executive authority of the land is bound by and must obey that interpretation. Captain Nanavati's case, by the way, is an illustration in point.

The author is quite happy in emphasizing that the expression Democracy has been used in the Indian Constitution not so much in its political sense as in its social, economic and its spiritual sense. In other words, the entire purpose is to secure to all the citizens of India without any qualification whatsoever.

- (1) Justice, social, economic and political ;
- (2) Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship ;
- (3) Equality of status and of opportunity ;
- (4) And to promote among them fraternity assuring the dignity of individual and the unity of the Nation.

In enunciating the above, the author is well within his rights to say that Democracy in the political sphere has really no meaning for the common man, unless it is accompanied by Democracy in the social, economic and the spiritual sphere; and to justify his view-point by quoting Tagore to say that it is idle to 'build up a political miracle of freedom upon the quick sand of social slavery'. I am also fully at one with those who believe that caste is the most blighting of all human institutions. It is inhuman, because of the sense of physical repulsion it carries; it is an indelible blot on what is even an apology of civilization and needs being swept clean without a moment's equivocation. But then I equally believe—and it needs being as much emphasized in a political discussion—that if political democracy is worked out in its true spirit and not in vote-catching as its be-all and end-all, it has vast potentials to negotiate the handicaps arising out of social and economic inequality. As regards economic equality, if it means a progressive liquidation of great inequalities it is all right, but it must be clearly understood that equality is absolutely out of the question, however much we wax eloquent over it. At the same time, it is as absolute that without a due toning up of the economic level from the bottom the political power must be in the pocket of the privileged few.

The author is to be fully complimented for this well-digested, painstaking study. It is a rich storehouse for those who should feel any interest in seeing how the Constitution of India is being judicially determined and worked out. Its manner of presentation makes it an eminently readable book.

Joges C. Bose

A TRACT ON MONEY : By Prof. Rabindra Nath Mitra and Prof. Himansu Roy. Published by The World Press Private Ltd., Calcutta-12. Pages 256. Price Rs. 8.50.

This is the second revised edition of the book which first appeared in 1958 and was reviewed in these columns in October of the same year. This is an attempt to explain the essence of monetary theories. The authors have covered a wide field and have discussed the most modern views and contributions on different theories.

The subject has been discussed in seventeen chapters, viz., Money, Value of Money, Index Numbers, Quantity theory of money, Saving and Investment, Multiplier and Acceleration theories, Theory of interest and money, Theory of Inflation, Monetary standard, Gold standard, Exchange Rates and Paper Standard, Exchange Control, Business cycle, International Monetary Fund, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Development Association, Banking, Monetary Objectives and Underdeveloped Economy, Money and Banking.

In these days of Planned Economy and Five-Year Plans, the Third of which begins next year, even a layman has to know something of industries, money and banking because economy, prices and inflation touch the rich and the poor alike. The simple language of the book and avoidance of technicalities, will help even lay readers to understand some of the intricate problems of the day if he goes through the pages of the book under review.

The present edition incorporates a lot of new materials and each chapter has been dealt with in greater details.

We are confident that the interested readers among the public, will welcome this volume which it fully deserves.

A. B. Dutta

THE TRANSFER OF POWER IN INDIA : By V. P. Menon : Orient Longmans : Calcutta. Pp. 543. Price Rs. 25/-.

We have already reviewed the author's book *The Story of Integration of The Indian States* in these columns. This is his second book equally important as the first one. The former book may be treated as corollary to the present one. It is an important publication and, as the name indicates, the important events leading to the transfer of power have been very ably narrated in this volume.

The book under review has been divided into twenty chapters and appendices, no less than twelve, have been added to it explanatory to the

main chapters. The first two chapters of the book, e.g., (i) The goal of British policy and (ii) All-India Federation—A lost Ideal deal with briefly the historical background of our national endeavours for the attainment of freedom. In spite of a few discrepancies and mistakes the reader will find in them very useful material for preparing his mind for the later events. During the Second World War situation rapidly changed in India and abroad. The freedom-struggle launched by the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi made it critical for the allies to prosecute war successfully in the East. Cripps Mission came to India and went without any appreciable effect. As the war proceeded, grave disasters fell on the people of India, particularly Bengal. The war came to an end early in 1945, but with discontented India the hope of reconstruction in Britain and elsewhere was remote. The result was the Cabinet Mission. These important events have been narrated in these chapters : War and the Deadlock ; The August Offer and After ; The Cripps Mission; The Stalemate Continues; A New Approach; The Simla Conference ; The General Election ; The Cabinet Mission I ; The Cabinet Mission II.

As constitutional Adviser to the Government of India since early forties the author was intimately connected with the constitutional developments of this period. How the Cabinet Mission proposals were first welcomed and after some time were relegated to the background and how some important events and incidents changed the whole outlook of both the Congress and the Muslim League leaders with the inevitable result of transfer of power on the basis of division of India have been faithfully recorded, of course, with some liking of the author this way or that in the following chapters : The Interim Government I; The Interim Government II; The Constituent Assembly ; The Evolution of a Plan; Acceptance of the Plan; The Implementation of the Plan; The Birth of two Dominions. A perusal of these chapters will bring to light many things that were not possible for us to know from any other quarter. From this point of view the importance of the publication cannot be over-estimated. The transfer of power was stipulated on two main conditions, e.g., (i) Dominion status and (ii) Division of India. The nationalist leaders, whether of the Congress, League or Sikh brand had to bind themselves on these two fundamental conditions. And the result was the creation of two dominions—India and Pakistan. The last two chapters, e.g., The Aftermath of Partition and Conclusion are not at all pleasant reading.

because the communal frenzy which was sought sheela,—the five principles of conduct, as to be allayed by partition ran rampant in both laid down by the Buddha, of course, in the dominions.

In the appendices the author gives us relevant documents, statements and the Independence Act, 1947, along with other materials which will be very much useful not only to the reader of the book but to the future scholars as well. Since the transfer of power there have appeared a good many publications on our Independence struggle but this book will surpass them all in importance so far as the story of the transfer of power is concerned. We welcome this publication as we have done the author's other book.

Jogesh Chandra Bagal.

### HINDI

PUSHPANAGAR : By "Aadarsh", (Aradhana Prakashan, 64/44, Gola Dinanath, Varanasi, U.P. 1958. pp. 231. Price Rs. 6.

The well-known poet has this time presented to the readers an epic in free verse. Among the chief characteristics of an epic, it is usually said, two are—"grand matter and grand manner." The subject matter of the present work is certainly grand; it is the plea that only in observing pancha-

sheela,—the five principles of conduct, as laid down by the Buddha, of course, in the changed context of the modern age there is hope for the people to achieve true and lasting peace individually as well as collectively. But as regards the "manner" of the epic, it is rather doubtful if it is fully in keeping with the canons of an epic. However, the poet's style of fantasy and fluency of style are commendable.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

TWO YEARS IN CEYLON : Translated by Prof. Nagnidas N. Parekh, Published by Gujarat Sabha, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 86. Price Re. 1.00.

Prof. Padmanabh Jaini, M.A., of the Banaras University, went to Ceylon at the instance of scholars of Pali, like Pandit Sukhlalji and others and stayed there for two years with the eye of an observant learner. The life of the people of Ceylon, the belief in and practice of the Buddha Cult and many other interesting things have been presented in Hindi by Prof. Jaini, which Prof. Parekh has ably translated into Gujarati.

K. M. J.

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*Introduction : Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Jacket Design : Acharya Nandalal Bose*

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# Indian Periodicals

## Population of India in 1600 A.D.

In an article, published in **Indian Population Bulletin No. 1**, April, 1960, Sri Jatindra Mohan Datta has made an attempt to estimate the population of India in 1600 A.D. W. H. Moreland was the first man to estimate such population and he found it to be 100 million. He has been criticised on the ground that the factual basis of his estimate is slender. Sri J. M. Datta has, after examining various possibilities independently, found it to be 110 million. He has examined at length the growth of land revenue in Bengal since 1582, has shown that population growth is proportional to increase in land revenue and he has found Bengal's population in 1582 to be 22 million. We give below his reasonings and facts about Bengal and the rate of growth as well:

Todar Mall, the great Dewan of Akbar, settled the land-revenue of khalsa lands, i.e., lands not held in jaigir, of Bengal in 1582 at Rs. 63.44 lakhs. Sultan Shuja, son of Shah Jahan, who was for several years Subahdar of Bengal, increased it by

Rs. 9.87 lakhs in the hey-day of Mughal rule (1658). Assuming that this increase was solely due to increase in cultivation of additional lands (an assumption for which there are good historical reasons) and assuming further that this increase was due to the growth of population, the rate of increase of population may be estimated thus :

$$\text{Log } 7331 = 3.865,1632$$

$$\text{Log } 6344 = 3.802,3632$$

$$\text{Difference in 76 years} \quad 0.062,8000$$

$$\therefore \text{Difference in 1 year} \quad 0.000,8263$$

This means an increase of 1.921 per cent per decade.

The next Mughal settlement was made by Jaffar Khan (Murshid Kuli Khan) 64 years later in 1722.

Land revenue of Khalsa land, including fresh annexations, according to Sultan Sujah's settlement

Rs. 87.67 lakhs

Increase in 64 years

Rs. 11.72 lakhs

---

Rs. 99.39 lakhs



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But Murshid Kuli Khan's assessment was somewhat arbitrary, and not strictly proportional to the increase in raiyati assets of the zamindars, and thus not strictly proportional to increase in cultivation. For these reasons Murshid Kuli Khan's son-in-law and successor to the Nawab Nazimi of Bengal reduced the total assessment six years later in 1728. The decrease in assessment works out to 0.392 per cent. Applying this correction to Murshid Kuli Khan's total of Rs. 99.39 lakhs for khalsa lands, the total is reduced to Rs. 99.00 lakhs in 1728.

Let us take this increase of Rs. 18.33 lakhs to be solely due to increase in cultivation, on account of increase in population between 1658 and 1728—a period of 70 years.

Log 9900 = 3.995,6352
Log 8767 = 3.942,8510
Difference in 70 years      0.252,7842
... Difference in 1 year      .000,7541

This means an increase of 1.751 per cent per decade. The previous growth of population appears to have slowed down.

The population in Bengal has thus varied for two centuries.

1582	1000
1601	1036.8
1658	1155.6
1728	1305.9
1771	{ 1306 before Famine 871 after Famine

The population which was 1037 in 1601 was reduced to 871 after the Great Famine.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Schopenhauer Died a Hundred Years Ago

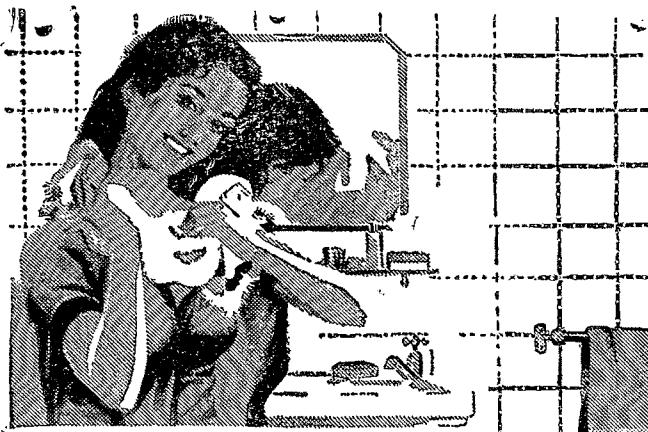
The German Philosopher, Arthur Schopenhauer, whose life's work revolutionized the thought of his own and of the next generation of philosophers, died in Frankfurt one hundred years ago. A short biographical sketch of this great Savant published in the *German News Weekly* is reproduced here:

Arthur Schopenhauer was born in 1788. At the age of fifteen he accompanied his father, a wealthy merchant in Danzig, on a long trip through the Netherlands, Belgium, England, France, Switzerland, and Austria; it was undertaken for the purpose of broadening the boy's education. After the untimely death of his father, Arthur Schopenhauer became a student at Goettingen University. He took his doctorate at Jena, where he associated himself with Goethe in nearby Weimar. At the University of Berlin he established himself as a teacher of philosophy. But the last

thirty years of his life were spent in Frankfurt as a private scholar.

A gaunt, inveterate bachelor, he hated "the womenfolk," and carried on a life-long battle with the officially installed academic philosophers—a battle in which he was generally victorious, if only because of his grim and sarcastic sense of humour.

Schopenhauer considered himself pupil of the great Koenigsberg philosopher Immanuel Kant, whose theories he thought out to their radical conclusions. Schopenhauer laid down his fundamental theory in a volume entitled "Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung" (The World as Will and Idea). This title alone indicates his entire philosophy. In this work his definition of the world is that it is a dream world, as it were. He finds the truth of things in will that is unaffected by conscious motive. He sees in the will and the passions the determinants of intellectual life, and in character and temper the source of theories and beliefs.



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# THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1960



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WHOLE NO. 648

## NOTES

### India's Foreign Policy

In the recent Foreign Policy debate in the Lok Sabha, which ended on Nov. 24, it was apparent that the more thoughtful members—who number only a few—were not only getting doubtful about Pandit Nehru's omniscience in matters pertaining to Foreign Affairs but were also getting restive about the arrangements regarding the defence of India's northern borders against aggression by a ruthless and power-drunk neighbour. Even a seasoned Congress stalwart like Dr. Ram Subhag Singh was critical of the Government's neglect of the vital issues facing the country, like the border dispute with China, and devoting its attention on Disarmament and other world problems. He wanted that retaliatory restrictions be imposed on Chinese trade representatives in India, which was refused by Pandit Nehru. He also wanted our Government to take up the cause of the Tibetan people.

But the debate was really raised on a higher level by Acharya Kripalani, who is now an asset to the House after being freed from party trammels. He described China as "our arrogant and power-intoxicated Communist neighbour" and plainly stated that China did not believe in peaceful co-existence, however much she might profess her faith in Panch-Sheel outwardly. He said:

"China believes in the inevitability of war with all nations which are not Communists. Ever Russia is charged with being Rightist or what is called revisionist, because she believes in co-existence. China's appetite has been growing on what she has been allowed to swallow. We have to be careful of our enemies inside and outside India if we value our freedom and our way of life."

He said, "it is no use minimizing the character of Chinese aggression against India whereby we have lost as many square miles as make up a small kingdom in Europe."

As the latest White Paper pointed out, Acharya Kripalani said, "the recent Chinese action on India's borders is a serious matter which may finally lead to very unfortunate consequences for the two countries and the world. However, our Prime Minister calls these unfriendly acts, merely petty and minor ones which have nothing to do with the wider question of India's relations with China. . . . Small things are not small when they are symbolic of what has been done before and what is likely to be done later. Small acts of aggression are not small when they show clearly the intention of the aggressor."

"I am afraid, as in the past so also now, our Prime Minister's utterances about Chinese aggression have not only been taken advantage

of by our enemies inside and outside the country but they have also put our friends in confusion."

Dealing with the Prime Minister's remarks that not a blade of grass grew and nobody lived in the areas occupied by China in Ladakh, Acharya Kripalani said that while he was in the USA recently people asked him why India was bothered about Chinese occupation of areas where not a blade of grass grew.

Acharya Kripalani said that he could not give an adequate reply but asked his questioner what would be the attitude of the USA if the Soviet Union occupied parts of Alaska which was covered with snow and where not a blade of grass grew. The Americans had no reply to this.

He regretted that the Prime Minister described in the U.N. General Assembly, "the invasion of India by China not even as aggression, not even as conflict, but only as a theoretical controversy" and added, "This has been done after the warning we got last April from Mr. Chou En-lai when he reached Kathmandu from Delhi that in his talks with Mr. Nehru, the latter had never mentioned the word 'aggression'. As soon as Mr. Chou En-lai turned this back, Mr. Nehru had accused China of aggression."

"To minimize evil is to excuse it and partly to justify it," Acharya Kripalani said, adding "apart from what we have lost, it had a demoralizing effect on Sikkim, Bhutan and other Himalayan regions. The pro-Chinese propaganda by the Communists in these areas would have no effect if our policy and its execution had shown enough determination to hold what is rightly our own."

Pandit Nehru, as usual, lost his patience, and was not very successful in defending the Government policy—which was, and still is confused and confusing, despite all said to the contrary by our Heads of the Union. Mr. Krishna Menon took upon himself the task of a categorical reply to all these criticisms. His defence was strong and lucid in expression, but on a critical examination, it seems to be mainly based on assumptions that might or might not stand, under the impact of circumstances now prevailing in World-politics.

Pandit Nehru and Mr. Krishna Menon can really be likened to two professors who are both propounding profound academic theories, based

on pure idealism in an atmosphere intensely charged with the *Real-Politiks* of the Cold War. For example, Mr. Krishna Menon's assumption, that Portugal has been *isolated* in the U.N. and *recognized as a Colonial Power* by the U.N., even if theoretically correct may not be conducive of any concrete or effective results. South Africa has been isolated in the U.N. to a far greater degree, on the questions of racial inequality in the Apartheid laws and Colonialism in its refusal to release South-West Africa. No concrete results have followed even though U.N. resolutions, etc., were passed quite a while ago. In the matter of Disarmament, we must confess that we are unable to even imagine how the rosy dreams of Disarmageddon could mitigate the cold evils of Chinese aggression, even though India might have helped in changing Disarmament from "one of the more important items" to one of "total concern to the world peace." We fail to see what would stop an aggressive neighbour from making inroads into the coveted territories of a neighbour who is unable to see hard and cold facts that bang against his nose—drawing blood and humiliation—because of being obsessed with theoretical considerations. We still remember what happened in China in the years between 1932 and 1938, while Japanese aggression was being condemned by the majority vote in the now defunct League of Nations.

Kautilya,—who is supposed to be Chanakya, the mentor and adviser of Chandragupta Maurya, the first puissant King of Kings in India—wrote in his *Arthashastra* that *Arthashastra* was above all the Vedas and the other Sastras. He very clearly demonstrated how this Science of State-craft ruled the destinies of man and was, therefore, of supreme importance to all mankind. It was because of this teaching that India was strong and could bear up against all invaders, from the Fourth Century before Christ till the end of the Ninth Century of the present era.

A great Sanskrit scholar, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Jogendranath Tarkabhusan of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, expounded in his treatise on *Bharatiya Rastraneeti* (Indian Political Science) that it could be proved that until the end of the Ninth Century A.D. Political Science was placed in the highest position, in the education of Princes, and no Minister of State could gain in rank unless he was fully equipped in respect of that. After the Ninth Century the

Priests and soothsayers prevailed in the counsels of Kings and Princes, with their Shibboleths and rituals, thereby displacing the *Arthashastra*—which propounded state-craft and statesmanship in the terms of hard realities—from its place of supreme honour. Over a thousand years of slavery began from those days, when Heads of States refused to view realities for considerations that were not only abstract and ethereal but in effect as lethal as poison gas. It seems obsessions persist even though the World may have changed, where we are all concerned.

It is perhaps, this cloud of obsessions and inhibitions, which obstructs the vision of even our highest executives, that makes it so difficult for those who are in charge of our Foreign Affairs and the Defence of India, to understand the real implications of unfriendly moves by our neighbours. And undoubtedly that is the reason why the utterances and actions of our great ones seem so puzzling and haphazard to the rest of the World.

It is all very well for Pandit Nehru to warn the country to be prepared and ready for eventualities. Does he not understand that the morale of the people is perhaps at an all time low, does he not realise that moral values—out of which come patriotism and dedication, the mainstay of all truly courageous persons—have been nearly wiped out due to the unchecked prevalence of black markets and corruption—which latter has penetrated to the highest places—that has gnawed into the very vitals of the Nation?

What can the finest army in the world do, unless it has the masses of the nation solidly behind it? Pandit Nehru stated in the Rajya Sabha on Nov. 28, that he did not think that there was any noticeable change in the attitude of the Chinese in regard to the border, in view of the official talks that have been in progress at Rangoon. Is that at all surprising?

As for our Mr. Krishna Menon, he is perhaps the superlative in optimism. He stated in Bombay on Nov. 27, that the liberation of Goa was easier to achieve by “pulling down” the whole of “the Portuguese Empire.” This was being done at the U.N., according to him. Does he really think that pulling down the Portuguese Empire is that easy? If so then he should tell the people how it is going to crumble and when?

We are no prophets ourselves and we have little faith in prophecies that have neither any

time limit set, nor any clear indication as to how the events will materialize.

### The Congo Incident

There has been an outburst of indignation in the Lok Sabha on November 24, over the news of the beating up of Indian officers by the Congolese troops at Leopoldville. The Government was accused of lack of farsight and effectiveness in dealing with the Congo situation. The Prime Minister himself joined the House in expressing his feelings of indignation and concern. He said that he had forebodings that the U.N. structure was breaking up and mob rule of the Congolese troops was spreading, which was a scandalous state of affairs. What we would like to know, is what else could be expected in Congo, in view of what has happened before.

### The Tangle in South-East Asia

For some months now the region known as “South-East Asia” in World politics, has been experiencing troubles which indicate that Communist China’s attempts at expanding her sphere of influence—if not domination—towards the Indian Ocean are in the active state, though there is no indication of a major eruption of expansionism. In Laos, there is a complicated three-cornered struggle for power. The parties or factions involved are known to the outside world by the names of their leaders, as the political implications of the struggle are so involved that no clear definition can be found, since they range from the supposed Rightist supporters of the King to the clearly Communist-trained and indoctrinated guerrillas of Pathet Lao.

Laos is a country which was a part of the former French Indo-Chinese states. It is bounded on the North by Chinese territory, on the East by Vietnam, on the South by Cambodia and the West by Thailand. Its estimated area is (approximate) 89,000 sq. miles and the estimated population (1956) 30,00,000. It became a French Protectorate in 1893, after the French and the British took away large slices of Siamese (Thai) territories to be assimilated into French Indo-China and Burma (Shan states). The French incorporated it into the Indo-Chinese Union in 1899. After the nationalistic movement gained ground

during the last war, the King promulgated a Constitution (11th May, 1947) providing for a constitutional monarchy under the Luang Prabang dynasty, over the area of the two former kingdoms of Luang Prabang and Vientiane.

Laos became an independent Sovereign State, by a treaty with France in July, 1949. It became completely free after the cease-fire agreements were signed with France in Geneva on July 21, 1954, and it joined the U.N. in December 1955. The King is Somdet Prachao Sisavang Vong and the present capital is Vientiane.

The former pro-Western Ministry of Premier Phoui Sananikone, was overthrown by the present neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma last summer and the present Premier has been seeking negotiations with the Communist Guerrillas in the North. There were reports of large scale Communist terrorist activities in the northern provinces bordering North Vietnam in July and August, 1959, and there was very considerable political unrest when the former Premier failed to stabilize the situation, after neutral reporters gave a statement which was at variance with the reports of infiltration and invasion by Communist forces.

But even after the neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma's Government started these negotiations with the Communist Guerrillas, the disturbed condition continued and then the anti-Communist forces came into action, resulting into the present highly confused three-cornered struggle. The parties involved in the struggle are (a) The neutralist Government under Premier Souvanna Phouma with its headquarters at Vientiane in Central Laos. (b) The forces led by General Phoumi Nosavan, who was the Defence Minister in the deposed regime. The General's stronghold is in the area around Savannakhet in South Laos. (c) The forces of the Communist Pathet Lao groups, whose Guerrilla forces are said to have been trained and armed by Chinese and North Vietnamese Communists.

Laos, which has been receiving 40,000,000 dollars annually in U.S. aid for some years now, is regarded as a key out-post by the West, in its defences against Communist infiltration and penetration of the South-East Asian "democracies" of South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Thailand. The latest news that emanated from Radio Vientiane (on Nov. 18), of Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma having agreed to admit pro-

Communist Pathet-Lao representatives into his Government and to accept aid from Communist China and North-Vietnam, would be considered therefore as being disturbing by the Western Powers.

The other disturbed area is South-Vietnam, which consists of the 30 provinces, South of the 17th parallel (N. Latitude), with an approximate area of 65,000 sq. miles and an estimated population of 12,000,000. It is bounded on the North by the North Vietnam Government under Ho-Chi-Minh, on the South and the East by the South China Sea and the West by Cambodia and Laos. The seat of the Government is at Saigon.

Vietnam is one of the three former French Indo-Chinese Associated States, and consists of the former French "Protectorates" of Tonkin and Annam and the French Colony of Cochin-China. It was under the French from 1889. It was occupied by Japan in 1940 and during the occupation nationalist forces were formed in the shape of a number of groups which formed the Viet Minh (Independence) League, headed by Ho-Chi-Minh. The Viet Minh forced out the puppet Emperor Bao Dai of Annam. And then followed a long War, 1945-54, with a French Expeditionary force. France suffered heavy losses, in men, prestige and money (5,000,000,000 dollars, of which 2,000 millions were misused U.S. aid) and the U.S.A. did not show any political knowledge of Asiatic conditions either. Indeed it might be said that the U.S. was "played for a fool" by the French with the aid of some U.S. diplomats, who had neither political acumen nor any knowledge of Asiatic peoples.

A cease-fire was signed at Geneva in July, 21, 1954, after which the area was split between two Governments, the Communist regime under Ho-Chi-Minh in North-Vietnam and the Republic of Vietnam, also known as South-Vietnam, under Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, who later proclaimed South-Vietnam as a republic, ousted Bao Dai from his position as the Chief of State and became the President of the new Republic of Vietnam. South Vietnam is receiving U.S. aid to the tune of 180,000,000 dollars currently.

But Ngo Dinh Diem has practically established an authoritarian regime as the following extracts from the *New York Times* of Nov. 13, show.

"South-Vietnam's position has been precarious ever since France yielded North-Vietnam to

the Communists in the 1954 truce which ended the Indo-China fighting. The United States has been giving the country considerable military aid—currently about \$180,000,000 a year—in an effort to strengthen it against communism. But both the North-Vietnamese and Chinese Communists have exerted strong pressure against South-Vietnam. Communists have infiltrated the country and terrorized South-Vietnamese villages. South-Vietnam's fall to the Communists would almost surely set-off a chain reaction that would undermine the non-Communist regimes in neighboring Laos, Cambodia and Thailand.

On the ground that the Communist threat required it, South-Vietnamese President Ngo Dinh Diem has established a strongman regime. He has made the National Assembly a rubber stamp, interfere with elections and the press, and restricted anti-Communist opposition parties.

Six months ago a group of anti-Communist leaders, including ten former Cabinet ministers, drew up a manifesto charging that the President's policies had "only oppressed the people, not protected them from Communists." United States officials in Saigon privately urged President Ngo Dinh Diem to liberalize his policies.

Before dawn of 11th November, the opposition to the President broke out in armed revolt. Three thousand paratroopers led by Col. Nguyen Chanh Thi seized key points in Saigon and laid siege to the Presidential palace. The rebels said their aim was to end the "totalitarian" methods of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime and strengthen the country in its fight against communism.

For nearly twenty-four hours the rebels held control of most of the capital while the President entered into negotiations with them. But Ngo Dinh Diem evidently was only stalling for time. Early next day, troops loyal to him entered the capital and routed the rebels. Scores were killed or wounded, including a number of civilian bystanders. At the week-end President Ngo Dinh Diem seemed to have reestablished control and Col. Nguyen Chanh Thi was reported to have been captured.

### Algeria

At the beginning of November, President de Gaulle again seemed to be determined to move on towards a solution of the Algerian problem

on his own. He declared that "an Algerian republic was inevitable" and made a statement that he was going to advance the solution of the Knotty Algerian question to a decision by himself. He indicated that a unilateral ceasefire might be proclaimed by him—which would open a way for political negotiations with the rebels. He further said that he would call for a country-wide popular referendum to rally support for himself against his foes.

The Rightists of France are again openly assailing the de Gaulle Government on several fronts. In the Senate the *Algérie Française* (Rightist) partisans combined with the Communists and the European-Unity protagonists to defeat the Government Plan for a French atomic force by 186 votes to 83, which means that President de Gaulle, who is the father of this plan will have to go to the National Assembly a second time for a re-affirmation of its first approval, in order to nullify the effects of that defeat. Again during the trial before a military tribunal at Paris, of the sixteen leaders of last January's Algiers insurrection, the defence attacked the de Gaulle Government on the ground that it had betrayed the Constitution and the Republic. In the government itself there were signs of discord. Two days after President de Gaulle's speech André Jaconet, the Second-in-Command of the French administration, submitted his resignation as an indication of protest. The de Gaulle Government rejected his resignation and sacked him instead and deprived him of his Civil Service status and pay, as a measure of punishment, in order to stop any further resignations on the same grounds. Further as a precautionary measure President de Gaulle consulted his Cabinet Ministers and decided to send Pierre Messmer his Defence Minister to Algeria, in order to feel the pulse of the army, in case of the unilateral ceasefire declaration as a preliminary for the final negotiations for an "Algerian Algeria."

But colonialism which is based on the ruthless exploitation of the children of the soil for the sole benefit of the colonial exploiters, dies hard, particularly where the exploiters have firmly embedded their tentacles in the soil, as in Algeria, where the French *colons* number about a million. This Algerian issue has caused a war that has gnawed at the vitals of France for six years now. It has drained France's finances in such a fashion that but for the U.S. aid she would

have been on the rocks long ago, it has further alienated France from the Arab world and placed her own friends in the West, particularly the U.S.A., in a fix. Soviet propaganda has gained greatly thereby. For example, during the Khrushchev visit to the U.N., the statements made by the Free Algeria delegation, placed the U.S. in a false position as the following extract from the *Christian Science Monitor* of October 4, indicates :

"Spokesmen for the Algerian rebel government now attending the United Nations sessions are openly bitter at their inability to undertake 'serious discussions' with the United States Government.

Although unwilling to be quoted by name, one of the Algerian leaders indicated that relations between the rebels and the United States are purely on "a lobby level." By this, the spokesman explained, he meant that occasionally both sides meet in passing in the delegates lounge of the United Nations General Assembly building and, as the spokesman put it, "We say hello to each other and that's all."

Added the Algerian spokesman : "We sometimes meet at a reception and say hello there, too."

The attitude of the Algerian rebels, it can be stated, is shared by the Tunisian Government which feels strongly that the United States should demonstrate "some sympathetic understanding" in the Algerian crisis.

[From the State Department's point of view, of course, the situation is difficult in the extreme because of the alliance with France in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Government officials do not usually consort with representatives of an organization in rebellion against an ally.]

"The seriousness of this Algerian rebel attitude is to be weighed against the two-hour meeting, Oct. 2, between Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev and three ministers in the Algerian rebel government-in-exile—Belkacem Krim, vice-premier and foreign minister, Ahmed Francis, minister of finance, and Mohammed Yazid, minister of information. What was discussed there was still a secret, but persons in a position to know said, Mr. Khrushchev had indicated his tallest sympathy with the Algerian rebels.

Premier Khrushchev at a reception of the Bulgarian Government, Oct. 3, went even further

in his support of the Algerians. Greeting Mr. Krim, the Soviet leader said :

"I salute you and I wish you victory."

When another Algerian jokingly said that Gen. Charles de Gaulle might not like the Khrushchev greeting, the Soviet Premier replied:

"Why should I be more French than the French President ? He negotiated with you [the Algerians, last July] and that means *de facto* recognition."

Another reporter pointed out that there were 1,00,000 Europeans in Algeria. To which the Soviet Premier replied :

"It's their (Algerian) country. Let them have self-determination and then let the different peoples live side-by-side as in the Soviet Union."

For the past years, the Algerian rebel government has been veering in the direction of the Sino-Soviet block. Military supplies reportedly have come from Communist China. Recently, Premier Ferhat Abbas visited Moscow and Peking, having been preceded by Algerian rebel delegations to both Communist capitals.

Algerian rebel publications have been replete with news and photographs from China and the Soviet Union. An Algerian spokesman asked about Algerian policy toward the Communist countries said :

"When you're drowning, you don't ask who has thrown out the life preserver."

President de Gaulle evidently has the support of the plain French citizen who wants an honourable end to this six years old carnage and drain of money, which if anything has damaged the good name of France all over the World. The President was loudly cheered by a crowd of over 45,000 when he rode in state on Nov. 11, (Armistice Day) to lay a wreath on the tomb of France's unknown soldier at the Arc de Triomphe. But his old associate Marshal Alphonse Juin refused to take part in the same ceremonies and in Algiers itself there was the worse rioting since the January insurrection, the slogan being "*Algérie Française*". Algeria is French, the rioters being mainly students, this being the third riot within thirty months by the European settlers in the streets of Algiers. In May, 1958, right-wing demonstrators, joined by the paratroops of Gen. Jacques Massu, toppled the Fourth French Republic and brought Gen. Charles de Gaulle back to power..

Last January, when President de Gaulle dis-

missed General Massu, Algiers was the scene of a week-long insurrection, which ended when the Government persuaded the Army to remain loyal.

Colonialists are particularly thick-skinned and thick-skulled reactionaries and their reactions are the same, whether they are Boers in South Africa, Britons in Kenya and South Rhodesia or the French in Algeria. At the same time President de Gaulle is not likely to bow down again, if he feels he has the weight of public opinion behind him, however tough the task.

### The Presidential Election in the U.S.A.

Mr. John Fitzgerald Kennedy has won the latest Presidential Election in the United States of America, defeating Mr. Richard Nixon by an extremely narrow margin of popular votes. The counting is not yet over, but at the time when this is written Mr. Kennedy had 33,896,551 popular votes and Mr. Nixon had 33,699,777 votes. The U.S. Presidential Election is finally decided by the Electoral College System, by which a candidate gets *all* the Electoral Votes—which finally decides the issue—in a State where he has won a majority of popular votes, even though some of the Electoral Votes might belong to members, belonging to the opposing party. In this Electoral Vote count Mr. Kennedy holds 300 votes as at present to Mr. Nixon's 223. The candidate who wins 369 votes or more finally, succeeds in winning the contest. The counting of popular votes is still proceeding due to the complex system of recording absentee votes, and it has been hinted that Mr. Kennedy might be another President elected by the Electoral votes inspite of the popular vote majority being held by his opponent like 14 of the Presidents elected in the U.S. previously in that way.

Mr. Kennedy is the youngest President since Theodore Roosevelt, and the very first Roman Catholic, the actual transfer of the Presidency, that is Mr. Kennedy's inauguration, will take place on January 20, 1961. The process of transfer is likely to be a little complicated, but there is not much reason why all the likely causes might not be allowed and arranged for during the course of next two months. The Party system in the U.S. is not of the type that we have

copied from Britain, and as such there is a great deal of common ground for both. The Administration will undoubtedly be changed to some extent but the U.S. Government remains the same.

It is not useful therefore to make any predictions about the future, particularly where Foreign Relations are concerned.

### Industrialisation and the South

At the South Zonal Conference of the Chambers of Commerce held at Madurai on November 18, there were resolutions passed asking for a fair deal for the South. The conference called, by a resolution, for a shift in emphasis from centralised to decentralised planning, to check inflation and to correct regional imbalance in development. In the course of moving the resolution on the Third Plan, Mr. P. L. Bhandari, the President of the Federation of Andhra Pradesh Chambers of Commerce, remarked that the attitude that inflation and high prices were inevitable in a developing economy should be oriented and prices should be brought down to a fair and stable level by providing a climate for maximum production.

The main emphasis was laid by all speakers on the point that the South was not being given a fair deal in the matter of industrialisation and that remedial measures must be undertaken. The quotation given below from the **Hindu** amply illustrates the view-point of the conference.

Mr. Sarangapani Mudaliar of Mysore, sponsor of the Zonal Convention scheme, moving the resolution on better development of South India, said that the four Southern States with 26 per cent of the country's population accounted for 14 per cent of India's industrial production and contributed 26 per cent of the country's foreign exchange earnings but received only Rs. 500 crores in the Rs. 4,800-crore Second Plan. He said, the zone contributed about 26 per cent of the country's exportable surplus but got only 16 per cent of the country's imports.

Mr. S. N. K. Sundaram, seconding it, said North India was highly industrialised and North-East India had established the reputation as "the

Luhr of India." Western India had a concentration of financial institutions and it was from Bombay that their monetary controls emanated. The major market for Government securities existed in Bombay only. It had fallen to the lot of South India to provide stenographers, ledger-keepers and accountants. In other words, the South had a concentration of unproductive intelligence. The perpetuation of this anomalous situation had almost killed the spirit of enterprise in South India. South India needed urgently the establishment of an iron and steel industry and at least one major project in each of the four southern States was a "must." To remedy this imbalance and the extreme dependence of the South on the rest of India, there should be decentralisation of power of the Central Government in the matter of industrial licensing, Mr. Sundaram said.

#### Premier U Nu in India

The Prime Minister of Burma is on a visit to India in the course of which he had conversations "on all interesting subjects", though Indo-Chinese affairs were not particularly discussed. He is rounding up his visit with a round of visits to the sacred Buddhist sites in India, and he is presenting a picture of calm reserve that is a reflection of the change in the political and administrative atmosphere of the Burma of to-day.

It is over seven months since Premier U Nu took over from General Ne Win, who had conducted "a benevolently authoritarian caretaker regime." Some time after taking over he had said, in the course of a state of the union address to Burmese Parliament where his party has a large majority, that "there is calm, peace and lack of tension in the political sphere, and no one can deny it." He further stated on that occasion that the country was in "a frightening state of affairs" when he took over—in April last—from General Ne Win. He had realized at that time, that if the country was to be saved, it was up to him to teach tolerance, self-restraint and self-improvement to his Union Party followers and to his Government. He said that was

what he did and that is how the present placid condition of the country was achieved.

Joseph Lelyveld, foreign scholar studying the political scene of the Burma of to-day, commented in the *New Leader* of New York that stripped of "dramatic exaggerations", his report was substantially correct. Had he allowed his more ravenous followers to exploit their victory at the expense of the opposition and the Army, there might well have been serious trouble. But U Nu deliberately refrained".

Burma has suffered greatly at the hands of its politicians, the foreign commentator remarked, and "not all of their mistakes could be attributed simply to inexperience." The same is the case here. The commentator further said, "U Nu's efforts to soothe bad feelings will not succeed for long if he governs poorly. In the past, his impatience with the details of administering a government and his readiness to leave them to less qualified underlings—once he had set the policies—were his great limitations as a leader." He quotes the Burmese English-language newspaper *Nation* as saying that with U Nu Burma has had "world's best Prime Minister and the worst administration".

The meeting between U Nu and our own Prime Minister must have been interesting. There is so much in common between the two of them.

#### Leo Tolstoy

Tolstoy died on the 7th November, 1910, full of years and famed throughout the educated world. His writings, with their clear and vehement insistence on the rectification of ills and wants of deprived and oppressed humanity and on the restitution of the God-given birthrights of Man along the ancient and hallowed paths indicated by seers the world over, exerted a profound influence all over the world. It is said that his works have been translated into 82 languages with a total of 97 million copies published.

His technique of writing was so vivid and there were further so much intensity in the display of emotion and passions in his portrayal of characters, good or evil, that the usually un-

surmountable barriers of language could not prevent the transmission of the full play of human sensibilities during translation into a foreign language from the original. This is the reason why his writings wielded such a profound influence on all cultured persons, whom Tolstoy helped in their efforts to understand the real value of truth, justice and honesty in a world that was getting saturated with the idea that might was right and that the ends justified the means. He convinced millions of bewildered people of the tremendous life-giving and sustaining power of Truth and Justice when opposed to the destructive forces of Evil in the shape of lying and destructive oppression. He was the "voice of conscience" in all truth, as declared by Francois Mauriac, the French writer.

He was always quick to respond whenever there was a call to him to lend his voice and the weight of his judgment in aid to suffering humanity, and he never ignored any such request, however unknown or negligible the status of the applicant. An unknown young Indian, who was driven into exile from his homeland, because he had joined the band of those who had rebelled against the oppressive foreign yoke, wrote to him in the early days of this century, in order that he might gather strength from the soul-inspiring fountain that flowed from the pen of Tolstoy. He was not disappointed though he was but a poor young rebel with neither status nor fame, and further was a member of a subject race. The response was quick and a long and inspiring correspondence followed. The whole correspondence was published in a book-form by the same exiled Indian, Dr. Taraknath Das, a few years back. Similarly, he gave his fullest appreciation to Gandhiji's Satyagraha Movement in South Africa, and Mahatma Gandhi acknowledged him as a great teacher. He was not only a Titan amongst the writers of world standing, but was a seer whose sight ranged all humanity and whose pronouncements reached the farthest corners of the earth. Truly, he was very close to us spiritually, as has been said by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, the Chairman of the All-India Tolstoy Anniversary Committee.

Just to show how this mighty wielder of the pen attained his stature, through immense toil and a patient and meticulous insistence on perfection, we append a few particulars, as supplied by the U.S.S.R. Information Department.

The total number of Tolstoy autograph (manuscript pages) in the manuscripts archives of the Tolstoy State Museum exceeds 170,000 pages.

There are 15 versions of the begining of "War and Peace", 11 of the beginning of "Resurrection", and 11 of the beginning of "Anna Karenina".

Tolstoy rewrote 20 times the 14-line description of Katyusha Maslova, heroine of the "Resurrection."

More than 100 of Tolstoy's diaries and notebooks are preserved. He made his last entry at the station of Astapovo on November 3, 1910, four days before he died.

Tolstoy had an excellent command of the chief European languages—French, English and German—and also knew and used Latin, Italian, ancient Greek, Hebrew, Old Slavic, Ukrainian, Tatar, Polish, Czech and Serbian. He knew a total of 15 languages.

In May, 1909, 3,000 Negroes in the city of New Albany, Indiana, the USA, wrote a letter to Tolstoy asking him to intervene and protect them against being lynched by the whites. In his reply Tolstoy forcefully condemned "the equally criminal behaviour of the mob which commits those horrors (the lynchings) and the still more flagrant shamelessness of a government that tolerates and connives at those crimes. . . ."

#### Air Marshal Subrata Mukerjee

India lost one of her most efficient and gallant sons in the death through an accident of Air Marshal Subrata Mukherjee, at Tokyo on the evening of November 8. It was an almost unbelievable piece of misadventure through which he lost his life—by choking to death through a piece of meat blocking his windpipe—in the prime of his life.

He was born in Calcutta in 1911, as the youngest child of Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Mukherjee. He was educated in Calcutta and Howrah in his early days. He went to England with his parents in 1929, while studying at the Presidency College, Calcutta. It was intended that he would be trained for a medical career, but he saw an announcement by the Government of India, soon after reaching England, that Indians were to be admitted—in the regular way—into the Air Force, and he got admitted into the training institution

at Cranwell therefore, with the approval of his parents. He was one of the first group of R.I.A.F. officers to be trained at Cranwell, he was also the first Indian officer to be commissioned in the R.I.A.F. He was likewise the first Indian to Command a Squadron and the first to be put in Command of an Air Force Station.

He started his career in the Indian Air Force in April, 1933. He was at Peshawar and saw action in Waziristan. He was mentioned in despatches for saving an Army picket that had been cut-off by tribesmen in the North-West Frontier. He became the first Indian to Command the Kohat Air Station in August 1943, and later earned promotion as a group Captain. He became an Air Commander and was both appointed Deputy Air Officer-in-Charge of administration prior to the Partition of India.

He became Deputy Air Commander and Senior Air Staff Officer after the partition of the country and the division of the armed forces. He became the Chief of the Air Staff in command of the I.A.F. in 1949 when Air Marshal Edmbirst went on leave. He became Air Marshal in command of the Indian Air Force in 1954. After completing his four year tenure as Air Chief he was given an extension for another four years from 1958.

"Subroto" was a very fine specimen of a man, physically and mentally, and apart from his extreme efficiency in his chosen profession—of which his distinguished career is ample evidence—he possessed a very likeable personality and was a very good and helpful friend to have. His popularity amongst his acquaintances and the deep regard in which he was held by his friends, was based on the sound intrinsic qualities of character that he possessed. His death is indeed a grievous loss, not only to his aged parents and sorrowing relatives and friends, but to a far wider circle of acquaintances.

#### M. S. M. Sharma

The death took place through a heart attack while travelling in the Toofan Express, on the way to Patna, of Shri M. S. M. Sharma, the Editor of the English daily of Patna, *Searchlight*, on the morning of Nov. 27th. Shri Sharma had a long career as a journalist, which he started in the early twenties. He had served in the Associated Press and for a good few years was the

Editor of the *Daily Gazette* of Karachi, which he left about a year after partition. He had worked for the *Hindu* and the *Hindustan Times* and he joined the *Searchlight* as Editor in 1950.

Shri Sharma was a professional journalist who observed the old Code of journalistic practice, both with regards truth and that regarding the guarding of confidences given in good faith. We know that he had suffered loss and prestige, because of holding to these principles, in the days prior to his going to Patna.

#### THE EDITOR

#### Dandakaranya

The Dandakaranya scheme is now looking up and there are hopes that a large number of East Bengal refugees will find their home in that area. It is a rich, fertile and beautiful region of India and the peoples of riverine East Bengal will have to change their ways of living and cultivation there; but, generally speaking, it will not be a change for the worse in point of work, profit or comfort. They will not be struggling for space, for one thing and they will have as much land as they will be able to cultivate by their own efforts. The only thing that has to be guarded against is clash of culture and of economic interests between locals and immigrants. In the Orissa region, we are told the refugees are being settled in small pockets set widely apart and separated by other habitations of local people. This is a very unwise thing and if allowed to develop will eventually create strained relations between the two groups of people who will not adopt each others' ways. In the M.P. area the pattern of settlement is quite different, we believe. Here the refugees are settling in a large area which has no pockets of local inhabitants. This will eventually create a large homogeneous block without any differences of a Socio-anthropological variety. And that will mean that the Dandakaranya area will develop as India and not as a reserve for this type or that. Wherever in India the State Governments lack the National outlook and try to create a state within a state by acting unjustly towards and dealing iniquitously with all minorities, the national outlook vanishes and nationalism and true patriotism succumbs to narrow caste cliques, linguism or just gangsterism.

of a larger variety. In Dandakaranya the East Bengalis should not forget that they are Indians first and Bengalis after that. They must not form cliques and coteries which will try to interfere with life and work of others. Their spirit should be one of independence; but with full co-operation with others. The other groups in the area too should be taught to co-operate with all and not try to impose their own ways on others. If these ideals are maintained from the beginning; then cultural freedoms will be preserved and full economic co-operation developed between all groups of people who will live in the area.

A. C.

### Berubari

The transfer of land from one country to another is a very troublesome business. If it has any historical, moral, economic or cultural basis to it, things may not prove so difficult. But where such transfer is purely a matter of expediency, which expediency is considered advantageous by persons who have no stake in the area thus transferred, such alienation of somebody's hearth and home in order to appease the whims, fads or "policy" of politicians who are total strangers to the owners of the hearths and homes; this kind of transfer will surely create resistance, ill feeling and a mounting sense of being subjugated, suppressed and treated as subjects of an absolute overlordship. Bengal's relations with the Central Government cannot be described as subject and suzerain relations. The people of Berubari are as much Indians as are the members of the Central Cabinet. If Pandit Nehru thought it expedient to give away Berubari to Pakistan, he should have thought first of the feelings of the people directly concerned. There being no history of Pakistan previous to its creation by the British the Congress and the Muslim League, Berubari could not have belonged to Pakistan historically or even logically, ethically or culturally. There is, as we have said, no history which justifies the transfer of this small area to a country, which itself has no history and has been the pure and unmixed product of British imperial expediency.

Then, perhaps the Central Government will say there are economic, moral, cultural and logical reasons for such transfer. We would ask

where were these considerations when Pakistan was created? Economically the Partition of India in 1947 was entirely disruptive and did no good to the people of any of these newly created separate States. The Jute workers of West Bengal will bear testimony to the truth of this statement. All loom sealing and partial or total unemployment of thousands are the result of that partition. Culturally the East Pakistanis are Bengalis and they should have stayed within Bengal, rather than attached to far away Sind, West Punjab and Pakhtoonistan. So that *no part of Bengal can now be considered logically, culturally, economically or historically as a part of East Pakistan*. All considerations considered, there are no grounds for the transfer of Berubari to East Pakistan, excepting that Pandit Nehru thought it expedient. But we think Pandit Nehru had no right to do so. What he is now doing; viz., making his servile Parliamentary majority back up his past indiscretion (*ex post facto*); he should have done before he discussed Berubari affairs with Pakistan. His idea and, what is worse, his habitual practice of doing things on his own without consulting his people, who have given him his power and position; and then insisting that his actions must be ratified, are a very poor proof of his greatness.

A. C.

### NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MODERN REVIEW

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Manager, The Modern Review

## ACHARYA JADU NATH SARKAR

By JOGESH CHANDRA BAGAL

ON the 10th of this month falls the ninety-first birth anniversary of Acharya Sir Jadunath Sarkar, D.Litt., (Hon.) the doyen of Indian history. He breathed his last on 19th May, 1958, at the ripe old age of eighty-seven, but his zeal for research never abated, and almost like a young man he continued his work till the last day of his life. His death has left a vacuum in the world of historical research, which would take many years to be filled up.

Acharya Jadu Nath told me that he had imbibed his love for the study of history and biography from his father, Raj Kumar Sarkar. Raj Kumar was a public man of Rajshahi in those days and participated in all the progressive movements, political and social, of the district. Jadu Nath spent some of his early years, between seven and nine, in Calcutta, as a student of Hindu School. He attended the prayer meetings of Brahmananda Keshab Chunder Sen, and, because of his tender age, was always given a seat just in front of the altar and had the privilege of listening to his lectures. He vividly remembered, once he told me, the memorable day of the foundation-stone laying ceremony of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj Mandir on the Cornwallis Street.

Jadu Nath's later student life was divided between Rajshahi and Calcutta. He passed his B.A., and M.A., from the Presidency College of Calcutta with brilliant success, in 1891 and 1892, respectively. He started life as Professor of English Literature first in Ripon College (now The Surendranath College) and then in the Metropolitan (Now Vidyasagar) College. While in the Metropolitan College he won the Premchand Roychand Scholarship. Success in this led him on to hard and strenuous research for more than fifty years.

Jadu Nath was soon grafted into the Government Educational Service. He served the Presidency College, Patna College and the Ravenshaw College, (Cuttack) for thirty years. His services were lent for three years to the Benares Hindu University as the Head of the

Department of History. It should be noted that with the progress of research and publication of his historical treatises, the Educational Department gradually recognised his talents and allowed him to teach history along with English and lastly they appointed him a full-fledged professor of history.

Literature, History and Economics were the then forte of Acharya Jadu Nath. In the late nineties he even wrote a book on Economics. But History had the greatest attraction for him and he began to devote his spare time for the study of this branch of knowledge. By the dint of strenuous research for over two decades Jadu Nath produced the famous history of *Aurangzib* in five volumes. He always tapped the sources where only the first-hand material is available for writing, compiling and reconstructing the Indian history. Jadu Nath learnt Persian, Urdu, Hindi, Marathi and French along with the cognate languages in which historical material was lying hidden. To decipher the Persian MSS is a very hard job, and Acharya Jadu Nath had often to overcome this difficulty with the help of Maulavis. Jadu Nath supplemented this monumental history with various other original works. He edited William Irvine's two volumes of *Later Moghuls* (1707—1739) with meticulous care and continued it in two further volumes, all his own.

Aurangzib's counterpart, Shivaji, did not fail to attract his notice. The battles and onslaughts as well as the diplomatic manoeuvres of these two contemporaries induced Professor Sarkar to ransack Maratha sources, and as a result we have his *Shivaji and his Time* (1919) and the *House of Shivaji*, the two monumental works. In his research in the Maratha history, while compiling the histories of Aurangzib and Shivaji, Jadu Nath travelled the North and the South more than forty times to personally see the fields of exploits and activities of these two giants and to ascertain the facts as such from the locality with a view to supplementing information and material found in the MSS and

sometimes in printed books. While in Maharashtra he made friends with Rai Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, another labourer in the cause of history. Jadu Nath's critical estimate of the life and character of Shivaji could not satisfy many a Maharastrian. But Sardesai like a true historian, extended full support to Jadu Nath.

Jadu Nath's works are mostly in English. But he never forgot his mother-tongue. His articles and essays on various subjects of history as well as on educational, cultural and literary subjects appeared in many reputed Bengali Journals. Some of his writings, have no doubt been published in book-form. Many are still lying hidden in the pages of the journals, some of which are not extant and are rarely available. These, if published after suitable classification, will certainly enrich our literature.

A true educationist, Acharya Jadu Nath, just after retirement from Government Service, accepted the honorary but onerous office of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University. He served his full term, 1926-28, but as he told me once, he could introduce no reforms whatsoever in its academic side, which he had adumbrated for many a number of years in the pages of this *Review* owing to stiff opposition from both expected and unexpected quarters. He, however, was able to make some improvement in the University administration.

Since the attainment of Independence, Acharya Jadu Nath wielded his pen for the improvement of our social and economic structure. A patriot to the core, he lent his unstinted support to the organisation of the N.C.C. He thought that Free India demands every family to co-operate with the country's defence by lending at least one young member to its various forces. He once said that this consideration had led him to give some of his grand-children opportunity to enter the ranks of the Army and the Navy. Acharya Jadu Nath wrote a series of articles on the modes of warfare in ancient India. He laid bare in these articles the national defects and drawbacks of

our war tactics, to remove which it is imperative on our leaders of the defence and the State. His papers on The Rani of Jhansi revealed how he had minutely and thoroughly followed the soul-stirring exploits of the Rani, and the statesmanship which she possessed. I asked Acharya Jadu Nath whether he would publish those articles on the Rani in book-form. He said, "yes," but he added, "the Introductory Chapter requires to be recast and a Concluding Chapter is to be written anew, to complete the narrative." But alas! Death intervened, and he could not finish his work.

A personal note should be added to this memorandum. Jadu Nath Sarkar, an intimate friend of Ramananda Chatterjee, the founder-editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi* (Bengali Monthly), contributed profusely to both the journals and to *The Modern Review* from its first issue January, 1907. Jadu Nath often expressed the desire that the golden jubilee of the *Review* might be celebrated with due solemnity. On one occasion he told me that in the long career of its fifty years only two first contributors had survived, namely Rai Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri of Bombay and himself. Acharya Jadu Nath ardently desired that he would write for the fifty-first anniversary number, January 1957, of this *Review*. But he could not do so owing to family mishaps. He remembered this, and contributed an article to the January, 1958 number. This was perhaps his last public writing. Acharya Jadu Nath got eulogium from the eminent historians here and in England with the publication of his volumes on Aurangzib, one by one, since 1912. Before this, when his papers were published in this *Review*, Sister Nivedita, the highly-talented lady, welcomed Professor Jadu Nath as a profound scholar and historian of India. Acharya Jadu Nath died full of years and honours. He received honours, academic and otherwise, both from home and abroad. We pay our humble and sincere tributes to his memory.



## NATIONAL Vs. REGIONAL LOYALTIES

By A. C.

Throughout the millenia that Indian civilisation has existed in this vast sub-continent there have been concentrations of various tribes, families and clans in the different zones of India; and these groupings have been similar culturally in fundamentals, though they often developed characteristics which separated them superficially. They would often speak different languages but would understand each other because of the similarities that existed between the different languages and dialects. In dress, food, social manners and customs the differences would not be so pronounced as the similarities. They would know the differences and yet not consider each others peculiarities as totally outlandish, strange and meaningless. Very often they would easily adopt the ways of others, even eat, speak and dress like the others. Food, clothes, social custom, rituals, dance, music, festivals, games and pastimes would mostly resemble those of other groups and nothing would be really a great barrier to unity, even inter-marriage and general movements of population between zones. Thus India developed her many races, and cultures with an essential similarity which wove all of them into one overall design which fitted the pattern of civilisation of any part of India. Great saints and preachers found followers and disciples in many parts of India in spite of differences of language, food or clothes. Men like Guru Nanak, Sri Chaitanya, Kabir and others were the preceptors of all Indians without reference to language or social manners and customs. Before these great men there had been others who were also universally followed, worshipped and accepted as one's own spiritual preceptor. Gautama the Buddha, Mahavira Tirthankar, Shri Sankaracharya and all those rishis who composed the **Vedas** and the **Upanishadas** were inhabitants of different areas of India ; but their sphere of activity was

spread all over India and no one thought that Gautama was a Nepali or a Bihari, nor that Sankara was a Madrasi or Chaitanya a Bengali. The mythical heroes of India like Shri Krishna or Ram Chandra found no difficulty in being accepted into the heart of the whole of India though they were born in Mathura or Ayodhya and probably spoke in this dialect or that or preferred one kind of food to another. Even in modern times Sri Aurobindo was respected and taken as their own by persons speaking Bengali, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati and all the other languages and dialects of India, Burma and Ceylon. Swami Vivekananda, Raja Rammohun Roy, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Mahatma Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose, transcended their mother language, diet and dress and were true Indians, in so far as all India called them their own leaders. Among India's great men of the ancient past and of recent times we find no Bengalis, Assamese, Orissan or Biharis. We find only Indians and whoever challenges the truth of this will stand defeated right from the word "go!"

In the field of dance, drama, music, ritual, festival, arts, crafts, architecture and learning the whole of India has always thrived upon the same inspirations, ideals and standards. Beyond the Himalayas, in China or beyond the seas in Africa ; these inspirations, ideals and standards have been entirely different and Chinese music or African rituals struck no familiar note in Indian hearts. Chinese houses, dress or delicatessen may not please Indians and African ideas of medicine or theology may not rhyme with our ideas. So that the question of true and real differences in civilisation and culture do not rest in the linguistic field nor in the variations of the same themes in art, music, dance or cuisine. Fundamental differences have to be fundamentally different and not merely different

in a superficial manner. The same is true of ways of life. Where different races, tribes or groups of people have superficial differences in their ways of living, they can fit into each other's ways without any great effort. That is how it is in India. All our so-called diverse zonal "races", tribes, etc., are essentially similar and they can easily adopt the ways of one another. That is not true of the Negroes and the Burmese or of the Indians and the Chinese. These different groups of humans are fundamentally unlike one another and they cannot constitute one homogenous nation. Indians, on the other hand, in spite of being Bengalis, Tamils, Biharis and Gujeratis, can always fit in with one another and integrate themselves into one Nation. The Swiss are one nation with four linguistic groups of people. The Italians have become one nation with many widely divergent dialects. The Russians have now many language and culture groups. Even the British have four Sub-nations in their land—the English, the Scottish, the Irish and the Welsh. It is only by heavily emphasising their points of similarity that these nations live so well and compactly as one. Their differences are merely decorative and they are not anxious to emphasise these trivialities. They know what is good for them.

Historically India has often been under one Government. In pre-history we find the **Kurus** and the **Pandavas** aligned against one another on the battlefield of **Kurukshetra** and their forces were representative of all regions of India. When **Karna** attacked **Arjuna** so furiously that not even the dexterous manipulation of **Arjuna's** chariot, by the Lord Sri Krishna could assure his safety, the King of **Vanga** (Bengal) threw himself at **Karna** and was killed in order to save **Arjuna**. Thus **Anga**, **Vanga**, **Kalinga**, **Panchal**, **Sindhu**, **Madra** and all other kingdoms of **Bharatvarsha** lived up at **Kurukshetra** with one of the two contestants and the chivalry of India of the Second millenium B.C. died on that great battlefield fighting for something which was not regional nor for holding up a language, creed, caste, tribe or local

clique. The **Rajachakravarties** of India, who were the overlords of all the local kings, united India quite easily; for India had always been culturally a single nation. There had been other far flung empires in India after that and the names of **Chandragupta**, **Asoka**, **Harshavardhan** and others stand out as symbols of the oneness of Indian culture and civilisation. When the **Pathans** and **Moguls** ruled India the names of **Sher Shah** or **Akbar** tell us about the unity of India and not about this dialect or that caste. In fact all internecine squabbles throughout our history have been based on such petty desires and cheap emotions as tribal, caste or clan designs upon one another, and the motives have always been vendetta, gain or power hankering. This is not peculiarly Indian. The history of all great nations and civilisations give us examples of such evil expressions of human greed, jealousy and hatred.

Coming to modern times, the British thought of India as one land and the Indians as members of one nation and civilisation. They studied our differences minutely and took full advantage of our limited outlook. Three hundred and forty four languages, innumerable tribes, castes, creeds, clans and mutually exclusive economic, feudal and dynastic interests: they knew all about these and divided us in order to rule and exploit all of us as common slaves of the British. This unity in slavery slowly made us conscious of the oneness of all Indians and the national movement was born in which all regional groups joined without any thought of the differences that existed between them. Bengalis Biharis, Marathis, Punjabis joined hands to overthrow the British and went to jail together or died on the gallows for the same cause. Towards the end of this great national upsurge the Indian National Army led by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose invaded British India for the liberation of all Indians. It failed physically to achieve this, but the British saw in it the writing on the wall, so to speak, and gave up their political suzerainty as well as their rights of exploitation of India. And we became a free nation. This freedom came to India

as a whole and not to Bihar, Assam or Bengal separately. The idea that all these ex-British Indian provinces were separate States emanated from the greedy hearts of the low grade politicians who manned the Congress and the Communist ranks and who wanted to be at the helm of affairs in their own right, so that they could gain in money, power and prestige. The unfortunate part of this miserable aspirational war on the Nation was that these Congress or Communist big shots were all utterly small in point of intellectual capacity, political vision and a true sense of patriotism. They began dividing India for their own advantage without realising that their "gain" will boomerang back upon their own flimsy structure, fake sovereignty and destroy it completely, as they destroyed Indian Nationalism. The sword that these petty minded politicians have forged will first cut to ribbons all that we call our national ideals, and, then it will utterly annihilate its own makers, who will die miserably in the same ditch out of which they had emerged as false leaders of an ignorant nation.

The Congress and the Communist party have one thing in common. They have both destroyed our national unity by using two different methods. The Congress has cut our patriotism up into a hundred small pieces until we have ceased to be Indians and we are vast medley of Sikhs, Aryas, Bhatias, Bangals, Ahoms, Oriyas, Keralawallahs, Madrasis, Bhojpuris, Kayasths, Bhumihars, Hindus, Jains and what not? All the ideals that were preached, expounded and established by Rammohun Roy, Vivekananda, Gokhale, Tilak, Chittaranjan Das, Mahatma Gandhi, Subhas Chandra Bose and a thousand others; have been jettisoned by the Congress and we are all thrown into a political rubbish heap.

The Communist party wanted to sell India as a whole to the Sino-Russian group of unhistorical materialist, who thought man could live very well by bread alone. All past ideals which had made humanity great ethically and had saved mankind time and again from the

deadly folly of discarding moral considerations as against material advantages, were disowned by the so-called Marxists whose faith was a mania.

Democracy is supposed to be a product of political party organisations. This may be true of Euro-American countries where cliques cannot dupe the nations nor conspirators sell their peoples to foreign interests. It will be quite impossible for the British Conservatives or the American Republicans either to make Scotland fight England or to arrange to murder all Texans living in the State of Illinois. These political parties cannot hand over the peoples of Great Britain or the United States of America to the tender mercies of China or Russia. As a matter of fact we doubt if any political party of the U.S.A. or U.K. will secretly collaborate with any foreign enemies or invaders of those countries. We are absolutely certain no political party will dare to do so. We also have a very clear-cut conviction about the integrity of the foreign political parties who do not usually engage in earning party funds or individual profits for their leaders out of manipulations connected with the affairs of their nations. We have no such conviction about the Congress or the Communist Parties. They habitually exploit the peoples of India directly as well as indirectly by mismanaging things deliberately and by settling the affairs of Trade Unions to the advantage of capitalists. In short Indian political parties have not increased public freedoms nor enhanced the economic or political status of the nationals of India.

Indian political parties stand condemned in the eye of the Indian public. Indian leaders are either proved faithless to their declared ideals and to the overall patriotic considerations which all people of all nations are expected to faithfully cherish, conserve and protect. Our parties and their leaders are untrue to our nationalism and our national ideals. As such the people of India should abolish these political parties and set up Governments by utilising the services of good men everywhere who will have no loyalties other than those they pledge to their nation and their people.

## **EVOLUTION OF PORTFOLIOS IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

By SHRIRAM MAHESHWARI

A STUDY seeking to trace the evolution of portfolios<sup>1</sup> in the Central Government is pitted against heavy odds. Very often, the creation of portfolios or the abolition of the existing ones are not accompanied by formal official statements justifying the steps; invariably they are utterly inadequate and, therefore, search for other really sustainable arguments and versions is to be made. Recourse to it, again, has its intrinsic handicaps and impediments. Yet, an attempt in this direction is worth its while; and it is with this hope and expectation that an endeavour has been made in the succeeding pages to discuss the problem.

The present paper confines itself to the post-independence development. As the position stood on August 15, 1947, the powers and functions of the Government of India were divided into eighteen Ministries, a new designation given to erstwhile departments; and these eighteen Ministries<sup>2</sup> were organised into fourteen portfolios.

1. The word 'portfolio', made of two words, 'Porta' (to carry) and 'Fogli' (leaves, sheets of paper), means 'such a receptacle containing the official documents of a state department, figuratively, the office of a minister of state'. Portfolio is thus synonymous with a minister's charge.

2. The following were the eighteen Ministries in 1947.

1. External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations ;
2. Home ;
3. States ;
4. Information & Broadcasting ;
5. Food ;
6. Agriculture ;
7. Education ;
8. Railways ;
9. Transport ;
10. Defence ;
11. Labour ;
12. Commerce ;
13. Communications ;
14. Health ;
15. Law ;
16. Finance ;

The grouping of portfolios is indicated below :

1. External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and Scientific Research ;
2. Home, Information and Broadcasting, and States ;
3. Food and Agriculture ;
4. Education ;
5. Railways & Transport ;
6. Defence ;
7. Labour ;
8. Commerce ;
9. Communications ;
10. Health ;
11. Law ;
12. Finance ;
13. Industries and Supplies ;
14. Works, Mines and Power.

The arrangement and number of portfolios were a hang-over from the past. The Interim Government, too, consisted of fourteen Ministers—the strength of the Council had *per force* to be kept at the accepted figure of fourteen, distributed in the ratio of 6:5:3 between the Congress, the Muslim League and the minority interest. The arrangement of portfolios under the Interim Government was retained, except that the departments were given the designation of Ministries, and that the Legislative Department was named the Ministry of Law. As independence involved the partition of the country resulting in the exodus of a large number of people from Pakistan to India, posing thereby a serious problem before the Government, a new portfolio of Relief and Rehabilitation was constituted in early September, 1947, and a Minister of State was put in charge of it. Also, a Minister without portfolio was appointed, and he was empowered with

17. Industries and Supplies ;
18. Works, Mines and Power.

(*The Organisation of the Government of India*; Asia Publishing House, has put Food and Agriculture in one Ministry, (P. 31) which, however, is wrong.)

the task of suggesting proposals on the reorganization of the governmental machinery.

In 1948, it was felt necessary to expand the Council of Ministers by creating new portfolios evidently to afford the much-needed relief to some of the over-worked Ministers. It is gathered that a proposal was discussed to find another Minister to take over the portfolio of External Affairs from the Prime Minister. Anyway, it was palpably felt that, the Ministry—with 16 Ministers—was by no means too large for a country like India<sup>3</sup>; and a new portfolio of Information and Broadcasting emerged as the successful claimant for the services of a Minister, though not a member of the Cabinet.<sup>4</sup> This measure, to be sure, provided relief to the over-worked Deputy Prime Minister. In May, 1949, the Chief Whip was elevated to the status of a Minister of State and named Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, empowered with the task of supervising all matters relating to the conducting of official business in Parliament. Nevertheless, a position unprecedented in the annals of Parliamentary history was created with the putting of three Ministers of State in charge of independent portfolios and it led Asok Chanda to observe :

"The arrangement of ministers in three tiers (Cabinet Ministers, Ministers of State, and Deputy Ministers) and without any distinction between those Ministers of State who were in charge of ministries and those who were not, was introduced without sufficient consideration being given to their functions and responsibilities; nor were their relations with the permanent Heads of Ministries clearly defined. This created difficulties and misunderstanding later . . .".<sup>5</sup>

As mentioned earlier, a Minister without portfolio was appointed in September, 1947, and asked to make proposals on the organization of the governmental machinery. He submitted his Report, (known as Report on Reorganization of the Machinery of Government) in November, 1949. This Report<sup>6</sup> recommended that the

Central Secretariat should be divided into 28 Departments to be accommodated in 20 Ministries. This, says the Report :

"does not mean that each Ministry should always remain an independent portfolio. In fact, it would be an advantage to combine more than one Ministry within the portfolio of one Cabinet Minister in a number of cases. It would also be an advantage to combine such an arrangement with the provision of assistance to the Cabinet Minister concerned through a Minister of State, and even in exceptional cases more than one such minister."<sup>7</sup>

Other important recommendations of this Report related to the splitting of (i) the Ministry of Works, Mines and Power into two Ministries of Works, and of Mines (including Coal) and Power;<sup>8</sup> and (ii) of the Ministry of Industries and Supply into two Ministries of Industries (including control of supplies and prices of industrial products, but excluding coal), and of supply (proper) including disposals. Also, the Report recommended the merger of the Department of Parliamentary Affairs in the Law Department on the ground that the former was not viable.<sup>9</sup>

No significant changes in the administrative pattern could be brought about until the inauguration of the Constitution; the country was ostensibly busy absorbing the shocks of partition. A significant step towards the reorganization of portfolios was undertaken in February, 1951 (not in December, 1950 as mentioned by Asok Chanda) with a view to "effect economy and achieve administrative efficiency".<sup>10</sup> The existing Ministries of Commerce; Industry and Supply; and Works, Mines and Power; and the Department of Scientific Research were merged to form three new Ministries of :

- (i) Industry and Commerce;
- (ii) Works, Production and Supply; and
- (iii) Natural Resources and Scientific Research.<sup>11</sup>

7. *Report on Reorganization of the Machinery of Government*, p. 27.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

10. *Indian Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 5th February, 1951 (Questions and Answers), p. 1151.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 1151-52.

3. Cf. *The Statesman*, 9th November, 1948, p. 1.

4. *Ibid.*, 4th December, 1948, p. 1.

5. Asok Chanda : *Indian Administration*, pp 64-65.

6. Called the *Gopalaswamy Ayyangar Report*.

The Ministries of Industry and Commerce were joined together. The idea probably suggested itself in one of the meetings of the State Trading Committee as a result of the evidence tendered by the officials of these two Ministries.<sup>12</sup>

Also, the Ministeries of Food and Agriculture were merged into one Ministry known as Food and Agriculture Ministry.<sup>13</sup> The economy brought about by the reorganization of portfolios is made evident by the following cut in staff.<sup>14</sup>

(i) Secretaries	...	...	2
(ii) Deputy Secretaries	...	...	1
(iii) Under Secretaries	...	...	2
(iv) Superintendents	...	...	3
(v) Assistants & Clerks	...	...	37

Consequent upon these changes, the number of Ministries stood at 18 in 1951.<sup>15</sup> In addition to these Ministries, there was, of course, the Department of Parliamentary Affairs. The reorganization involved the reorganization of subjects—the subjects 'Mines and Power' were transferred to the newly-created Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, and it assumed the charge of 'Production and Supply' from the late Ministry of Industries and Supply.

12. *Indian Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. X, No. 1, March 31, 1951, p. 5584.

13. *Indian Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. VI, No. 1, 5th February, 1951, p. 1153.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 1153.

15. The set-up in 1951, was as follows :

- (1) External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations ;
- (2) Home ;
- (3) States ;
- (4) Information and Broadcasting ;
- (5) Food and Agriculture ;
- (6) Education ;
- (7) Railways ;
- (8) Transport ;
- (9) Defence ;
- (10) Labour ;
- (11) Industry and Commerce ;
- (12) Communications ;
- (13) Health ;
- (14) Law ;
- (15) Finance ;
- (16) Works, Production and Supply ;
- (17) Natural Resources and Scientific Research ; and
- (18) Rehabilitation.

These changes indicated the keenness of the Government for a greater co-ordination in the economic sphere. The grouping together of 'Production, Works and the state industrial undertakings under one Ministry may, perhaps, be explained by the desire to keep the distinction between the government's participation in industrial products, and the overall responsibility for industrial development in which it has to be in contact with the private enterprise as well. This arrangement, however, created the problem of co-ordination. Also, it was suspected that the separation of the responsibility for coal production and distribution both from the Ministries of Commerce and Industry and of Natural Resources and Scientific Research would create problems.<sup>16</sup>

These changes, not well-thought out, of course, marked but the beginning of changes which are unfortunately but partially explained by the problems that emerged on the horizon as a result of the impact of rapid economic development and industrialization, postulated in the Five-Year Plan. The reconstitution of portfolios and the readjustment of Ministries, sadly enough, betray lack of logic and system in viewing the question as a connected whole. We are left with the uncomfortable feeling that, sometimes, the convenience of ministerial changes is the driving force ; at other times, the promotion of the Secretariat personnel originates the idea. After Sardar Patel's death in December, 1950, the portfolios of States and Home were separated—the decision, clearly, violated the general principle of distribution. With the coming into operation of the Constitution the portfolio of States had ceased to be as exacting as it was during the first three years of independence. It could have remained associated with the Home Affairs to ensure unity of practice and administration in the maintenance of public security. This change understandably militated against homogeneity of subjects.

Another milestone in the evolution of portfolios was the 9th June, 1952, reorganization,<sup>17</sup> which created two new portfolios of Production, and of Irrigation and Power. The Ministry of Works, Production and Supply was split up to form the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply, and the Ministry of Production.<sup>18</sup> There was

16. *Vide The Eastern Economists*, January 5, 1951, p. 8.

17. *The Statesman*, June, 10, 1952, p. 1.

18. *The Statesman*, June, 10, 1952, p. 1.

doubtless ample justification for the creation of these two Ministries. In the tapestry of the Five-Year Plan were woven the schemes of industrial development in the public sector and plans for harnessing the rivers, with the dual purpose of arresting floods and providing power and irrigation facilities. The two Ministries emerged, therefore, to address themselves to the major postulates of the Plan. As regards the adding of a new item<sup>19</sup> of Housing, its need could hardly be disputed. National responsibilities in regard to housing were emerging as important undertakings. They had hitherto been shared between a whole congeries of Ministries, with consequent fragmentation and overlapping which greatly hampered clear and cogent planning. Two presidential orders were issued to define the field of responsibilities of some Ministries.<sup>20</sup> An analysis of the re-arrangement of portfolios makes one aware of the emphasis being laid on economic matters, particularly River Valley Projects; for the first time the River Valley schemes are mentioned as a ministerial department. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power covering Power, Irrigation, Flood Control and River Valley Projects, could, however, be carved out in August, 1952, as it took time to separate the work from the parent Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

We may now come to the Ministry of Production. Its importance in the context of a rapidly expanding public sector could hardly be questioned, but it was born ill-proportioned, thanks to the powerful opposition from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry for the control and expansion of Steel Plants. Iron and Steel should have been normally the charge of the Ministry of Production, but it was kept away from it and tagged on to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry on the ground that as import and distribution of steel was the responsibility of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, the latter should be made responsible for the production of steel also, in order to ensure effective co-ordination of policy in regard to steel. The logical development of the Ministry of Production was arrested as the 'Departmental

opposition hardened and the prestige of the Ministers came into play to defeat the necessary measure of rationalization'.<sup>21</sup> However, it waited for the major set-back which came in May, 1955, when the state steel plants were placed under the charge of a new Ministry of Iron and Steel<sup>22</sup> as a recognition of the 'importance of developing and expanding the iron and steel industry'. In point of fact, however, this Ministry was born of a desire to appease the Commerce and Industry Minister, and to resolve the crisis precipitated by the latter's reluctance to share the responsibility for the development of the steel industry with the Minister for Production. Still, the development in the private sector continued to be the look-out of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry—an anomaly, soon detected and rectified by making the Ministry of Iron and Steel what it already was in name ; it acquired undivided responsibility for the expansion of steel industry in both the sectors of economy—private and public. Based on the Soviet model, this Ministry struck a discordant note and could not fit into a Cabinet constituted on different lines.<sup>23</sup> What appeared more incongruous, however, was its being made a charge of the Minister for Commerce and Industry;—logically it should have gone to the Minister for Production. The Profiles of Ministries and portfolios were demarcated on personal considerations. Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari had been, from the beginning, associated with the government's policy of developing the iron and steel industry in the public sector; he, therefore, held the newly-created portfolio of Iron and Steel. Personal considerations can carry such things too far. Soon Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari would migrate to the Finance Ministry, but with this portfolio, the babe he has nursed,—and odd combination on all accounts ! The Ministry of Production, Iron and Steel could hardly be viable—no tears were, therefore, shed on its final disappearance in 1957—a death by starvation !

In September, 1956, a new Ministry of

21. Asok Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

22. 'The Organization of the Government of India' says: 'Government constituted a separate Department of Iron & Steel in May, 1955 . . . . The use of the word 'Department' is unfortunate and need to be replaced by 'Ministry'. (*Vide p. 119*).

23. Asok Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

19. It is wrong to presume as has been done in *The Organisation of the Government of India*, that a separate portfolio of Housing was created. (p. 312).

20. *The Statesman*, June, 10, 1952, p. 1.

Community Development emerged to focus the effort on agricultural development. The elevation of the Community Projects Administration which had so long been a wing of the Planning Commission to a full-fledged Ministry ended, in fact, an anomaly in that the CPA, an administrative department, was placed under the Planning Commission which is a staff body, with no administrative function. This is as it should be, for the change leaves the Planning Commission as a purely recommendatory organ. That the CPA was not merged in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, but rather raised to the level of a ministry could perhaps be explained by P. N. Thaper's (Secretary of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture) Report on 'Agricultural Organization and Planning in China'. By 1956 it was being increasingly realized that the success of the Second Five-Year Plan hinged on the realization of higher target of food production without a corresponding drain on resources.<sup>24</sup> This necessitated close co-ordination between the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, and of Community Development. By making the former represent the latter Ministry in the Cabinet, unity of policy has been largely assured. The scope of this Ministry was enlarged with the addition of the subject 'Co-operation' to it, making it the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. 'Co-operation' was hitherto with the Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

We have already discussed about the February, 1951, reconstitution of portfolios, resulting in the emergence of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. On August 30, 1956,<sup>25</sup> it was split up into two separate Ministries :

- (i) Ministry of Commerce and Consumer Industry;<sup>26</sup> and
  - (ii) Ministry of Heavy Industries.<sup>27</sup>
- On the economic front were thus ranged four Ministries, in addition, of course, to the Finance Ministry. The other two were :
- (iii) Ministry of Production;<sup>28</sup>
  - (iv) Ministry of Iron and Steel;<sup>29</sup>

24. *Vide Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. V—No. 73, 26th May, 1956, p. 9622.

25. *The Organization of the Government of India* puts the date as September, 1956, *vide* p. 95.

•26. This Ministry dealt with the following:

1. Plantation Industries
2. Textiles

The emergence of the Ministries of Commerce and Consumer Industries, and of Heavy Industry, was in harmony with the Second Five-Year Plan's overall industrial policy—the development of heavy industries being its major aim. All these four Ministries were represented in the Cabinet by one and the same Minister. This arrangement permitted growth by fission and co-ordinated approach. It, however, proved to be a short-lived phase. When the Minister concerned became the Finance Minister (30th August, 1956), he did not relinquish his charge of the Ministry of Iron and Steel. Finance and Steel cannot be combined very well for purposes of administration. The Ministry of Heavy Industries was made a charge of the Minister for Home Affairs. This combination, again, was as unusual as that of Finance and Steel but lacked the justification, if any, which past association and experience furnished in the later case. At best, these could not be more than stop-gap arrangements.<sup>30</sup> Efforts were made in some quarters to build up the thesis of concentration of economic power and responsibility in the hands of Sardar Swaran Singh and Pandit Pant who with the Prime Minister, formed, so to say,

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- 3. Food, Drink and Tobacco Industries
  - 4. Domestic and Toilet requisites
  - 5. Cosmetics and Toilet requisites
  - 6. Stationery and Office Equipment
  - 7. Sports Goods
  - 8. Leather, Rubber, Plastic and Celluloid Goods
  - 9. Agricultural implements and tools
  - 10. Bicycles and Sewing Machines
  - 11. Musical Instruments
  - 12. Small Scale Industries
27. It was concerned with the following .
- 1. Cement, Iron and Steel
  - 2. Automative Industries
  - 3. Electrical Engineering Industries
  - 4. Engineering Industries
  - 5. Chemical Industries
  - 6. Films
  - 7. Pulp
  - 8. Arms and Ammunition
  - 9. Refractories
28. It disappeared in 1957.
- 29.. It was abolished in 1957.
30. *The Economic Weekly*, October 20, 1956, p. 1233.

the Economic Committee of the Cabinet.<sup>31</sup> Of the four Ministries, one (Production) was abolished and the Ministries of Commerce and Consumers Industries and of Heavy Industries were combined, as before, to reform the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; and the Ministry of Iron and Steel was merged to form a new Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel in 1957. It may also be mentioned that the Department of Company Law Administration was taken away from the Ministry of Finance and added to that of Commerce and Industry in February, 1958.

In October, 1956, the Ministry of Food and Agriculture was bifurcated. Explaining the reasons for creating the separate Ministries of Food and of Agriculture, the Government Press Note said :

"The Government have always attached great importance to maintaining the prices of food grains at a reasonable level and ensuring adequate supplies to meet the demand in different parts of the Country. Increasing outlay during the period of the Second Plan carries with it the risk of a corresponding increase in demand for food grains and other essential consumer goods. In order to meet this situation and prevent the prices of food grains from increasing it has been considered necessary to strengthen the machinery of food administration and put it under a whole-time secretary."

The new Ministry of Food was concerned with import of food grains from abroad, as well as internal procurement, fixation of selling prices for food grains and *their allotment to different states* organizing machinery for their distribution and other functions necessary for the discharge of its responsibility. It also dealt with all the work relating to sugar and vegetable oil products. The rest of the business hitherto transacted in the parent Ministry of Food and Agriculture was the charge of the new Ministry of Agriculture. One Minister, however, held both the portfolios thus avoiding division and weakening of responsibility.

Nevertheless, the working of the separate Ministries of Food and Agriculture prompted the States to pick up less scrupulous habits. Since States had to deal with two Ministries, they found

advantage in submitting two varying sets of production figures—lower figures to the Ministry of Food, with the hope of larger allotment of food grains; and higher figures to the Ministry of Agriculture in the expectation of increased grants under the 'Grow More Food' programmes!<sup>32</sup> It was, therefore, an act of *Real Politik* to unite the two Ministries. And, this happened in April 1957, when a major reorganization of portfolios and Ministries was undertaken.

The April 17, 1957, re-organization created two new Ministries—of Steel, Mines and Fuel; and of Transport and Communications. The former replaced the Ministries of Production, and of Iron and Steel (which became a department in the new Ministry) and took over 'Natural Resources' from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, and the work relating to 'Oil and Petroleum Products' from the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply. Constituted into the two Departments of Iron and Steel, and of Mines and Fuel, its functions included the exploration of crude oil, the control of oil refineries, the distribution and determination of sale price of petroleum and oil products. The Ministries of Transport and Communications were united to form the Ministry of Transport and Communications, consisting of two Departments of Transport, and of Civil Aviation and Communications. The portfolio of Natural Resources and Scientific Research was abolished, and the work transacted in this Ministry was divided between the two new Ministries of (i) Educational and Scientific Research, and (ii) Steel, Mines and Fuel. Employment was the new adjunct to the portfolio of Labour and emphasized the importance that the subject has in national objectives. This major re-organization sought to remove some of the persisting anomalies; cottage industries<sup>33</sup> were brought within the ambit of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry; ship building<sup>34</sup> went

32. We are grateful to Sardar Patel for bringing to light this 'Human factor' urging the two Ministries to 'speak with a united voice'. *Vide The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. V, No. 4, p. 459.

33. This was hitherto the charge of the Ministry of Production.

34. Hitherto a responsibility of the Ministry of Production.

31. *Vide The Economic Weekly*, September 8, 1956, p. 1062.

appropriately with shipping in the Ministry of Transport and Communications; and Scientific Research with Education.

With this reconstitution, the portfolios of Law and Health have been down-graded from the Cabinet rank and are placed in charge of Ministers of State. The demotions of the Law portfolio is indeed unfortunate. The executive process in India is patterned after the British Executive process; in England the Lord Chancellor is as important a member of the Cabinet as the Prime Minister, who is the Head of the Cabinet. This is the position in the Commonwealth countries also.

A further change occurred in March, 1958, after the death of the Education Minister. The Ministry of Education and Scientific Research has been bifurcated into the Ministries of (i) Education, and (ii) Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs (the Department of Scientific Research and Physical Education under the Ministry of Education), both placed under two independent Ministers of State.

Though there is happily a Ministry of Natural Resources and Cultural Affairs, it is, surprisingly, not in charge of the development of Atomic Energy, which figures as a separate Department in the Government of India, with the Prime Minister as its political chief. This Department of Atomic Energy, created in August, 1954, was carved out of the late Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research, perhaps to suit the caprice of the contemplated appointees.

The Ministry of States had ceased to be exacting with the coming into operation of the Constitution in 1950.<sup>35</sup> Created on July 5, 1947, this Ministry confined itself to the questions relating to Parts B and C States and the matters relating to the merger agreement in respect of those princely states that later became Part B States. It was, however, merged in the Ministry of Home Affairs on January 10, 1955. Also, the Ministry of Rehabilitation, created on the clientele-principle, is in the process of being wound up.

To sum up, the present number of Ministries

35. The suggestion to wind up this Ministry was perhaps first made in the Parliament on 3rd April, 1951. *Vide Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. X, No. 1, 31st March, 1951, p. 5786.

in the Central Government is twenty-one including the Departments of (i) Parliamentary Affairs, and (ii) Atomic Energy :

1. External Affairs;
2. Defence;
3. Finance;
4. Home Affairs;
5. Law;
6. Commerce and Industry;
7. Steel, Mines and Fuel;
8. Railways;
9. Labour and Employment;
10. Transport and Communications;
11. Food and Agriculture;
12. Irrigation and Power;
13. Education;
14. Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs;
15. Health;
16. Information and Broadcasting;
17. Works, Housing and Supply;
18. Rehabilitation;
19. Community Development and Co-operation;
20. Department of Parliamentary Affairs; and
21. Department of Atomic Energy.

These twenty-one Ministries (including two Departments) have been grouped into twenty portfolios, twelve held by Cabinet Ministers, eight held by Ministers of State.

It would be pertinent in the end to make certain observations, at least in the nature of *obiter dicta*, which a careful analysis of the evolution of portfolios and Ministries seems to support. They may be thus listed :

First, an outstanding Minister can impart towering importance to any portfolio as Morley proved it in the Irish Office, Joseph Chamberlain in the Colonial Office, Lloyd George in the Ministry of Munitions, Abul Kalam Azad in the Ministry of Education and Dr. Ambedkar in the Ministry of Law. Reversely, a Minister of short stature can bring down the biggest portfolio, almost equating it with a lifeless routine. Secondly, a portfolio should not change hands too frequently. Otherwise, the ad-

ministration would be loser inasmuch as the experience gained by a Minister would be lost. Ministers are architects of policy, at least in a general way ; their rapid transfer is likely to weaken the position and prestige of the political Head, and make permanent officials the fountain head of power. This possibility must be guarded against in an infant democracy where conventions have not yet had the time to be stratified.

Thirdly, repreated reconstitution of Ministries and portfolios reveals lack of systematic, integrated approach, and smacks of a tendency to accommodate individual caprices and conveniences. In the process, therefore, efficiency and stability of administration receive but secondary importance. One, therefore, feels the necessity 'to undertake a comprehensive review of the inherited machinery of govern-

ment and to re-arrange business in departments so as to bring about rationalization and homogeneity, to provide for better co-ordination of inter-related functions and to make the constituted charges speedy in movement and purposeful in action.'<sup>36</sup>

Fourthly, the demarcation of Ministries concerned with economic matters has been recurringly modified—and, to an extent, this is to be looked upon in the context of a fast developing economy.

Fifthly, and lastly, Ministries devoted to furthering Social Welfare—Ministries of Education, of Health, of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs—are placed in the lower rungs of the ladder, being the preserves of the Ministers of State.

36. Asok Chanda : *op. cit.*, p. 258.

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## THE FALL IN STANDARDS OF JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION

By KAILASH CHANDRA, M.A., LL.B.

THE Judicial system of this country is one of the priceless legacies of the British administration in India. Of late, those connected with law courts, be it in the capacity of litigants or lawyers, have become painfully aware of widespread and rampant corruption, corroding the entire judicial framework. If a rustic cultivator and an ignorant pedestrian is presumed to know the law, it should not sound irksome to those connected with the judicial administration in our country, that the judges should be presumed to know the prevalence of this canker, which is sapping the foundations of that magnificent citadel, which the renowned British jurist Dicey termed as ~the 'Rule of law'. Times without number, we have heard the pronouncements of respected judges of our law courts, on the decaying standards of public administration, of perjured evidence, and of fictitious investigations ; but every time, while these were condemned, we have been rudely reminded of the fall in the standards of judicial administration in our land. In a country, committed to democratic processes, it

is always worthwhile to scrutinize every department of administration in an objective manner and to see, if an honest beginning can be made to rekindle the flame of public confidence by taking recourse to effective steps, aimed at counter-acting the evil which has assumed rather formidable proportions. It would be an honest endeavour in these lines to go into the causes of this decadence, find ways and means and see, if a situation can be averted where the executive and judiciary cease to vie with each other in encouraging a steady fall of stndards.

The first thing that catches our imagination is the general slackening of a sense of discipline in the whole country. It is true that, after the attainment of independence, the functional aspect of the State has undergone a vital change—from a Police to a Welfare State. It is also true that the burden on the country's administration has increased as a sequel to a spate of legislations, adding to the problems of those whose business it is to deal with them. But it is also true that the vigilance of those who man the

state judicial personnel, has slackened and instead of tightening the reins, they are allowing them to slip from their hands. It is here that the ministerial staff has stepped in and has begun fumbling with the authority, by confronting the easy going judges with the technicalities of law. In small day to day routine matters, orders are procured in the chambers, in flagrant contravention of the laws of procedure. It is only a truism to say that trivial matters could not have been made subject of appeal or revision, for two reasons. Firstly, because this gives rise to a highly, technically cumbersome machinery, bringing in its train an inevitable scope of wilful exploitation and the consequent delay in the dispensation of justice. In the second place, it means, a virtual censure of the judicial conscience at every stage of the judicial hierarchy. Both these create an impossible situation. There is widespread talk of corruption in high places and large schemes for the amelioration of the lot of the common man, but seemingly petty swindlers, at the subordinate level, make the smooth functioning of a department an unworkable proposition. It is common knowledge that the Reader by the side of the presiding officer and clerks at their desks behind him, and in the offices, have been seen, day in and day out, fleecing the ignorant multitude that throng the law courts. Is it not a travesty of truth to assume that the activities of these persons are hidden from their officers? The higher judicial officers or executives, content themselves with pre-arranged routine inspection rounds. Even if one superior judicial officer, of the rank of Additional District Magistrate (J), in those parts of the State, in which the so-called separation between the executive and the judiciary has been effected, honestly takes pains to see that such obnoxious activities are check-mated, he can do so in a few surprise rounds, every week, followed by drastic handling of the culprits. At the magisterial level, most of the routine orders are often drafted by the subordinate officials and the officers content themselves by appending their initials. The result is that 'deals' are undertaken and the officer is dubbed as dishonest, and perhaps rightly so because to assign one's own jurisdictional functions, however trivial, to anybody else is also an instance of dishonesty. This is in regard to courts exercising civil, revenue and criminal jurisdictions. Technical legislation, such as, the then

Agricultural Income-tax Act, now Large Land Holdings Tax Act and scores of such enactments, have scared the magistracy to such an extent, that their technicalities not unoften deter them from looking into the cases themselves, and they complacently leave them to the dealing clerk, and, in the process, the result is, what is bound to be with a thoroughly discredited staff. It may be that because of lop-sided legislation, those for whom they are meant find it safer to arrange things at the lower rung of the ladder, rather than to risk their fate at the hands of a person who has less time and lesser inclination to do justice and to embroil himself in what he assumes, an intractable web of technicalities and mathematical jigsaw puzzles. But it is so, merely because of the apathy, indifference and judicial dishonesty of the presiding officers. It has been frequently seen that this culpable laxity on the part of the officers, results in the victimization of those poor or self-respecting litigants, who are compelled by their poor resources, or by a false notion of principles, not to pay Bakshis to the demi-gods who cluster round the deity of justice. Have those in authority ever cared to be vigilant about the bank balances, acquisition of landed and house property, and other acquisitions by these persons and scrutinize them in proportion to the comparatively slender remuneration that they get by way of their salaries? It may be further pointed out in this context that these unofficial, extraneous emoluments are steadily becoming extortionate. Even under courts subordinate to High Courts these small gratifications have become a regular feature, from the Munsarim to a petty clerk, acquiring immutable sanction and sanctity of a rightful appendage to an office, no longer confined to a fixed amount at the end of each month. Immersed in Sessions trials the Sessions Judge has hardly any time left for such petty affairs and contents himself by devoting an hour or so, in initialling the papers in his cosy chambers in a routine time-worn manner. In the subordinate courts matters are worse. The relatively new officers, dependent helplessly on their own sectional secretariats, bide time by listening to the old and seasoned crooks, who have grown grey in the department and have become well-versed in the tricks of the trade.

*Inter se* the officers, the social affability and fellow-feeling have become more intense with the passage of years. Most of the superior officers are seen at the bridge tables of their sub-

ordinates, indulging in light *tete-a-tete*, with the result that regard and fear of the administrative Head is fast disappearing. There is no time for the commencement of work, no fixed duration for the lunch interval or for leaving the court room. The worst sufferers are obviously the litigants, who pay these officers their rich emoluments by an exorbitant levy of court-fee and stamps. We are told that the Honourable High Court in each state has an Administrative Judge, but experience has shown that he has hardly any time, in view of his crowded judicial preoccupations, to spare even a routine, pre-arranged, conducted inspection once every year in each district. The whole administrative vigilance is merely on papers, which go on piling in the administrative section without any earthly good for those who are called, day in and day out, the masters of the country.

Most of what has been pointed out in the above lines can be set right by a correct code of conduct and vigilance of the officers, with condign departmental punishments for those who violate the law. We are not unmindful of the constitution of a high power committee, for tackling the incidence of corruption but only strict administrative vigilance of each officer and a stern view of the lapses would be enough to tone up the entire judicial administration.

A few years in the life of a country mean nothing. India is yet passing through a transitional period. With a measure of authority, which still vests in the departmental Heads, a great deal of corruption can be easily eliminated by taking recourse to drastic action at every rung of the ladder. Governance is impossible without a certain amount of fear complex and a vigilance which instils into the minds of the personnel, from the judge to a petty clerk, a certain awe, for every sin of omission and commission in the discharge of the duties assigned, in their respective spheres. Apart from this it has been often complained that those connected with the judicial system, *viz.*, the litigants and the lawyers, have never done their part of the duty. It may be that the years of unabating corruption and the lure for expeditious or dilatory tactics, purely in the selfish interests of clients may have been the factors, for acquiescing in the prevalent state of affairs but their indifference and apathy are largely due to the lack of administrative control, they

experience in day to day administration. Those engaged in activities, giving incentive to any form of corruption should be strongly dealt with in accordance with the provisions of law. It is needless to recount here, the difficulties and inconveniences, the clients are subjected to, in petty matters. The summoning of records, the putting up of applications for interlocutory orders, the applications for bail and innumerable such other miscellaneous petitions, have their own different stories to tell at the inception, in between the time they are submitted and brought before the presiding officer for disposal. And strangely enough, after the orders this way or that are passed, the tale is more grim. In urgent matters, such as suspension of execution of sentence, stay of fine, or an interim injunction, extra remuneration is easily had from those who obtain them. If perchance the day of the order is followed by a Sunday or other holidays, the demand for this extra remuneration becomes easily extortionate and for those refusing to oblige the dealing clerk, the matter is delayed with a technical objection in the garb of which the official concerned glibly takes shelter before his helpless superior officer. Only if the presiding officers realise that it is not merely a part of their duty to pass the orders but also to see that they are expeditiously implemented, much of the trouble and corruption can be eliminated. For such urgent business they should be easily accessible, and they should see that such orders are prepared and signed by them as expeditiously as possible. Such contingencies are more or less of a routine nature. The Reader can well be directed to have a catalogue of all such orders with him and see that they are all finally disposed of by the rising of the court.

Yet another difficulty is that the litigants coming from long distances on foot have to wait till the evening shadows fall, and it becomes impossible for them to return home while a mere night's stay in the urban areas means an expense, which they are, normally, hardly capable of. If the date perchance is fixed for hearing, the whole retinue of witnesses have to be fed and attended to. These are practical difficulties of which no presiding officer is unaware. Both in courts of civil or criminal jurisdiction, hundreds of such persons have to return every day and the tale is repeated many

a time, before the case matures for final hearing. The consequence is that, till the time the case concludes the poor litigant who had knocked at the portals of justice is exhausted both physically and materially. The cause lists are kept unduly crowded and in the day's time at the disposal of the courts, is it not possible to consult the counsels and fix only such work as is possible for the day, at the commencement of the sitting and fix dates for the rest?

Notwithstanding political acclamations, justice is becoming steadily inaccessible because of the rise in the levy of court-fee and stamps. With every amendment in the statute relating to these laws, the so-called 'equality of opportunity' is being rendered a dead letter on the country's Constitution. It would not serve any useful purpose to recount the stages in which these laws have made justice more and more expensive day by day. Before the Amendment, any petition under the Hindu Marriage Act, necessitated a levy of fee which was, ordinarily, fixed for an application. The legislature, with a view to augmenting the revenue of the state, by taking recourse of Article 21A, now levies a court-fee of no less an amount than

Rs. 37.50nP for any petition under the Hindu Marriage Act or the Special Marriage Act. The amount is patently a deterrent. It is true that the spirit underlying the scheme of legislation pertaining to these Acts discourages easy recourse to them, as would be apparent from the injunction for conciliation for the competent courts; nevertheless, to make it so exorbitantly expensive, means eliminating the redress of wrongs and rendering courts of law inaccessible even to deserving cases. In fact the amount of court fees defeats the very purpose of the Act by making it accessible only to the affluent sections of the population, and inaccessible to the common populace who are 'the hewers of wood and the drawers of water'.

It is hardly any use multiplying such instances. The miserable tale of these men crowding in the gangways and court corridors is too painful to recount. Now that more than ten years have passed since we achieved independence, will it be too much to expect from our judiciary and executive, to see that the vision of a free and rejuvenated India is not stained by these repugnant, clumsy and avoidable shortcomings ?

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## THE DRIFT OF INDUSTRIES FROM WEST BENGAL

BY DR. J. N. RAY

Wherever a few Bengalees foregather, the one topic of discussion is the rapid shifting of industries from Calcutta. The unanimous verdict is that this is due to the apathy of the Central Government who are not concerned with what happens to Bengal. I have never heard anyone trying to analyse the real causes of this decline. Unless we get to the roots of this we cannot hope to rectify matters.

I have discussed this question with several Europeans and non-Bengalees. Their views are worth considering. They state that living conditions have fast deteriorated in this city. The small area bounded on the north by Park Street and by Lower Circular Road on the south which happened to be the former residential area for the executives now have no vacant rooms. A two-bedroom Flat costs about Rs. 1000/- a month.

Alipur houses are all occupied by the new-rich business community of Calcutta. Tollygunge is no longer the green spot it used to be. Hence it is not possible to locate any Industry in or around Calcutta because of dearth of accommodation. Calcutta has grown fast in a haphazard manner. The green trees have nearly all gone. That once beauty-spot, the Eden Gardens and the riverside, is now an eyesore. The over-crowding of Calcutta has resulted in difficulty of transport of workers from their place of residence to the factory site. In monsoon season the streets often get flooded with the result that transport is paralysed for hours on several occasions. There is no beauty left in Calcutta owing to the construction of buildings violating every bye-law of the Corporation. One European gentleman showed me that 80 per cent of the houses

constructed during the last 15 years have been constructed in flagrant violation of all bye-laws. The authorities fully know of all this but no attempt has been made to stop the malpractices as too many vested interests have to be tackled. There is no place within 150 miles of Calcutta where one can spend a restful week-end. The roads leading out of Calcutta are always congested and it is no pleasure to motor out of Calcutta. I took a party of Americans to the Durgapur area by road. They told me that they had not seen anywhere in the world so many people out in the streets at all hours of the day and night as they did on that occasion. They had a mind to locate an industry here but they remarked that Durgapur, which is a new township, could have been made a little cleaner and beautiful. I do not know the reasons but Durgapur is fast becoming a big slum. They remarked that in Calcutta there is no Prohibition but a visit to the different Clubs made them feel that congenial club life would not be possible as most of these clubs have persons from new-rich communities as their members and their numbers are many. He pointed out that despite the superficial veneer of polish these gentlemen lacked the necessary culture to be sociable club mates.

Formerly Industries had to be located in an area most suitable with respect to raw materials and nearness to the consuming centres. Those considerations do not matter now. India was a signatory to the General Agreement On Trade and Tariffs whereby every signatory country was precluded from imposing quantitative restriction on imports from another country except on the ground of shortage of Foreign Exchange. India has chronic shortage of Foreign Exchange. Therefore once an article is produced in the country, it enjoys virtual protection as it has not to compete with other countries. The purchaser has to pay gladly whatever price is asked for the article. Therefore why should the manufacturer bother about the best location for his Industry. He will go anywhere his convenience suits him. If there had been internal competition then that would have been a

sufficient reason for caution. But the Industries Ministry of New Delhi will refuse permission to others who want to come in the field on the ground that this will mean finding more Foreign Exchange to the new comer for import of Capital goods from abroad. Therefore an established concern gets not only protection from outside sources but also from internal competition. Hence industries can be located anywhere. The extra cost would be borne by the consumers. It does not need any high powered committee to find out why there is inflation and where the extra earned money of the man in the street during the Second Five-Year Plan has gone.

Another reason presented to me by certain foreigners about their difficulty of locating industries in West Bengal is the insistence of the Central Government that majority in the management should be Indian nationals and Indians should hold 51 per cent shares. In West Bengal the money is in the hands of certain communities with whom they find difficulty in collaborating as they are hampered at every step. If they move to the other parts of India they find capitalists who are more reasonable in their dealings. The fate of Tea and Jute Industries would teach us a good lesson but the cost may be too great for the nation.

The labour in West Bengal is stated to be the most difficult in the whole of India. I have discussed this matter with all sorts of people. The Bengalees themselves admit that this accusation is correct. The Europeans say that labour demands do not trouble them so much as the constant threat of strike, endless processions and slogan shouting. The budding Labour leaders are not afraid of drifting away of Industries. In their opinion 70 per cent of Labour force being non-Bengalees the harm would be more to the others! According to them no loaf is better than half a loaf! I pointed out that Kipling called Calcutta 'the city of dreadful nights' and Nehru has called it 'the night-mare city of endless processions'. So we have got the same compliments from foes and friends alike! Happily certain recent events have exposed these teachers of indis-

pline and it is to be hoped that Labour parental or otherwise, vanished. The Bengalees living outside Bengal do not suffer from this over-congestion, lack of amenities of every kind that go to make the mind and body healthy. Therefore it is small wonder that they make good.

The question is often raised what will be the fate of the Bengalees who still constitute about a twelfth of the population of India? The rapid decline of the Bengalees was noticed by Acharya P. C. Ray and he had suggested that unless social workers took to rectify the defects of Bengali character, the doom of Bengal was inevitable. The social workers are busy otherwise. These small matters had not received their attention. It is enough to lead processions of Displaced persons to persons in authority. The Bengalees remain as lazy as ever but in a Welfare State everyone has a right to live. All that matters is to get the dole increased. It is easy to blame the Bengalees that they are lazy and therefore they deserve the fate that is waiting for them. But we have to remember that they constitute a large part of the population of India and will always be a drag on the rest of India till they perish. It may take a century or two before that happens. Will the whole country's progress be halted till then?

But can Bengalees be redeemed? The Chairman of a big British concern told me that Bengalees from outside Bengal make the best Executives. But if a Bengali from Calcutta is recruited, he gives endless trouble. He told me that once there was a proposal to stop recruitment of all Bengalees in his concern but he opposed it. He decided to transfer these troublesome elements to up-country stations for a year or two and the transformation was amazing. They were completely transformed beings. This led to the conclusion that the environment of their residence had a lot to do with their indiscipline. This concern and several others then decided that the Executives must live in certain specified areas. So it is evident that the environment plays a great part in determining the character of a man. The decline of the Bengalees started from the time when highest ambition of a Bengalee was to build a house in Calcutta. This not only resulted in the over-congestion of Calcutta but the youths became unmanageable and all discipline,

Bengalees living outside Bengal do not suffer from this over-congestion, lack of amenities of every kind that go to make the mind and body healthy. Therefore it is small wonder that they make good. Recently a Punjabi pupil of mine who holds a very high position in an English firm told me that he had independently come to the same conclusion as the above. Hence if the environs are proper the Bengalee is still able to hold his own with the best. Therefore those who are responsible for making Calcutta the forest of ill-planned buildings will have a lot to answer for. This craze for living in Calcutta has resulted in the other towns of Bengal being neglected. I know clerkships are easy to obtain in Calcutta but to-day even in clerical jobs we are ousted because of our fallen efficiency. Last April one of the aspiring politicians of Calcutta started the slogan, "employment for the sons of the soil". Within a few weeks the answer came from Assam. This gentleman was quietened for the time being but the recent decision to Provincialise all appointments upto Rs. 750/- p.m., will no doubt gladden the hearts of short-sighted people like the above gentleman.

The movement of Industries from West Bengal will not materially affect the Labour population. 70 per cent of the Labour Force even in Bengalee concerns consist of non-Bengalee Labour. The reason is not far to seek. Bengalees with their dietary habits and living under dreadful conditions in Calcutta are simply not able to put as much work as they should. I know that some Bengalees have won prizes in International contests for possessing sturdy muscular physique. A change of diet and the habit of taking regular exercise have been the cause of this success. Therefore if the masses were instructed in changing their dietary habits a considerable amount of improvement could have taken place. The traditional fish and other protein diets of the Bengalees are not within the means of an average Bengalee. He subsists now on rice and vegetables. The vegetarian labour from up-country also does not eat meat and fish yet his physique is better. What are

our nutrition experts doing? What steps they have taken to teach these people what is good for them?

The only salvation for the Bengalees is to spread out from Bengal. Under the constitution they are at liberty to live in any part of India they like. We know what has happened in Assam. Those responsible for these happenings would have been charged with genocide in other countries.

In this country also the conscience of men will be awakened soon and these things will be things of the past. Let us remember that persecution cannot stop any people from thriving. We have the example of the Jews in Europe. So, let us take our chance and move out. If we stop here we will surely perish. So why worry?

We have been told that Calcutta could have been made more livable if we had satellite towns with green belts. If we had made these towns, each would have been self-contained units relieving congestion. After we have seen what is happening in new townships like Durgapur, it would be best not to hope too much in this direction.

Acharya Ray advocated that Bengalees should take more to business. His preaching had some effects. But recently there has again been a set-back. The Bengalees were doing well in some retail trades such as cement, paper, cloth, stationery, etc. During the last few years they have been pushed back from these. There has been allegation that a great deal of unfair trading exists in these trades in violation of the provisions of the Company Act. We do not know it for certain. But has the Commerce and Industry Department of the State probed into the matter? Probably they have and taken up the subject with the Central Government. Now that the Centre controls and regulates Industry and Commerce in every way, the only justification for having this department in the State is to investigate all cases of unfair competition and other causes of hardship and report to the Centre for rectification of glaring defects. The Handloom Industry of West Bengal is in a deplorable condition. The departmental experts who have no doubt gone to the root cause of the trouble,

we hope, will publish their finding and what they are doing about it for the benefit of those concerned in the trade. The country would eagerly wait for these reports if they are ever prepared as a lot of lessons can be learned from these and mistakes can be avoided in the future. There are a lot of ugly rumours, probably baseless. It would be in everybody's interest to clear these up.

I have been told by a businessman that except one State, West Bengal is perhaps the most corrupt State in India. Here again these allegations whatever is the truth make one hesitant to start any venture in West Bengal. There is an anti-corruption department to go into these cases but apparently the existence of this department has not inspired much confidence as otherwise these allegations would not have been openly repeated. Therefore it is now for the citizens of Calcutta to have their own non-official Watch Committee headed by men who have no axe to grind, political or otherwise, to investigate the types of cases where corruption is possible and submit their report to the Government for whatever measures the Government wishes to take to stop these. If the Government does not do anything, in a democracy there is always the final appeal to the ballot-box.

If Bengalees are to survive they have to put down the false prophets whose numbers are many. The growth of Calcutta has to be stopped. Satellite towns have to be built avoiding the congestion which has been the bane of Calcutta. Municipal administration in these new areas has to be ruthless. The youth can be reclaimed. We had an instance at Durgapur. A lot of unruly youths from Calcutta were drafted to brick making but at first it did not prove a success. But with the introduction of military training, these very people proved to be just wonderful and were able to earn good money but what is more important their physique improved tremendously. Let the Industries move from West Bengal if this results in lessening the congestion of Calcutta. Bengalees will not be greatly affected as all that they get are a few clerkships and a few semi-skilled technicians' posts. The plum

posts are not theirs. If trading conditions could be made fair more people would have taken to shop keeping and other aspects of the retail trade. The loss of a few clerical posts should not matter so much. But Bengalees must move out of Calcutta. They are even averse to go 50 miles out of Calcutta. There are very few doctors in the rural areas. The reason is, that all doctors like to practice in Calcutta hoping that they will reach the top rank some day. In the meantime to keep the wolf from the door, the oath of Hippocrates is often forgotten. This has resulted in the influx of doctors from other parts to Calcutta. We welcome this influx as

in our opinion the local Medical profession will be purged of some of its evils. That will be good for all concerned. Moreover we do not for a moment believe in the theory that employment should be for the sons of the soil only. Those who come here and have something useful to contribute, are our friends and will get full co-operation from us. In turn we expect that they will treat us in the same manner if we go to their State and have something useful to give. Once the Bengalees were welcome everywhere as they were men of sound character and were regarded as educators of India. If we have fallen from that position the fault is entirely ours.

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## HOW STABLE IS INDIA'S UNITY ?

By SUBHASH CHANDRA SARKER

THE question of the stability of Indian unity has been forced upon public consciousness with a renewed sharpness by the ghastly tragedy of the Bengalis in the easternmost State of Assam, although it cannot be truthfully said that the full significance of the occurrences in that region has been grasped by many even among the national leadership. Many people outside West Bengal (which could not overlook the fearful dimensions of the monster of Assamese parochialism if only because it had to struggle hard to support around 50,000 refugees coming out as a result of the disturbances in Assam) are not even aware of the true magnitude of the disaster that had overtaken the Bengalis in Assam. Even among those who had knowledge of the happenings, many failed to infer the necessary conclusions about their cause and effect.

### *Most "Ghastly" Tragedy*

The Prime Minister, after a personal visit to some of the riot-torn areas in Assam, described the anti-Bengali pogrom perpetrated there as the "most ghastly occurrence" that had taken place in this country during the past thirteen years; he called the happenings in Assam "inexcusable and unpardonable". Thus he was fully aware of what had happened in Assam. Yet even

he also was not able or willing to make the necessary inferences for policy, so that he was found opposing the move for an immediate high powered comprehensive probe into the disturbances through which alone it could be possible to lay bare the forces and factors operating below, what on the surface was sought to be passed over as an agitation to make Assamese the State Language of Assam. Had the request for an immediate enquiry of this type been accepted it would have enabled a knowledge of the relative importance of the various economic, social, sociological and emotional factors in generating tensions or in resolving them.

The Prime Minister was merely giving vent to his feeling of despondency when, winding up the three-day debate on Assam in the Lok Sabha on September 3, he said, "This great country of ours itself became a haunted place with all kinds of ghosts and spectres, ghosts of the past, of the distant past and the recent past". But despondency is the last thing we can afford to indulge in if we want to live as a united nation.

### *Need for Objectivity*

If we are to survive as a nation, we must necessarily have to try to understand the various factors that are operating under the surface to

sustain or to destroy this unity. Being ourselves part of the process we often fail, not very surprisingly, to disentangle ourselves from our subjectivism. Here we may profit from the observations of serious foreign students of Indian affairs, since they enable us to have a glimpse of how our actions and utterances stand to be interpreted by others. This benefit can be derived without having necessarily to agree with their entire analyses or their conclusions. Mr. Selig S. Harrison's *India : The Most Dangerous Decades*—[Princeton University Press, 1960, pp. 350, \$6.50.] deserves particular mention in this connection.

Mr. Harrison's analysis follows the line of the Prime Minister's thinking. His thesis is that India is being rent by narrow linguism on the part of various linguistic groups and even the homogeneity of the linguistic areas is being undermined by inter caste and intra-caste rivalries. He has sought to support his thesis by scholarly references to the events of the past and the present. Easily he has been able to demonstrate that, despite a long history of the possession of a common cultural outlook, all the peoples who now constitute India had never lived in political unity before the advent of the British. (Even during the British rule, about one-third of the total population remained outside of that political unity so that, truly speaking, it was not until after the achievement of independence that geographical India really became one political unit). The sense of unity during the days of British overlordship was fostered by the common interest in doing away with the political dependence and survived the British rule by a few years even after independence. It was not very long, however, before the latent divergences and rivalries came to the fore. In their new awakening the various linguistic groups are falling back upon the history of their past glories which in most cases does not offer a common meeting ground for them. The period of one's historical glory is often the period of another's shame, caused probably by the other group. Even in the present their willingness and ability to co-operate mutually is seriously circumscribed by their competing economic and social needs.

#### *The Most Serious Challenge*

According to the author of the book the most serious challenge to Indian Unity is posed

by language rivalries which in most cases coincide with caste rivalries. With the wider spread of education and the accelerated development of the regional languages, will be generated a tendency to depend more and more on local parochialism for support for political power and to that extent the unity of India will suffer a decline. Undoubtedly there is much truth behind this analysis, although the same is true also of newspapers in English with only a local readership. Even the most cursory comparison between the contents of the newspapers in English and the language newspapers published from New Delhi, Bombay, Madras or Calcutta will illustrate this thesis with particular vigour. The language dailies have an unmistakably larger bias towards regionalism than the English language papers. And the Assam riots are before us to show to what dangerous lengths this parochialism could go.

#### *An Important Failure*

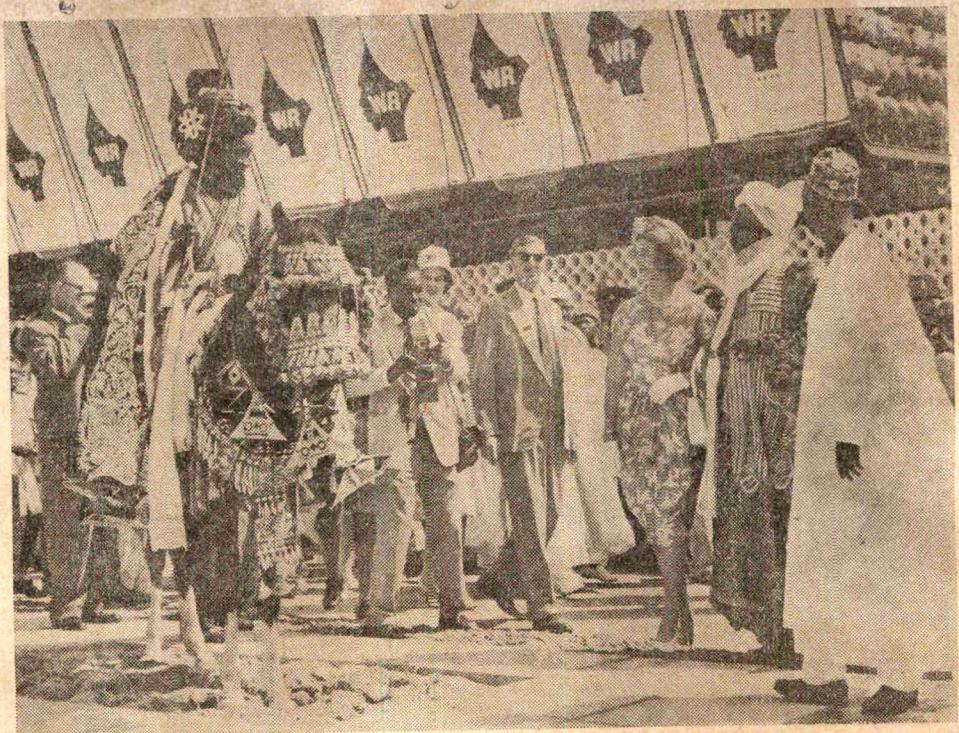
This is, however, one side of the picture. No sane person would seriously suggest that the forty crores of Indians could be educated in English or Hindi or, for that matter, in any one language in the foreseeable future. If the dead-weight of illiteracy, ignorance, incompetence and indifference is to be removed, this can only be done through a rapid expansion of education through the mother tongue of the people. Unfortunately, there has been extremely deplorable indecision. Though as early as in 1948 the Inter-University Board had urged education to be imparted upto the university level through the mother tongue, neither the State Governments nor the universities have shown any keenness in implementing that decision. The Gujarat University offers a flagrant instance of such inaction. The University's foundation charter had clearly laid it down that the University should adopt all measures so that after ten years (*i.e.*, by 1960) the University can offer education through the medium of Gujarati. That was not done and the situation had been saved by effecting a special amendment to the University Act. In West Bengal also, the initial start given by the Ghosh Ministry in 1947 was allowed to lose momentum by the Roy Ministry and the Calcutta University also was not particularly enthusiastic to adopt Bengali. The basic lack of perspective of the Central move is



Dr. Oliver Cromwell Carmichael at the children's corner of the Ramkrishna Mission Library, Calcutta



Air Marshal Subrata Mukherjee



Princess Alexandra of Kent at the Nigeria Exhibition in Lagos



Students from Asian countries aboard the S.S. President Cleveland sailing across the Pacific toward San Francisco

reflected in such curious moves as the introduction of Hindi as the medium in the multi-lingual Delhi University while Hindi is still to be made the medium of instruction in any of the respectable universities in the predominantly Hindi-speaking region.

The continued failure of the administration and the universities to change into the regional languages has led to a feeling of frustration among a considerable section of the population. Another result of this failure has been that very few, if any, among the non-Hindi speaking populations have recognized the virtue or the necessity of introducing Hindi at the Centre in place of English. The logical course would have been to try Hindi first in the Regional Governments and Universities in the Hindi-speaking area and only thereafter to introduce it at the Centre. But then, reasonableness has been the chief casualty in the contemporary political life of the country. This illogical action also has encouraged fissiparous tendencies.

#### *Basis of Indian Unity*

What is the basis of Indian Unity now? Apart from the constitutional provisions and the general desire to live together which is being violently shaken by the worst type of contradictions in the attitude of the people in authority, there seems to be no objective factor favouring Indian Unity. Religion no longer provides that binding faith as it used to before. In the case of recent Assam riots the Bengali Hindus actually suffered more than the Bengali Muslims at the hands of their Assamese-speaking Hindi compatriots. Apart from the small Central Government controlled sector, there is, really speaking, no Indian sector of the Indian economy. It is either Marwari, Gujarati, or Tamil. The Marwari or Gujarati employer in West Bengal, for example, is very much unwilling to employ the local Bengali youths in his undertaking. This reluctance has little relation to the needs of economy or efficiency. The situation has assumed such a serious proportion in view of the extremely high incidence of educated unemployment in West Bengal (which is one of the worst sufferers in this respect) that the West Bengal Legislature, which includes a number of non-Bengalis in its membership, twice considered it necessary to voice its feeling of regret at this

non-co-operative attitude of the business community. This has so far had little effect on the latter's morale and it has taken advantage of the introduction of the Central legislation regarding notification of vacancies to the employment exchanges to stir up a campaign of anti-Bengali propaganda. (For example, see the despatch of Shri Rangaswami on Assam and the New Delhi Special Correspondent's report on Dandakiranya in the *Hindu*, Madras, August 22, 1960. P. 1). Although it is not altogether improbable for him to be able to secure a job or a scholarship in the U.K., or the U.S.A., it is impossible for a non-“domiciled” Bengali to get a job in Assam Government or even to receive a scholarship when he merits it, and it is so difficult to get a “domicile” certificate! It is doubtful if Indian unity can endure for long unless this fragile economic basis is altered by nationalization at the earliest possible time along with national economic integration.

#### *Congress*

So long the Congress party with its control over the Central and State Governments has contributed to the growth of Indian unity. But apart from its external political loss in several States it is itself rent with internal strife and the party is perilously dependent for its unity upon one man—Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The current crises in Andhra, Mysore, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa,—to name only a few States, does not augur very well for the future of the Congress Party. The way the Congress Members of Parliament coming from Assam and West Bengal differed in their statements of facts about the recent anti-Bengali developments in Assam as well as in their interpretations, was a remarkable evidence of the potential vulnerability of the organization along linguistic lines. The Praja-Socialist Party did not fare any better and its inability to put a principled stand has led one of its most prominent leaders,—Shri J. B. Kripalani, to tender his resignation from the party.

#### *The Communists*

Does the Communist Party of India with its inclusive philosophy of universal communism offer a hope for Indian unity? Apart from the

fact that the rise of communism in more than one country has proved too much for its monolithic character to be able to endure, in India also it has proved particularly vulnerable to the influence of caste and language. While the Congress party, especially after independence, has derived its main strength from the Hindi-speaking regions, the Communists are stronger in the non-Hindi areas. Mr. Harrison has analysed the Communist electoral performances in Andhra during the decade 1946-55 (there has been no further election there) to show that its influence is strong among only one of the caste groups (the Kammas) while in another (Reddis) Congress is the stronger influence. His another conclusion is that the relative inability of the Communists to gain strength in Tamilnad and Maharashtra has been primarily due to the fact that the Party's leaders in these predominantly non-Brahmin areas have been Brahmins. "Conceivably", writes Mr. Harrison, "Indian communism will in time yield up pan-Indian leadership so dynamic, so cohesive, that the future Indian political alignment will bear only slight resemblance to the past. But if the past is any guide, Indian Communism will not, by itself, provide a pan-Indian alternative to the Congress Party. Indian communism is a loose federation of regional units that have succeeded, where they have in fact succeeded, *only on regional ground*. The uneven pattern of communist strength corresponds to the pattern of *communist identification with regional forces*. The pattern of failure, too, corresponds to regions in which rivals have monopolized regional patriotism. With its strength dispersed in scattered regional strongholds, Indian communism *seems committed by its past to a separatist future*". (P. 178) (Italics ours). The analysis is certainly not to be lightly dismissed though it cannot be accepted in full without further study. The current ideological differences within the party also can be resolved into regional differences. On the other hand, during the gloomy days of the anti-Bengali pogrom in Assam, the communists alone seemed to have kept their heads and by all account their contribution to arson and looting there has been the minimum. But even here the Communist inability to stick to principles was reflected in the party's acquiescence to making Assamese the official language of the State to the exclusion of the claim of Bengali to an equivalent status not only in one district of Cachar but for the entire State, and against the wishes of non-Bengali linguistic minorities.

### *Future of Indian Unity*

What is the future of Indian Unity? The question is admittedly exceedingly difficult to answer. "Although on the one hand", Mr. Harrison writes, "development demands central direction, the economic upheaval set in motion by planning on a sub-continental scale carries its own endemic challenge to national unity" (P. 320). The validity of this observation can be seen in the wranglings in the National Development Council over the allocation of Plan resources to the various States. "The period now beginning in India", he adds, "presents striking similarities to the rise of nationalism in nineteenth century Europe, especially the nationalist upsurge in the Balkans which culminated in the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire . . . . The Balkanization of eastern Europe along linguistic lines occurred, to be sure, in a particular historical context. Imperialism has provided a rallying-cry to the nationalist leader in multilingual India or Indonesia which distinguishes the new Asian experiments from previous European experience. But the East European outcome did come as the climax of the same historical processes now occurring in India; more and more education and literacy, more and more popular participation in political life, more and more economic opportunity, and at the same time, more and more identity of linguistic and state boundaries" (Pp. 320-321). The change to Marwari power by the regional forces, he adds, offers a "striking parallel to the contest between the Balkan nationalist middle-classes and the Viennese financiers" (Pp. 321-322).

### *Role of the West*

Yet Balkanization offers no solution. The contemporary sad plight in which the small nations of the world now find themselves should be a warning to even the most parochial Indian leader. Mr. Harrison for one, also cannot approve of Balkanization which, in the age of space travel and the multilingual state, "is out of date." "Today", he writes, "a repetition of Balkan economic rivalries can only lead to an impasse in economic development, and, as a consequence, to increasing social and political tension" (P. 322). He

does not seem to be so sure, however, that India would retain its political unity in practical life during the coming decades and thus offers a prescription for Western policy on the assumption that probable victory of centrifugal forces cannot altogether be ruled out. "At times it will not be clear whether assistance to a particular central regime in India will necessarily promote long-run stability. A regime which uses authoritarian power to put down the claims of aggrieved regions in the name of stability might, depending on circumstances, merely aggravate the strains of the Union" (P. 339). Yet his conclusion differs in two significant respects from the prescription of many other Western writers. First, he has recognized that the pattern of political development in India may depart from what exists in the West or what the West might like to see in India. Second, the West should refrain from interfering in India's internal affairs. "The West can have a constructive role in the long struggle to establish a stable Indian Union if it recognizes that outsiders can temper and mould events but cannot determine them, if it acts always on an awareness that international, quite as much as domestic, politics is the art of the possible", he concludes (P. 340). A public declaration of the acceptance of these principles by the West would undoubtedly go a considerable way to remove the mistrust with which many Indians look upon it.

#### *Task Before Indians*

Yet the Indian cannot stop at this point. He has to grope for a definite answer to the question, can Indian unity endure? If the existing policies of discrimination and favouritism go unchecked, it may fairly confidently be predicted that this unity will not endure, and that even if it endures, its basis will constantly be undermined by many-pronged attacks robbing the unity of any of its purposeful attributes. Several things are immediately necessary to be done. Rejection of English at the State level both in administration and education, retaining it, however, as a compulsory second language at the secondary stage. People can then come to appreciate the meaning and responsibilities of freedom. They will come to feel that they have also a stake

in the affairs of the State. Second, there should be a firm declaration of principles of national policy which should be made justifiable, if necessary, and which should be obligatory for all the State Governments. There have been too much of vacillation and submissiveness on the part of the Central Government which has generated a feeling among many that it favours some and discriminates against others. The Central Government's refusal to act in Assam did not rest on any alleged lack of constitutional authority to do so. It is idle to pretend, as some well-meaning persons also seem to do, that the remedy lies in merely increasing Central authority. Its conduct during the entire Assam crisis has further shown that it is not adequately responsive to public suffering or to public suggestion even from best quarters. Shri K. M. Panikkar and Shri H. N. Kunzru, who made forceful speeches in the Rajya Sabha in support of a motion for an immediate high powered probe, cannot be accused of having any partisan motive simply because they had happened to see the utter injustice done to the Bengalis and the utter criminality of the entire proceedings in Assam during July, 4-14. The suggestion for an increase of Central authority in such a context hardly bears any meaning and may, in the absence of any check, conceivably degenerate into authoritarianism.

#### *Reorganization of Economic Set-up*

Thirdly, without a quick reorganization of the pattern of economic activity no constitutional or political method could sustain the nation's unity in the face of so many challenges. It is significant to recall that the first organized move towards violence in Assam found expression over the question of the location of the site of the oil refinery. And Assam is by no means the only State to have economic discontent. In the existing pattern of development, the scope for participation for the majority of the people is extremely limited and the benefits of the utilization of the national resources and energy go to only a handful of persons. All the political parties seem to recognise the truth of the need for a change, but progress in the direction of its realization has been dangerously tardy.

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## SOUTH-EAST ASIA: SOME EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

By PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.,

*Gadjah Mada State University, Indonesia*

THE post-World War II era will go down in history as the era of human emancipation. Between 1945, the last year of World War II, and 1960, the face of Asia and Africa has changed almost beyond recognition. Vast colonies and dependencies with their teeming millions tied to the apron-strings of Euro-American imperialism till the other day have recovered their national heritage and have been admitted to the comity of free nations. India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, Vietnam (North and South), Laos, Cambodia, Malaya, Singapore, the Philippines, Syria and Lebanon in Asia have attained the status of nation-states. Much of colonial Africa has been emancipated and in a year or two the whole of the 'Dark Continent' is almost sure to shine in the sunlight of independence. Asia and Africa are, in a word, on the march.

Almost the whole of South-East Asia is free to-day. The region consists of Indonesia, North and South Vietnam, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Malaya (including Singapore) and the British Borneo possessions. The entire region was in the backwater of world-politics till World War II, which broke out in 1939.

For centuries the Western World knew next to nothing of the lands East of India and South of China. They were little more than names. Japanese push in South-East Asia in the forties dramatically emphasized the strategic importance of the region. Interest sharpened when the loss of China left to the free world only the fringes of the continent and the off-lying islands and insular countries.<sup>1</sup>

It was Spring, 1954. Nearly a decade had passed after the capitulation of Japan to the (August, 1945). The eyes of the world focussed on South-East Asia by the debacle in Indo-China climaxed by the Dien Bien-Phu to Ho Chih Min's Com-

manded strategically at the south-eastern extremity of the great Asian land mass, South-East

Asia's boundaries isolate it effectively from the nearest land masses on all sides. Tall mountain ranges separate it from India on the west and China on the north except the north-east coastal region of Vietnam.

Cora du Bois in his *Social Forces in South-East Asia* aptly describes the region as a 'low pressure area'. All through its history, the whole area has been subjected to pressures from all sides. Population has been one of the most important pressures. With an area of 1,600,000 square miles, South-East Asia has a population of 170,000,000. It is peopled for the most part by successive migratory waves forced to move south by constantly rising pressure upon them, 'stemming in the last analysis from the Chinese'. South-East Asia, having a lower population density than China, has been constantly subjected to Chinese pressure. Its population, it should be remembered, is less than one-third of China's. There has been some pressure of population from India as well. About ten million Chinese and 1.5 million Indians have made South-East Asia their home.

Culturally too, South-East Asia has all along been a 'low-pressure' area. The Sailendra and Majapahit periods of Javanese history and the Srivijaya epoch of Sumatran history, no doubt, witnessed the rise and fall of great civilizations and empires in Indonesia, one of the more important countries of South-East Asia. But these are to be attributed to the penetration of the area by Hinduism and Buddhism. Much that owes its origin to Indian cultural influences—Hindu as well as Buddhist—is still clearly discernible almost all over South-East Asia. Some Chinese and Arabic influences too are visible on South-East Asia's cultural life. In modern times Europe too has 'to an ever-increasing extent left a pronounced imprint on virtually all aspects of life in this part of the world'. It should be admitted at the same time that South-East Asia adapted many of these borrowings to its particular needs. Cultural influences, in a word, converged upon the South-East Asian world from India, China, the Middle-East, Europe and America. None was rejected. All were accepted. No cultural influences, it should be noted, ever emanated from South-East Asia.

*South-East Asia Among World Powers*—  
Aderbosch and R. A. Butwell, p. I.

From the economic point of view too South-East Asia is a 'low-pressure' area and has all along been subjected to pressures from outside. In ancient and medieval times, Indians, Chinese and Arabs fostered the commerce of the South-East Asian world. The end of the Middle Ages introduced new factors in its economic life and the modern age in South-East Asia was ushered in by novel economic factors. The economic structure of South-East Asia underwent a revolutionary transformation with the establishment of European supremacy. Its self-sufficient subsistence economy received a rude jolt. South-East Asia became instead a supplier of raw materials to the industrialized countries of the West. It became simultaneously a leader in the rice trade of the world.

South-East Asia 'has been an area of convergent political interests' as well. An aggressive China moved south on several occasions in the past to enhance its own power and territory. Vietnam was long under Chinese rule. Kublai Khan invaded Burma, Cambodia and Champa (a part of Vietnam). He sent a punitive expedition to Java because the Javanese King had helped the monarch of Champa in the latter's war against China. Emperor Yung Lo (1403-1424) of the Ming Dynasty occupied much of Vietnam, controlled Upper Burma and sent expeditions to the lands of the South to collect tributes from the local rulers and to persuade them, if possible, or to force them, if necessary, to accept Chinese overlordship. In contrast with the Sino-South-East Asian relations, Indo-South-East Asian relations have been peaceful on the whole. The successful onslaught on the Sailendra dominions by Rajendra Chola I of Tanjore (1012-1044) in Southern India shows what an expansionist India could do. Japan struck at South-East Asia only once. She overran the whole of South-East Asia during World War II (1939-1945). She carried everything before her in the earlier stages of the struggle but had to retreat in the end before the massive Anglo-American counter-offensive. Japan would certainly have been successful in her venture, if she had encountered only South-East Asian resistance and not that of the Anglo-American allies. European powers—England, France and Holland—and the U.S.A. for a time established full political control over South-East Asia, which

thus became the happy hunting ground of Euro-American colonialism for many years.

Foreign penetration of South-East Asia in the past was easy due to weakness consequent on the division of the region into a multitude of small political units. "South-East Asia at the beginning of the 16th century", observes H. J. Van Mook, was "covered by a patchwork quilt of kingdoms, principalities, tribal chieftainships, independent cities, and local or regional confederations. Most of their rulers were, in Western eyes, absolute monarchs or 'kings', but their power depended to a great extent on the loyalty of noble or prominent subjects and even on the tolerance, if not the affection, of the people. Religion and law could never be ignored, and constant rivalries exposed almost every court and country to possible attack and overthrow".<sup>2</sup> Every new force entering the South-East Asian world was sure to meet with stiff resistance and also to get local allies. "Ships from many directions", we quote Van Mook again, "entered these sheltered seas; the riches of all those courts aroused the greed of neighbours and of intruders from distant lands; the abundance of valuable and agricultural and mineral products like rice, spices, pepper and cinnamon, gold and precious stones, silk and cotton textiles drew the ambitions and the imagination of the whole civilized world to the legendary coasts of Taprobane (Ceylon), Java Major and Minor (Java and Sumatra), the Moluccas, Siam (Thailand), Cambodia and Quinam (Annam)".<sup>3</sup>

The situation has changed to-day. Gone are the tribal chieftainships, petty principalities, independent cities and local or regional confederations. A number of nation-states have taken their place. Weakness, however, persists. The division of the region into a number of small political units, in part a result of its marked geographical fragmentation, a characteristic of South-East Asia when the West began its penetration, is still there. It is this division of South-East Asia which made its conquest by Europe all the easier. Divided into small units that it was, it could be, and was actually, taken over territory by territory. After a series of squabbles and

2. *The Stakes of Democracy in South-East Asia*—H. J. Van Mook, Pp. 36-37.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

conflicts in which the contestants varied "the modern sense has existed in an embryonic form area was finally stabilized into several mutually accepted Western colonial holdings".<sup>4</sup> There were British Malaya and British Burma, the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) and French Indo-China (Vietnam). The U.S.A. held the Philippines. Thailand was nominally—not actually—sovereign. Japan, which struck at the region during World War II, wiped out the stability which had been imposed upon South-East Asia by Western imperialism and South-East Asia had a common ruler for the first time in its centuries-old history. But division continued much as before. Change of rulers encouraged instability. The old stability disappeared. Japan's use of local puppets fed the flame of incipient nationalism.

When Japan began to be pushed out of South-East Asia, she deliberately gave active encouragement to the rising tide of South-East Asian nationalism. Japanese policy, motivated by "a reckless determination to create turmoil and confusion for their own sake" as it was, nevertheless gave a tremendous impetus to the various nationalist movements in South-East Asia. It created at the same time favourable conditions for the spread of Communism in the region. derived not a little strength from the wide-spread poverty as well as the post-War instability of South-East Asia. This instability and poverty even in its most successful form suffers from and the consequent weakness have yet to be wiped out. They have made South-East Asia one of the principal arenas of the cold war between the East and the West.

Nationalism in South-East Asia is a little more than half a century old and had been gaining momentum since the turn of the century. Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), the Chinese revolution under Yat-Sen (1911) and his Shan Min Chu-i (people's principles), viz., National Sovereignty, Political Democracy and People's Livelihood, "the stirrings of democracy and self-determination that were allied rallying cries late in the First World War (1914-18) and the rise of Gandhian nationalism (in India) all sparked nationalist sentiment in South-East Asia".<sup>5</sup>

Imported from the West, nationalism in the

Colonial rule contains within itself the seeds of the revolt of the ruled against it. A revolution is directed in the last analysis against the power of an exclusive group. Even the most docile people will one day rise against rulers "with whom they have no community of counsel or spirit". Force and diplomacy may keep them down for a time—and a very long time it may be. But such a subjection cannot be maintained for all time to come "even through

A very important factor in the evolution of South-East Asian nationalism is that colonialism even in its most successful form suffers from all the defects of absentee landlordism. Its best intentions are often beyond the comprehension of the colonial people or peoples concerned. The governmental and economic policies of the

colonies are made and unmade by invisible hands—by foreigners "to whose thoughts and concretes" the ruled have no access. The policy makers of the colonial governments do not reside in the colonies. More often than not they have no first hand knowledge of the lands and peoples whose arbiters of destinies they are. From their seats of authority in far-off capitals they would not often base their decisions on political considerations "which have little or nothing to do with the conditions of the community concerned".<sup>6</sup>

The educated middle class was the pioneer of nationalism in the colonial world. The common man did not, in the beginning, bother much about anything beyond his daily bread. As

<sup>4</sup> A. Vanderbosch and R. A. Butwell—*op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> *The Far-East*—Fred Greene, p. 415.

<sup>6</sup> H. J. Van Mook—*op. cit.*, p. 76.

Van Mook puts it, everyone but the average—a and lick spittles. They were accused of pre-Burman, an Indonesian, a Malay, an Annamite, ferring "their honorarium to their honour".<sup>7</sup> a Filipino, who stood or rose above the common man—"found himself in a corridor of which the exit was blocked by a European or American boss and realized that in the last resort he would always have to obey an alien command".<sup>7</sup>

Each colonial power provided a modern educational system, however, inadequate and unsatisfactory, to its colony or colonies and "education tore the veil of mysticism from the power of the West". The portals of Western literature with all its vast range and varied grandeur were thrown open to the educated South-East Asian. It seemed to explain to him the power of the West in terms of science and nationalism. When the white man stood in his way, he no longer wanted to drive him out and revert to the way of life of his ancestors, as he did in the early dawn of colonialism. On the contrary, he wanted to step into the white man's place and to exert himself the power of the latter. Western history and science taught him that a people can act as a permanent corporation and present a united front to the world in spite of socio-political dissensions and squabbles at home. Opposition to foreign rule and interference gave birth to a desire—and a strong desire it was—for national life among the elite, the politically active and for the much publicized and often ignored "Four Freedoms" of the late lamented President Roosevelt of the United States of America.

Rifts in the nationalist lute appeared in course of time. The bolder and more progressive spirits were convinced and they openly asserted that freedom from foreign rule was the essential pre-condition of all real progress. They turned more and more to agitation and violence. Minor groups thought that national emancipation was attainable through more extremist ideologies, Communism, for example. Others traded on religious fanaticism or on anti-foreign sentiments in general. The more conservative—the Moderates—were alarmed by these developments. But they very often lacked the courage of conviction and could not, therefore, act effectively. They had not much following among the people at large and were not unoften branded as traitors

Nationalism went on gathering momentum in South-East Asia and during the late thirties of our century active nationalism, as distinct from the passive, arm-chair variety, was seeping down to the semi-intellectual groups and in some cases to the wider masses. The common man too was touched—at least those sections which lived near the cities, the inland towns, the railroads and the highways. Apparently there was little or no change. But there was "a certain loosening of the mind, particularly in the younger generation". An inexplicable stirring of the time "that reached the spirit wherever rumours penetrated and tales were told" was noticeable all over South-East Asia "when the armageddon (World War II) started" in 1939.

It was at this stage that Japan overran the whole of South-East Asia in 1941-42 without any resistance worth the name. The ease with which Japan liquidated ABDF (American, British Dutch, French) sovereignty in this vast region exploded the myth of Western invincibility, shattered the prestige of the West, depreciated its face-value and seriously damaged its ability to restore the old order after Japan's capitulation following atom bomb raids on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August, 1945. The atom bombs, which ended one war, started another, more sinister than the former. The shooting war was at end; but a new war, a war of nerves—the cold war—was on and kept Euro-American military might off balance. South-East Asia's Hour of Destiny had struck. To make a long story short, the independence of South-East Asian countries one after another was recognized. Their sovereignty became a reality. For once at least, the mills of the gods ground fast. Decades were packed into years. The very face of South-East Asia was changed.

The attainment of independence brought the new nation-states face to face with a series of problems, each insistently crying for a prompt solution. The lack of administrative experience, the need for technical experts, the shortage of capital, wide-spread illiteracy, absence of a national system of education, inadequate supply of teachers and text books and vulnerability are some of the major problems that face new South-East Asia. Many of the new nations are faced with the problem of their political cohesion

7. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

in the face of the challenge of minority ethnic groups or regional separatists.<sup>8</sup>

We are concerned here with the problem of education in new South-East Asia. In the days of political tutelage, there existed nowhere in South-East Asia a system of education suited to the needs and genius of the people concerned. Educational opportunities were restricted. So also was the scope of education. The aim of the colonial educational policy in India was described with brutal frankness by Lord Macaulay in the following words—"We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern, a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect". Educational systems all over pre-independence South-East Asia had similar, if not the same ends in view. They aimed at creating small classes of 'colonial elites', who would look down upon their own countrymen without Western education. Education was lopsided. The system of education was based on ideas prevalent in the various metropolitan countries in the 19th century. Education received did not provide any incentive for work. There were very little opportunities for technical and scientific education. The various colonial governments emphasized purely literary education. They provided higher education primarily to ensure a steady supply of white collar workers for various government departments. Educational institutions were in most cases factories to "bring out branded bales of standardized commodity" to fill minor positions in governmental and semi-governmental establishments.

South-East Asia was and is primarily an agricultural region where an overwhelming majority of the population depended and still depend on agriculture. Purely literary education, therefore, could not and can not be beneficial to them in the long run. A purely literary education to a people or peoples depending by and large on manual labour cannot, therefore, be justified. Gandhi of India, convinced of the futility of a purely literary education in a country like his, evolved a scheme of Basic

8. For a brilliant analysis of the problems of the new states of Africa and Asia, *Vide Afro-Asian States and Their Problems*—K. M. Panikkar, (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London).

Education in collaboration with Dr. Zakir Hussain and some other Indian educationists. The scheme, originally known as the Wardha Scheme (1936), aims at combining manual labour and training in arts and crafts with formal education. Educationists, however, know that Gandhi's scheme is not original. This method is called the Project Method in America and the Complex Method in Russia. In Gandhi's own words, his idea was "not merely to teach a particular profession or occupation to the children, but to develop the full man through teaching that occupation".

Educational authorities all over South-East Asia have to give a more practical bias to the content of education. Education must be related to the realities of life—of the educand as well as of the community in which he lives. Besides, a new social ideal has to be created in place of the old. Education under colonial rule was conservative in nature. The educational system was "the most ingeniously complete machine for murder . . . ever invented, and murder not only of man's body but of a man's soul, of that sacred fire of individuality in him which is far holier and more precious than the mere mortal breath".<sup>9</sup> Deliberate attempts were made to prevent the growth of mental unrest. "To create a moral defeatism among the people" was one of the purposes, may be the most important one, of colonial education.<sup>10</sup> National cultures were under-estimated. Blessings of foreign rule were over-emphasized. New South-East Asia must purge its educational system of the factors which create inferiority complex, a lack of self-confidence in those educated under the system. Care must be taken at the same time to prevent the growth of an exaggerated notion of national greatness, a blind adoration of the past. A new social purpose must be disseminated through education. The rising generation must be educated in the principles of social justice, of the collective welfare of the community and of national service. A new social conscience, in other words, has to be created.

A very difficult problem demanding an

9. *The Liberator*—S. K. Mitra, (Jaico Publishing House, Bombay, New Delhi and Calcutta), p. 75 (Quoted).

10. *Afro-Asian States and Their Problems*—K. M. Panikkar, p. 60.

immediate and satisfactory solution is that of the medium of instruction. The languages of the various metropolitan countries were the media of instruction in the South-East Asian countries before independence. These were English in Burma, Malaya and the Philippines, Dutch in Indonesia and French in Vietnam. The various national languages were given a step-motherly treatment in educational institutions at all levels. A foreign language can spread only among the upper strata of society. The system of education in the days of colonialism, therefore, restricted the area of education. It also stood in the way of the evolution of a national system of education. A system of universal education is possible only if the national language is made the medium of instruction. But none of the South-East Asian languages has a scientific literature. Nor do they possess the necessary text books for teaching modern subjects.

What is to be done? South-East Asia is on the horns of a dilemma in this respect. To impart and to receive education through the national language is a natural desire. A language represents a value of supreme importance to the people whose language it is. It is integrated with the national mind. Education through the mother-tongue is absolutely necessary for an integral national development. But for the time being South-East Asia can keep up with the scientific, economic and social thought of modern times only through one of the highly developed Western languages.

Russia and Germany 200 years ago and Japan in the latter half of the 19th century was faced with the same problem. Each has successfully solved the problem. But the time-factor is of supreme importance. Even Japan, which solved the problem in a shorter time than Russia and Germany, took 50 years to transform Japanese into a modern language. But history marches so fast in this nuclear age that South-East Asia can ill afford to wait so long.

Large scale illiteracy is one of the major problems of South-East Asian countries. Educational facilities under colonialism were, as noted above, extremely restricted. To illustrate, Indonesia with a population of seventy million had only one university. The medium of instruction in this university, needless to say, was Dutch. The result? When the Dutch finally withdrew from the Indonesian scene, there were,

according to one statement, only 14,000 persons with higher education in Dutch. The percentage of literacy was 6.4. The problem of illiteracy is, in fact, a twofold one. For one thing, it is the problem of educating the adults "who have passed the stage of formal school education". For another, South-East Asia must provide adequate facilities for a sound national education to its fast-increasing younger generation.

The content of education to be imparted is of fundamental importance. Educational institutions must aim at producing intellectually alert, patriotic yet broad-minded and self-sacrificing young men and women capable of taking part in the none-too-easy job of building up modern, progressive states in the erstwhile happy hunting ground of colonialism that South-East Asia is. Unfortunately, education imparted so far has been purely literary in character, which makes education unreal and almost useless for practical purposes. Education, to be useful, must be related to life and to national necessities. Prof. Dr. G. D. Buller, UNESCO Consultant with the Government of Indonesia in the Ministry of Education and Culture, recently commented adversely on the "drilling system" in the classrooms, "the measuring of one's knowledge by the absorbed material without giving the students opportunity to obtain experience through practical tests in the community". The learned Doctor aptly suggested that "it would be far more beneficial to give the students more practical experience regarding the problems and needs of the communities in which they live, for instance, through the study of fishery, health etc., projects". He suggested further that boys and girls should be given the curricula, "which would give them more active and functional preparation for their future task in the community". It must be noted in this connection that teachers have to take the initiative and lead in the direction of changing and improving the educational system in South-East Asia.

To sum up, South-East Asia faces to-day a stupendous problem in the field of education. In the first place, education must be disseminated among the population at large—adult and otherwise. A long-term policy, immense resources and concentration are the essential pre-requisites for the achievement of this objective. Speed is a vital factor and South-East Asia must solve this problem as soon as possible "or must fall

back in the race for modernization". Secondly, provision for a comparatively wide system of higher education must be made at the same time to enable South-East Asian nations "to handle their administrative, economic and political problems". Last but not least, technical skills and scientific education cannot be neglected, far less ignored. Independence without any one of these will be a shadow without substance.

This three-fold problem in the field of education confronts resurgent South-East Asia to-day. It confronts the new nation-states in varying degrees all over the world. This is in fact one of the many formidable challenges of their freedom and posterity will size them up by how they meet it and with what success. The history of man, Arnold Toynbee points out,—and we agree with him—is, in the last analysis, a tale of challenge and response. A nation is confronted with a challenge or a number of them in each stage of its evolution. If it rises equal to the occasion, responds to the challenge or challenges boldly and meets it/them successfully, it moves up and enters a higher stage of evolution. If not, it stagnates, falls back and goes down in the long run.

Besides the problems of education in general, the historian and the teacher of History in South-East Asia have their own special problems. What history is to be taught? The history taught so long in South-East Asian schools, colleges and universities has been, by and large, "the history of the white man, the story of his quarrels and his achievements from the days of Greece and Rome down to the present times. It has been an exciting and dramatic, if often violent story. It has been the white man's story" par excellence. (*The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston, May 4, 1960). In the days of colonialism the syllabi were very often heavily loaded in favour of Western history and culture in general and of the history and culture of the respective metropolitan countries in particular. Indigenous history and culture were neglected, if not altogether ignored. The trend still continues. In the University of Rangoon where the present reviewer was employed a few years back, British history and World or European history used to be taught in the B.A. Degree classes and there was no provision for teaching Burmese history or Asian history. A leading

Indian University still prescribes two papers of European history and only one paper of Indian history for its B.A. candidates. There is also no provision for teaching Indian history in the post-school, pre-degree stage of the said University. Instances may be multiplied. Far be it from us to discourage the study of Western history and culture in the schools, colleges and universities. What we want is that a South-East Asian student of history must first of all be acquainted with the history and culture of his own people. He must also have a knowledge of South-East Asian history in general. No student of history—South-East Asian or otherwise—can ignore the story of the Western countries. He must know how Europe and America have risen to power, how they have conquered the world, how they have developed the industries, and what contributions they have made to the totality of human knowledge by scientific discoveries and inventions. Students must also know how the mad pursuit of purely materialistic ends by the Western countries to the exclusion of all spiritual and human objectives have generated strains and stresses, which threaten the very existence of man and his civilization. The history of Asian countries other than South-East Asia also—particularly those with which South-East Asia has close affinities—must be taught and read in South-East Asian universities. But how much can be learnt and assimilated by an average student? Attempts to teach the history of so many countries at any given stage is bound to meet with a disastrous failure. The reviewer has first-hand experience of a South-East Asian university, which prescribes the history of nearly half a dozen countries for its first Degree examination in History with papers on languages, Archaeology, Philosophy of History and the History of Art thrown in. The result is not at all encouraging. The problem may be satisfactorily solved by spreading out the history of various countries over different stages of school and university education. Syllabus committees composed of experts alone can do this. They have to put their heads together to draw out well-thought out syllabi for various grades. The problem is a serious one and demands an immediate solution.

There must be a shift of emphasis. The mental habit of looking upon history as the story

of the deeds and misdeeds of the high and mighty, of Presidents and Prime Ministers, of politicians and parliamentarians must be given up. Social, economic and cultural aspects of a nation's life must be taken into consideration. History becomes living and real only when it is handled properly, only when it tells the story of the common man—the man behind the plough, in the mines, in the factories—of his joys and sorrows, of his hopes and aspirations, of his failures and frustrations. It must seek "to paint under the man of a day eternal humanity". Our present is a continuation of our past. The former in its turn projects into our future. Attempts must, therefore, be made to draw lessons from past history and to use our present experiences as a guide for future conduct.

Vernaculars must be made the media of instruction. Text books in the national languages must be made available. None of the national languages of South-East Asia is as yet developed enough to serve the twin purposes at higher levels. Few, if any, good text-books in South-East Asian languages are available for use in higher educational institutions—in colleges and universities. Even India, which is in a somewhat more favourable position than South-East Asia in this respect, has not been able to solve so far the problems of the media of instruction and text books. Educational authorities must bear in mind that they cannot switch on overnight to vernacular media and vernacular text books without great harm to the educands and the efficiency of the teachers. For some time to come one foreign language or another has to continue as the medium of instruction at higher levels. Text books in one foreign language or another also have to be depended on. But an all-out effort must be made to replace them by developing the indigenous languages as soon as possible. Speed is, no doubt, a very important factor. So also is caution.

Suitable teachers too are in short supply. Most of the South-East Asian countries are trying to solve this problem by recruiting teachers from foreign countries. Import of teachers from abroad may help for a time. But this is no permanent solution of the problem. Attempts must be made to nationalise the educational machinery. Cautious speed should be the guiding principle in the matter. Efficiency must not be allowed to suffer. The best brains in each country must be attracted to the teaching profession by attractive

service conditions. The tendency of seeking careers in governmental and commercial establishments must be combated. Middle-class unemployment, which will appear sooner or later—it has already appeared in some areas—will of course open a large field of recruitment within the national boundaries. But a factor of fundamental importance is that capable men and women with a spirit of service and dedication and with a love of knowledge for its own sake must be attracted to the profession. Earnest and efficient teachers, needless to say, are the *sine qua non* of a sound system of education.

Text books, we have seen above, pose a serious problem. The problem, in fact, is a two-fold one. History of various South-East Asian countries have been written so long for the most part by authors of the various metropolitan countries. We owe quite a few admirable volumes to them. We wish the same could be said of them all! But unfortunately not a few of them have misinterpreted and misrepresented the countries and peoples on which they wrote. Many of them could not shake off the mental habit of looking upon the countries they dealt with as appanages of Europe and America. They seemed to have missed the all-important point that each nation has an independent entity with a personality all its own. Benefits of foreign rule have been emphasized. The evil effects thereof have been undertoned, ignored or glossed over. Not a few of the volumes written by them are in fact long panegyrics on foreign rule. Mr. D. G. E. Hall, Professor of the History South-East Asia in the University of London, in a recent work—*A History of South-East Asia*—for example, holds the Chinese and the Indians primarily responsible for the economic ills of Burma under British rule. He does not say even a word on the ruin of Burma's Cottage Industries and Britain's part in it. Instances may be multiplied. The ancient cultures of the peoples concerned have been blacked out or minimised. In consequence, South-East Asians are known to the world at large as superficial do-nothing peoples who have been raised from near-barbarism or primitive condition to civilization—brought from darkness to light, so to say,—by the West. It is loudly plain that the West has given peace, security, stability and unity to South-East Asia. But not many of the Western historians have the intellectual integrity to admit the incalculable harm, both material and otherwise,

that South-East Asia has suffered at the hands of the various Western powers. Let it not be thought for a moment, however, that foreign rule has done no good to South-East Asia. What is needed is an honest, unbiassed assessment of the good and evils of foreign rule. South-East Asian historians must write their own history. A word of caution is necessary. National historians must not be carried too far by their new-born enthusiasm. They must not brush aside everything said and written by Western historians. They should not think for a moment that foreign rule has been an unmixed evil for their countries and peoples. Nor should they suffer from the delusion that their cultures and civilizations are perfect and leave no scope of improvement. The historian must pay homage at the altar of one and only one deity—Truth. He must hold fast to truth, must have the courage to call a spade a spade. He must tell "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the whole truth". He will degenerate into a propagandist otherwise.

Research materials—manuscripts, chronicles, traditions—exist in abundance. These as well as archaeology in all its branches, such as architecture and epigraphy and numismatics must be harnessed to the service of history in general and of ancient history in particular. A systematic hunt for ancient manuscripts and chronicles must be organized. Monastic libraries and family archives may prove to be valuable quarries. Materials collected must be collated, explained and interpreted and properly assessed. An uncritical adulation of the past or a wholesale condemnation thereof must be avoided. Standard historical

works in various foreign languages must be translated into national languages.

The task ahead is a tremendous one and individual efforts, however honest and single-minded, cannot go a long way. Team-work is essentially necessary and co-operative research must be organized. The initiative must come from the various national governments, learned societies and universities. Necessary funds must be provided. Steps should be taken at the same time to train a cadre of research workers under expert guidance. There should be absolutely no hesitation in inviting foreign experts for the purpose, if necessary. Narrow nationalism should not be an obstacle.

Governments must take the initiative in the matter of producing suitable text books. Well-known scholars and authors should be commissioned to write text books in various national languages. Central boards composed of historians of recognized merit and integrity should be set up to scrutinise the books written. Books that receive the imprimatur of these boards must be published by the government at its own expense and sold on a no profit, no loss basis. A body of translators should be simultaneously employed by the government for translating standard historical works in various foreign languages. Translators, it is important to note, must be men and women with a command over the subject as well as the languages concerned. They must have a knack for writing besides.\*

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## THE CONGO STORY

### I. The House that Leopold Built

By CHANAKYA SEN\*

Listen to the yell of Leopold's ghost  
Burning in Hell for his hand-maimed host,  
Hear how the demons chuckle and yell  
Cutting his hands off, down in Hell.

IT was not an African who wrote these lines. It was an American poet. His name was Vachel Lindsay. The poem was named *The Congo*. It first appeared at a time when the civilized world, meaning Europe and America, was shocked by the first disclosures of the brutalities perpetrated by King Leopold II of the Belgians in his huge personal estate named the Congo Free State.

The story of the Congo begins in the latter half of the 19th century. The name and history of the Congo is linked to the partnership of two men, very different in character and outlook, but bound together by a spirit of imperial adventure, the high-water mark of the Victorian Age. One was Leopold II, a German who had ascended the throne of Belgium; the other, Henry M. Stanley, a Welshman who had become an American citizen, to return to British citizenship in his old age to be knighted by the monarch of Great Britain.

"Africa is in me," exclaimed Henry Morton Stanley. It was indeed part of his life which he gave to the building up, on behalf of Leopold, what eventually turned out to be the biggest single colonial territory in the African continent, eighty times the size of Belgium, as big as India. Stanley earned name, fame and money; he earned power and glory; he was glorified in the Old World as well as in the New World. And unlike Livingstone, with whom his mission in Africa was curiously tied up, he did not escape from civilization to spend his last days with the "barbarous" natives of Africa.

A visitor to the Congo can never get away from Leopold. The Capital is Leopoldville. In the centre of the great avenue which bisects the city

stands the huge figure of Leopold, his heavy German face with its luxuriant enormous beard surveying the ruins of his empire. There is a Lake Leopold II and a Mount Leopold II. Every official history of the colony, or broadside to the world, commenced with a paean of praise and gratitude to Leopold II.

Fifty-two years after his death, his grandson, King Baudouin of the Belgians, landed on the sun-lit red soil of Leopoldville, on the historic day of June 30, to preside over the liquidation of the empire that his grandfather had built. What better could he do than invoke the great spirit of Leopold II and remind the Congolese of the great vision of the Founder, of the blessings he had bestowed upon them by bringing the Congo to civilization?

Spoke the King: "The independence of the Congo is the crowning work conceived by the genius of King Leopold II, undertaken by him with firm courage, and continued by Belgium with perseverance. Independence marks a decisive hour in the destinies not only of the Congo herself but—I don't hesitate to say—of the whole of Africa.

"For eighty years Belgium has sent to your land the best of her sons, first to deliver the Congo basin from the odious slave trade which was decimating its population, later to bring together the different tribes which, though former enemies, are now preparing to form the greatest of the independent states in Africa."

Outlining the achievements of the Belgian pioneers, the King spoke of the building of communications, cities, industries and schools, the creation of a medical service, and the modernization of agriculture. Belgium, he declared, had not hesitated to recognize the great movement of African independence, and, after a significant pause, added, "It is your task, gentlemen, to show that we were right in trusting you." He was aware of the "inexperience of the people to govern themselves," of possibilities of "tribal fights," and of

\*Chanakya Sen, whose book "Tibet Disappears" has been noticed in leading newspapers and journals in India and abroad, is to write a series of articles for the *Modern Review* on the Congo. These articles will deal with various aspects of the Congo crisis. This is the first of the series; each will be complete in itself.

"certain of your regions" attracting foreign powers; but he assured the newly independent people that, with Belgium's continued friendship, everything would be all right.

This noble oratory fell on a hushed hall crowded with perplexed representatives of a black humanity. They looked at one another and locked back and scratched their memory. They saw their fifty-year-old bespectacled President, Joseph Kasavubu, whom the Belgians had made an *immatricule* in 1953, conferring on him full rights of Belgian citizenship, bow before the monarch and shower paeans of praise on the pioneers. Belgium had set, declared President Kasavubu, "an example unprecedented in the history of peaceful decolonisation—leading our people directly, without transition, from foreign rule to independence under full national sovereignty."

A slender ripple of applause greeted this suppliant eloquence. The bulk of the black humanity remained glued to their seats.

Then arose a lean figure, with a frail beard, a man whom the majority of the members of Parliament had elected the first Prime Minister of Africa's biggest sovereign republic. His name is Patrice Lumumba. At the age of 34, Lumumba, a former tax clerk, twice imprisoned by the Belgian rulers, had become a silver-tongued politician, the only nationalist leader of some stature who thought in terms of the entire Congo.

Patrice Lumumba looked back to the history of the Congo and said: "Our wounds are too fresh and too smarting for us to be able to chase them from our memory. We have seen our lands spoiled in the name of laws which only recognized the right of the strongest. We have known laws which differed according to whether it dealt with a black man or a white man. Who will forget the rifle fire from which so many of our brothers perished, or the gaols into which were brutally thrown those who did not want to submit to a régime of injustice, oppression and exploitation, which were the means of the colonialists employed to dominate us?"

The King of the Belgians was red with anger. His huge entourage, men who had ruled the Congo for nearly a century without giving tuppence for what the natives felt or thought, were agast. The King threatened to return to Brussels at once, but was persuaded to go through the rest of the ceremony. Western correspondents blamed

Patrice Lumumba for "raking up past controversies."

At the official luncheon following the Independence ceremony, Patrice Lumumba tried to make amends to the King. "At this moment when the Congo reaches independence, the whole Government wishes to pay solemn homage to the King of the Belgians and to the noble people he represents for the work here over three-quarters of a century. I do not wish my feelings to be wrongly interpreted."

Thus was born the Republic of the Congo. Even at the moment of its birth, the great crisis that was to overtake it in a matter of days cast its ominous shadow. Against the floodlit platform could be seen, in dark silhouette, the three forces that were soon to engage each other in a grim conflict. At the one end was Belgium anxious to hold the Congo against "foreign influence" and to make up for the "inexperience of the people" in self-government. At the other end was Lumumba and the forces of nationalism he represented. In between stood men like Kasavubu, with their regional patriotism and readiness to bask in the benevolent sunshine of Belgian patronage and paternalism!

None was ready for the Congo to be free in 1960.

Europeans were all agreed that Congo was one of the finest specimens of imperial rule. As late as 1952, Mr. E. C. Eggins in an article in *The Listener*, organ of the British Broadcasting Corporation, described the Belgian Congo as "a contented colony." The Belgians had no doubt whatsoever that what they had built in the Congo was a masterpiece of imperial paternalism and that they had successfully conquered the problem of independence by keeping politics out of their charge. They had built huge cities and great highways; beautiful hospitals and schools; the largest railways in any African country, and rows upon rows of clean single or two-room tenements for Congolese workers. They had wrested power from the whimsical and almost unmanageable Congo river and turned wide areas, where nothing used to grow, into green pastures. They had developed spotlessly clean towns with their boulevards and wide avenues and rows of office buildings displaying the latest Western architecture. The population had begun to grow at the comfortable rate of three per cent a year and even remote villages received rudiments of

medical attention. The administration was in the hands of an efficient bureaucracy more or less honest in the discharge of its duties. Belgian magistrates toured the interior of the country and did their work with paternal conscientiousness. Everything in the Congo was as best as it could be and the Congolese themselves were as happy as any African people could aspire to be. Everyone agreed that the Belgians had almost worked a "miracle." Even in 1956 when John Gunther wrote his book "Inside Africa", he found no trace of political awakening in the Congolese people.

And yet something was fundamentally wrong with this streamlined house of cards. It was after all not a miracle at all. It fell into bits as soon as it came into contact with the Wind of Change blowing over Africa. The Belgians had striven their utmost to close all the shutters and to keep the Wind out. But still it rushed in, and when the Belgians felt its burning sibilance, things had gone out of their hands.

The requital of history is often dreadful.

The Belgians had built on wrong foundations.

The latter half of the 19th century saw European imperialism at the peak of its glory. The biggest of the imperial powers was, of course, Great Britain; but there was not one European country innocent of imperial ambitions. Asia had been parcelled out between three European powers—Britain, France and the Netherlands; but Africa remained—a huge continent with unlimited natural resources and the cheapest imaginable human labour. It was being slowly opened up by European explorers. The coastlines had already been colonized; but the unfathomable interior remained. The struggle between the European powers for the interior of Africa began in the last decades of the 19th century.

King Leopold II succeeded to the Belgian throne in 1865 and scanned the horizons of far-away Africa with a burning desire to set up an empire. He needed an agent who could explore Africa on his behalf and under his flag. Here enters Henry Morton Stanley, an adventurer, an explorer, a journalist. Livingstone, the great explorer of Africa, had escaped from civilization to live his last days in the jungle fastness of the Dark Continent. Newspapers of the world wanted to trace his whereabouts. Stanley whose real name was John Rowlands, had acquired a name by his assignments in the Caucasus and Ethiopia. A

completely self-made man, he was "a soldier politician, empire-builder, an extremely accomplished journalist and one of the greatest explorers who ever lived. He was harsh, impulsive, fiercely egocentric and extravagantly inspired. He was a much more dashing character than the plodding, selfless Livingstone and much less elevated."\*

Stanley was hired by the *New York Herald* to find Livingstone. He accomplished his mission when he came to the shores of Lake Tanganyika where he found Livingstone living happily among the natives. He refused to return to civilization and stayed content until his death. Stanley, however, earned world-wide fame through this exploit and wrote a book, *How I found Livingstone in Africa*. This was in 1872. Two years later the *New York Herald* and the *London Daily Telegraph* sent Stanley on an African expedition. He crossed the continent from the west to the east and discovered the Congo river and the Stanley Falls. In 1878 he wrote another book, *Through the Dark Continent*.

The exploits of Stanley fired King Leopold of the Belgians. "He sent an emissary to meet Stanley at Marseilles, when Stanley was returning to Europe in 1878, thus getting ahead of the other powers and offered him employment in his service. Stanley accepted. . . . He returned to the Congo and spent four years there working for Leopold, a private empire-builder for a ruthless King."\*\*

Leopold founded an association called the International Association, through which he sought to set up a personal empire in Africa. The United States was the first power to give recognition to this Association. Other European powers followed suit. Soon the Scramble for Africa began. The French sent an expedition which seized the French Equatorial Africa. The Portuguese grabbed Angola and the British moved into the interior, the west and beyond the Boers. It became necessary to regularize the conflicting interests of the various European countries. At the initiative of Bismarck and Portugal, representatives of the European nations met at Berlin in 1884-85 to divide Africa amongst themselves. The United States sent a delegation headed by the Minister to Germany, and, curiously enough, Stanley who had returned from

\**Inside Africa*, John Gunther, p. 642.

\*\**Ibid.*, p. 643.

the Congo, became the technical-adviser to the American delegation to the Berlin Conference! He had already signed a number of treaties with the local chiefs of the huge Congo basin, treaties which show to what depth of deceit and chicanery the white empire-builders could descend in order to acquire domains in Africa.

The Berlin Conference accepted Leopold's claim to the Congo and the result was the Congo Free State, a personal estate of the King of the Belgians. As Gunther says, "It was not a part of Belgium, but part of the King himself." Leopold had asked the Belgian Parliament to own the empire. It refused. But it agreed that Leopold should personally hold the Congo, a country he never saw for himself throughout his lifetime. The United States was the first country to ratify the agreement. Due to American persistence, free navigation was accepted in the Congo river and free trade in the Congo basin.

Leopold ruled the Congo Free State single-handed from 1885 to 1908. He sank a fortune into his estate. He invited private investors in Belgium and other countries to put their money into his enterprise. To obtain the massive heaps of capital necessary for the exploitation of the Basin, Leopold granted tremendous concessions to interested Belgian financiers in the form of palatine authority over the mineral, land and human resources of hundreds of millions of acres. A share of the profits from these concessions was directed into the regal purpose, of course, as well those from a personal plot of some 112,000 square miles in the centre of the most promising rubber-land of the Basin." In order to exploit the Valley the deep interior had to be opened up. The great river which gives the province its name provided a network of water-courses within the basin itself, but when it gets to within a few hundred miles of the coast, the Congo dives into a chain of gorges cutting through a mountain range, churning into impassable rapids which had vetoed direct sea communication for thousands of years. A railway had to be built, 260 miles long, to connect the port of Matadi on the Congo estuary, with the Stanley Pool, the point farthest seaward on the central navigable reach of the river. And after eleven years of stupendous toil, and the deaths of thousands of the labourers, this tract was completed in 1898."\*

But as soon as Leopold's enterprise was a success something happened to deprive him of the fruits of his labour and vision.

How much money Leopold made out of the Congo nobody knows to this day. But he was certainly one of the richest men in the world. The domain he had kept under his own control in the Congo was as big as Poland. The price for this development had to be paid by the African people. African workers had to fill quotas and if they failed to bring in the required amount of rubber and ivory they were mutilated or shot. During Belgian rule the population of the Congo dwindled from 20 million in 1900 to 12 million in 1956! Leopold's own regime cost between five and eight million lives! The practice of mutilation was the most horrible that could be imagined. Even children were not spared. Africans who failed to satisfy their bosses had to pay the price with their hands or feet which were cut off. Africans themselves in the Congo had never used mutilation as a form of punishment. It was purely a European invention.

In the 1890's rumours began to seep through the torrid, water-soaked fastness of the Congo which shocked and appalled the civilized world. Sir Roger Casement, a British Consul in Africa, and later a prominent figure in the Irish Easter Week Rebellion of 1916, reported in the early 1890's that he had heard about the atrocities committed in the Congo. The British sent Lord Cromer down from Egypt to investigate. He verified the reports. The great uproar which followed created an adverse world opinion and inspired Vachel Lindsay to pour his indignation into his poem, *The Congo*, a few lines of which are quoted at the top of this article.

Leopold died in 1908. The Belgian Parliament took over the Congo colony. The debates revealed the guilty conscience most Belgians had about their regal legacy. The people of Belgium had never had a fascination for Leopold's empire. But the stakes were heavy and millions of pounds worth of capital had been sunk into the enterprise. The Belgian Government confirmed the privileges of the corporations which had been Leopold's partners in the Congo. By so doing it laid the basis of fifty years of Belgian rule. The foundation was a triangular structure resting on

\**The Death of Africa* by Peter Ritner, New York, 1960, p. 128.

a bureaucracy, big-business and the Catholic Church.

The Congo gave Belgium the trappings of a first-class power. Belgium gave the Congo the external attributes of a colonial showpiece. The "dit side of the Belgian experiment was impressive. As already noted, the Congo has the most developed and largest net-work of roads and railways in any country of Africa. Wages compared favourably with those found anywhere on the continent. African field workers in the coffee-planting country in the East were better dressed than those in most share-cropping regions of even the southern states of America. Everywhere, at least in the urban areas, there were hospitals, clinics, social welfare centres. Racial discrimination was legally disallowed. A fairly satisfactory judicial system was brought into being. Africans were allowed to matriculate into an *elite* and be acceptable into Belgian society. Europeans were as strictly forbidden to occupy freehold land titles as were Africans. In the result the number of European settlers in the Congo remained surprisingly low, about sixty thousand, compared to Algeria, the Rhodesias and Kenya. The development of towns and industrial centres gave birth to a proletariat class and led to a steady exodus of population from country to urban areas. The once-decimated humanity again began to breed at a fast rate. Today almost half of the entire population of the Congo is astonishingly young in age.

The Belgians *gave*. They did not create. They *gave* the Congolese an extensive primary education, but the first University in the Congo was not set up until 1956! This was a deliberate policy because the Belgians believed that education was not the thing the Congolese required; education would only bring politics and politics the ruin of their experiment. They *gave* the Congolese a health service, but no medical education with the result that there is not a single medical graduate in the Congo today. The number of University graduates is just seventeen.

The Belgians thought that the Congolese would be content to live by bread alone. It was here that they erred most. As Mr. Chester Bowles says in his book, *Africa's Challenge to America*, "The weakness of the Belgian programme appears to be their reluctance to allow the African to secure an advanced education—even a technical education—for fear that he will then

demand a growing share of responsibility in the shaping of his own future. Any visitor who has seen the strength of the independence movements throughout the world will wonder if the Belgians, like King Canute, are not trying to curb a force that eventually will become irresistible."

Elaborating the same point, Mr. Basil Davidson remarked, "The Belgians, in short, are long-sighted investors but short-sighted politicians. There notably lacks among them a frank reckoning with what may not unreasonably be called the Great Factor—the factor which has queered so many pitches, made so many colonial experts eat their words, upset so many plans and programmes and constitutions these last ten years—the dynamics of African development. The last ten years have shown this factor as a geometric progression; yet most Europeans in Africa are still adding it up in simple Arithmetic, and they are repeatedly getting the wrong answer. Policies are continually being devised for situations which have ceased to exist. The Congo African is more and more an African thinking in terms of the modern world—and hence of national rights, democracy, human equality. But the politics of the Belgian Congo remains those of yesterday or the day before."\*

The triangular imperial structure built by Belgium for the Congo rested, as noted, on a bureaucracy, capitalism and the Catholic Church. At the head of the administration was the Governor-General, who was responsible to the Belgian Minister-in-Charge of Congo Affairs. He had no advisory body at all until the Belgians began unsuccessfully to grapple with the Wind of Change. The administration was based on provincial governors, Belgian district-commissioners who kept every element of rule under their finger-tips, the Belgian police and the army with local recruits, commanded by Belgian officers. The tribal societies were allowed to flourish. There was no election at any level. The first ever elections on municipal level were held only three years ago.

The Roman Catholic Church owed its terrific power to a number of factors. Belgium itself is predominantly Catholic and the Catholic missionaries played an important part in the consolidation of political power in the Congo.

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\* *African Awakening* by Basil Davidson, London, 1955, p. 160.

They controlled almost the entire field of education and until very recently there was not a single state school for Africans in the Congo. Of the total number of schools (26,540), 80 per cent are Catholic. In the matter of religion, Belgium shared the wisdom of Catholic Portugal. The Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire states, "Catholic missions in the overseas territories are instruments of civilization and national influence."

In 1957, the Belgian Parliament by legislation conferred on the Catholic Church in the Congo the same status as it enjoyed in the various European countries.

The biggest pillar of the imperial structure was big-business. The government and economy of the Congo was welded in a manner which, in an entirely different context, can be found only in a communist country. Gunther describes the structure in the Congo as representing the highest development of state capitalism. But this is somewhat wishful. In reality capitalism exercised much greater power over the state than did the state over big-business. Five enormous holding companies control more than 70 per cent of all business in the Congo. This in itself is probably the greatest concentration of economic power in the modern world. In all five the Belgian Government holds a powerful interest ranging up to 50 per cent.

The total Belgian investment in the Congo is estimated at £2,450 million.

The London weekly newspaper, *The Observer*, gave an account of the intricate ramifications of Congo big-business in its issue of July 10, 1960. The Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga, which is known as the 'mining octopus' in the Congo, was valued in 1955 at more than £700 million. It was responsible for one-third of the Congo's budget. It produces eight per cent of the world's copper, seventy-five per cent of its cobalt, plus tin, zinc, coal, radium and, of course, uranium. But the U.M.H.K. "is in a sense only a component of the even mightier financial empire of the *Societe Generale de Belgique*." The royal family in Brussels is closely connected with it. It is immensely powerful in Belgium where it owns the refineries near Antwerp, which smelt the Congo ores. It also owns the largest steel works in Belgium, coal-mines, the two biggest insurance companies, land, every kind of wealth.

"In Belgium the *Generale* shares power with a rival house, the *Brufina* Group, associated with the *Banque de Bruxelles*. In the Congo it is practically supreme. Apart from its mining interests it has forests, textile mills, city apartments and factories of every kind. It used to be said that a ship could wait for days to be unloaded at Matadi if it wasn't flying the flag of one of the *Generale*'s lines. Until 1952 there was no central bank in the Congo; the *Generale* issued the currency—through a subsidiary of course."

British and American capital is interlinked with Belgian capital, although British interests dropped in recent years, while American interests went up.

The state plus the capitalists—the men who run the Congo—are the *same* men. At home, Belgium herself is run by one of the smallest, the most conservative oligarchies that still operates in the world. "Government offices, the Army, the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, the upper reaches of society, the Court, the financiers of Antwerp and Brussels—they are all the same people formed into a club within whose precincts outsiders are rarely seen. The economic department of this club is a vast trust, the *Societe Generale de Belgique*—a modern fiscal giant with the mentality of a medieval craftsman—which reigns supreme over the economic life of the little country . . . And it is only natural that this entrenched and immensely wealthy fraternity should protect its grip on the Congo as well as on Belgium. The political oligarchy and the *Societe Generale*—acting through its subsidiaries on the spot—boss the huge colony with a wonderful patriarchal absolutism which is right out of another age."\*

Internal peace and order was maintained by the Army known as the Force Publique. It was this army which rose in mutiny as soon as the Belgians parted with political power, and attacked Europeans in towns both in Upper and Lower Congo. The alleged atrocities of Congolese soldiers made shrieking headlines in newspapers all over the world. But how did the Belgians build the Force Publique?

The *Time* magazine, which has been frankly pro-Belgium throughout the Congo trouble, said in its issue dated July 25 :

\**The Death of Africa*, Peter Ritner, New York, 1960, p. 130.

"When the Congo was his private 19th century domain, Leopold drained it of wealth by measures of repression and brutality that shocked the world at the turn of the century. The Force Publique had been the King's method of keeping the natives in check. Its troops were literally whipped into shape. Those who survived became efficient, if robot, soldiers who were trained to snap to attention and salute any passing white man. Because there were never enough 'volunteers' for the low pay and hard discipline of the soldier's life, village authorities fell into the habit of appointing local trouble-makers as candidates for the Army. The Belgians always sent soldiers belonging to one tribe into the territory of other tribes so that there would be little fraternization with the population. The soldiers learned that the best way to pacify people was to treat them roughly. Last week part of the Congo's trouble was that the troops had learnt that lesson too well."

The Belgians had built an army to meet the requirements of their colonial rule. They had inculcated into the army subhuman values which, in an altered situation, recoiled upon them. Basil Davidson, in an article in the *New Statesman* on July 23, 1960, explained the reasons of the mutiny :

"Why did the Force Publique mutiny? With one or two honourable exceptions . . . the newspaper reporting from the Congo or from countries around the Congo has been appallingly bad; and it will be long before the full story can be pieced together. But the main lines nonetheless emerge. The Force Publique, it is well to recall, differed from all other African armies in two respects: It was much bigger than any other, but it possessed not a single African officer. Worse, its Belgian officers had no tradition of fighting comradeship with their African other ranks; and the relations of sympathy and pride between officers and men that have generally existed in the British-India or French-African regiments were almost completely lacking. We can now see indeed that the other ranks resented and even hated their officers; for the indubitable atrocities in the Congo these last few days . . . were mostly in African soldiers' resentment against their Belgian officers and wives. The accent even there seems not to have been on cruelty, but on humiliation. These soldiers, it would appear, wished to 'get their own back'. For an army trained for rough tactics against unarmed civilians, and deliberately kept free of any national or political loyalty—being, that is, the next remove to a gang of thugs—they got their own back after the manner of thugs. In doing so, they dragged the Congo into frantic chaos."

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## SCHOOL BEGINS ON THE HIGH SEAS

Most students preparing to cross the Pacific to study in another country have mixed feelings about the coming adventure. Their joy and excitement often is tempered with timidity and concern.

What will the strange country be like? What are the customs? Will there be difficulty conversing in the language and understanding the people?

For the hundreds of students travelling to and from Asia each summer on the American President Lines (APL), these doubts are answered before the ship reaches port. A shipboard orientation pro-

gram, now in its fifth year, helps to prepare travelling students for the new environment that awaits them.

The unique program started as a modest experiment designed to introduce the American way of life and educational system to Asian students on their way to American colleges and universities. It is extended now to outbound voyages from the United States, to help American students and travellers going to Asia.

The informal "floating classroom" is conducted aboard the APL's S.S. President Cleveland and the S.S. President Wilson

on their summer sailings between San Francisco and Asia. Directed by the Institute of International Education, the shipboard orientation programs are conducted

In the case of Asian students sailing to America, discussion topics center on political, economic and educational life in the United States. The students discuss

any phase of the topic they wish, ask questions, and have the kind of friendly and lively exchange of views that break down any barriers to understanding.

There are lectures on American history, customs and cultures, and motion pictures, color slides, books and maps help to make the lecture material interesting and memorable. Sometimes there are American passengers aboard ship who are leaders in the arts, education or government, and they are generous in sharing their knowledge and experience with the students.

Afternoon orientation social sessions are devoted primarily to comparative



Aboard the S.S. President Cleveland enroute to United States, Keith Torney discussing college examination systems in the United States

by two teams of directors chosen for their experience in educational leadership and their knowledge of Asia and America. They are assisted by members of the ships' staff and qualified Asian and American passengers.

More than 2,500 persons have participated to date, and some 100 passengers have voluntarily contributed their technical or scholarly knowledge to the classes and discussions.

The orientation program is available to both Economy Tourist Class and First Class passengers, and it gets underway immediately after the ship's departure. The students participate in discussion programs during the morning hours and the afternoon devoted to social gatherings. The sessions supplement such usual shipboard activities as sports, entertainment programs and social events.



A group of American college students crossing the pacific for study in Asia

studies of Asian and American customs and etiquette. The students learn something about American art, theatre, religions and social customs, and they often have informal dancing classes.

Other discussion meetings aboard ship cover immigration and customs problems, college procedures, housing, employment, transportation and other topics important to students visiting America. Private counselling is available to students who desire it, and language classes help the students to gain greater facility in speaking and understanding English.

For Americans travelling to Asia the program is in reverse. They learn about the customs, histories, governments and cultures of different Asian nations and often have an opportunity to study languages such as Chinese, Japanese, Tagalog or Thai. Some of the leadership is given by the orientation directors, and volunteers from among Asian passengers and bi-lingual crew members are invited to help with language classes.

Many American students travel or study in Asia during their summer vacation from college, and they have found the orientation program of great benefit as they begin their trip. Adults on a pleasure trip also learn much about the people and countries they will visit in Asia, and often they hear about places to visit that the ordinary tourist never would discover.

Most of the Asian students who have participated in the orientation program are enthusiastic about it and urge that it be continued to benefit other students who will follow them. They report that it contributes immensely to international understanding, and, on a personal level, helps students to approach their educational goals with greater ease and confidence.—USIS.

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## FOOD AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE FROM FISH

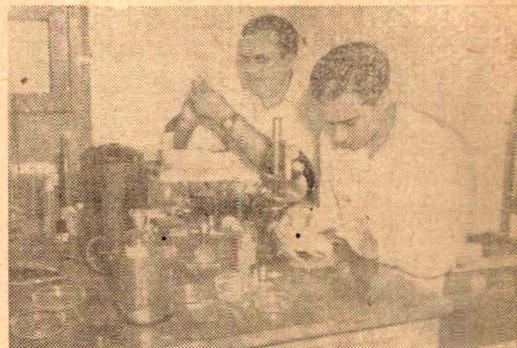
Along the 3500-mile coastline of India, a million fishermen ply their crafts day and night to bring in two-thirds of the country's capture of fish.

With an annual output of over a million tons, India stands seventh among the major fish producing countries of the world.

It has been recognised that with a vast stretch of coastline, an extensive river system, a large network of irrigation canals, reservoirs, tanks and the like, the development of fisheries on a planned basis would go a long way in making up the gap in our food production, besides fetching valuable foreign exchange.

The sea fishery resources comprise a large variety of fish, the most important ones being sardine, mackerel, prawn, pomfrets and Indian solomon.

Mechanisation of fishing craft has made appreciable progress in the States of Maharashtra, Gujarat, Kerala, Mysore and Madras and programmes for mechanisation have also been taken in hand in Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.



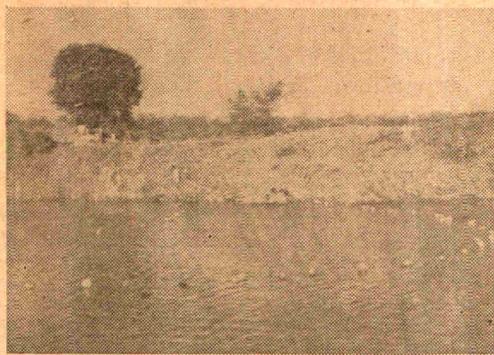
Testing fish in Laboratory

*Mechanisation*

Generally, the fishermen with their indigenous craft and gear, exploit grounds in the sea mostly near the coast. Trained fishermen are now induced to take to mechanised boats by provision of subsidies and loans so that with these fast-moving vessels, the fishermen can explore the sea farther from the shore. The catch will also be considerably larger.

About 850 boats have been mechanised since the beginning of the Second Plan. Training in the use and maintenance of mechanised boats is being provided at nine centres in different States. During the Third Plan, the programme of mechanisation is being expanded and it is proposed to mechanise 4,004 boats.

The Indo-Norwegian fisheries project, aided by the Government of Norway, has done substantial work in Kerala since 1952 in the field of designing and supplying of new types of boats, fishing on pilot basis in off-shore seas and organising the fishing community of the area to market their catches more profitably through a systematic sales organization.



Jamuna Canal near Okhla made a fishery tank

The Government of Norway is expected to continue the project and extend it to other maritime States such as Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore, Madras, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa.

Development of fishing harbours and berthing facilities will be taken up in the Third Plan. The provision of refrigerator rail cars and insulated road trucks for the transport of fish over long distances has been included in the programme.

#### *Research Stations*

After Independence, fisheries development has received an impetus. A number of research stations have been set up. The Central Marine Fisheries Research Station at Mandapam in Madras, the Central Inland Fisheries Research Station at Calcutta and the Central Deep Sea Fishing Station at Bombay are among the important centres.

The last-named Station has been conducting exploratory surveys some time to map out areas suitable for commercial exploitation. The surveys have made it possible for exploitation to be taken up on a commercial scale.

In recent years, there have been a great demand for quality fish-seed for fish culture. Emphasis is being laid for supply of such seeds, from natural resources and by artificial induction with hormone treatment.

Considerable scope exists in India for the development of inland fisheries. India to-day is one of the foremost countries in inland pisciculture practices. Inland fish culture has a peculiar significance in the economy of Asian countries, where large number of tanks, ponds and other impounded waters exist.

Surveys to determine the extent of culturable waters and for locating fish-seeds, have been undertaken in many States. Collection of fry and fingerling have met with considerable success in West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Delhi, Andhra Pradesh and Madras.

Fish-farming has been encouraged to improve the food resources of the village population. Large areas of inland waters are being used for fish-farming, the average yield being about 800 lbs. per acre.

Fishermen are becoming conscious of the advantage of research in fisheries, which the Government are fostering. Research workers at Barrackpur near Calcutta, have been constantly working to step up production from inland fisheries, which accounts for a third of the country's production. Capture and culture—these are the two most important words in the terminology of these workers.

#### *Exports*

In 1959, India exported fish and fish products worth about Rs. 6 crores and several measures have been taken to step up this figure.

There is a good demand for some Indian fishery products in a number of foreign countries. Dried prawn, for example is mainly imported by Burma, Ceylon receives much of our dried, salted and unsalted fish.

A remunerative market has also developed in the U.S.A. for frozen prawns. This industry is concentrated mostly in Trivandrum, Cochin and Kozhikode in Kerala, Mangalore in Mysore and in Bomay. This is packed in cartons and transported in refrigerated holds of ships mainly to the U.S.A. and Canada.—PIB.

## LITERACY THROUGH COMMUNITY PROJECTS

By SHAMSUDDIN, M.A., B.T., M.ED.

During 1937-38, efforts in the field of eliminating illiteracy in India, were made, to a certain extent, when Popular Ministries were formed in the Provinces for a brief period. When the National Government was formed in 1946, Educationists endeavoured to develop programmes in this field, which would express the new National aspirations. In 1948, it was given the name of "Social Education" which is a broader concept of "Adult Education". Since then the emphasis has not been only on literacy but also on a better standard of living. In 1952 the scheme of 'Community Projects' infused fresh enthusiasm among social educationists.

### Social Education

Social Education aims at promoting social harmony and strengthening social solidarity among people. Social harmony and social solidarity are things of value, and they help towards the achievement of larger national ends. The social harmony aimed at by social education is thus a part of the dynamic social movement in India. It makes people conscious of the significance of the country's Five-Year Plans and enthuses them to participate in it. It also serves as a bridge between centres of research and the homes and hamlets where the common people live. It helps to bring to the people the benefits of the new knowledge. It helps people to understand and gain knowledge of the basic essentials of a healthy life, civic education etc.

As a large part of Indian population is illiterate, literacy has become one of the most important programmes of social education. The following figures present a fairly good picture of literacy in India :

- (i) Percentage of literacy in 1951 (the latest census year)
- (ii) Percentage of literacy of children (below 10 are excluded)
- (iii) Literacy among men
- (iv) Literacy among women

(v) Literacy in Urban Areas	34.6%
(vi) Literacy in Rural Areas	12.1%

If India wants to keep pace with the advancement of the modern world, the raising of the general standard of living everywhere and achievement of total literacy are most essential. This was the sole aim of the Adult Education movement in the country prior to 1948. The Social Education movement too inherits the same aims and is endeavouring to deepen its significance.

### *Community Projects*

Before the Community Projects commence working, there were about 40,000 classes in India imparting literacy to nearly 400,000 people annually. By the beginning of 1956, the community project organisation had established 75,000 literacy classes with an enrolment of over 6,00,000. This is a good contribution towards the liquidation of illiteracy. Yet we have to admit that the present literacy effort in the country is inadequate in the face of the challenge presented by the mass illiteracy and hence needs greater momentum.

Sometimes literacy classes develop into follow-up groups and these into community centres which provide a meeting place for the community. By this means it is hoped that the community may develop an *esprit de corps*. The community centres in India have various programmes, most of which are taken up by the State Education Department. By the beginning of 1956, 63,000 community centres were established in about 800 Development blocks throughout the country. These community centres organised 169,000 programmes, mostly recreational. The organisation of the community centres is encouraged by the Ministry of Education. During the First Five-Year Plan 454 schools were started to function as school-cum-community centres and 160 model community centres were actually set up.

### *Youth Clubs and Libraries*

Youth Clubs have been formed and are inspired with a deep social educative spirit inasmuch as they teach youths new ways of group life. They undertake the responsibility of protecting the village against undesirable outside influence. They are also responsible for agricultural projects.

As a follow-up of literacy classes for the education of the masses, libraries have a place of importance. No doubt, for the present, the library service in the country is in its infancy. There are hardly 32,000 libraries throughout the whole country and these too are not well-furnished and have a considerable portion of trash. In short, there is hardly one book for every 50 of our people and only 10 of them are estimated to have read only one book in a whole year.

In order to knit them together the Government of India has established District and Central State Libraries to serve the towns and villages in their respective areas. During the First Five-Year Plan out of a total of 320 districts in India, about 100 were equipped with libraries. It is hoped that every district in India will have its own library by the end of the Second Five-Year Plan.

### *Radio and Films*

All India Radio plays an important role to eradicate illiteracy in India. 22 stations throughout the country broadcast programmes for women, children, farmers and villagers in almost all Indian languages and in English too. The Ministry of Information and Broadcasting have set up nearly 20,000 community sets all over the country by sharing the expenditure on the radio sets with State Governments.

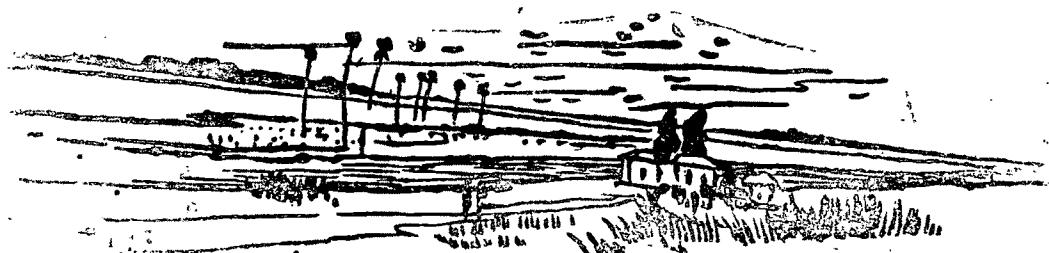
Exhibitions and Film shows have also played an important part in eradicating illiteracy from the country. Uptill March, 1956, the community projects in different states had distributed 20

fully equipped mobile cinema vans, 335 fully equipped trailers and 208 magic lanterns and film-strip projectors. Some states have good audio-visual departments to support their programmes of visual education.

As regards personnel for the work, there are the local voluntary workers in villages, towns and cities of India, who devote a part of their time to work out one or the other aspect of social education for eradicating illiteracy, creditable to say, during leisure hours and without any remuneration. By the beginning of 1956, 11,325 Village Level Workers were on the job in the country.

In fact it is the Social Education Organiser who is now the backbone of the social education personnel of the country. State Education Departments also organise short courses for the training of literacy teachers. Recently, in co-operation with the Ford Foundation, a scheme was worked out to train 42,000 teachers in the course of the next Five Years for a comprehensive course. The Government of India have also been sponsoring literacy workshops since 1953, for the training of authors for producing reading materials for neo-literates. Each workshop trains about 20 to 25 authors within the period of a month. Besides learning the techniques of writing for neo-literates the authors are also expected to produce some reading material during the period of training in the workshops.

In brief, the movement has certainly some ideals before it but ideals cannot be measured in terms of Mathematics, yet people can realise them only in terms of their striving and capacity. Thus it can be said with certainty that the community projects have brought a sense of purpose and joy to the lives of the people in villages and that social education has played a satisfactory role. If the villagers of India, to-day, are buzzing with greater activity than ever before, credit for this, to a great extent, should go to the social education movement.



## HOLDING THE PRICE LINE

BY PRINCIPAL P. C. MALHOTRA

Rising prices are said to be good for trade and employment. But uncontrolled rise in prices become more of a curse than a blessing. If the rising prices are of the "running-away" nature, money would cease to be suitable for performing its essential functions. It is presumed that a society that has launched itself on a series of "Plans" would not permit such a situation to arise. Where the investments by the State have to be planned in advance over a period of years, a reasonable stability of prices and costs has necessarily to be assumed. In the absence of price stability the level of investment cannot be properly estimated and the estimation of targets to be achieved in successive plan phases come to contain an element of speculation. A change in prices is not merely a mechanical revision of financial estimates included in the plan, it changes the very perspective of the plan.

The total investment envisaged in the draft outline of the Third Plan is Rs. 10,200 crores at 1958-59 prices and 9,000 crores at 1952-53 price level. To raise the national income to about Rs. 22,000 crores by the end of the 4th Plan and to about Rs. 30,000 crores by the end of the 5th Plan, it will be necessary to provide for a net investment of the order of Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 16,000 crores in the 4th Plan and Rs. 21,000 to Rs. 22,000 crores in the 5th Plan. The dimensions of the problem arising out of instability of prices would be of a serious nature calling for increasing taxation, more borrowing foreign or internal, deficit financing at a time when these must already be taut and on high tension. Rising prices create the problem of rising costs of living and the race between the two becomes an endless one. Also rising prices lead to rising costs of production. As the costs of production rise, exports would tend to be discouraged. This would give rise to another difficult

problem of adverse balance of trade and of payments. We need an internal price level which does not keep in advance of prices in foreign markets, in order that we may be able to sell more and earn more foreign exchange.

While looking for 'Holding the price line' the usual course has been to take 1939 as the year of our comparison. But to think in terms of 1939 price level would be a self-deception. The Vardacharia Commission (First Pay Commission) reporting in May, 1947, hoped that the cost of living index might stabilise between 185-200 taking 1939 as 100. This expectation proved to be false. In 1952, the Dearness Allowance Committee assumed that the cost of living index would not fall below the range 265-284. But the consumer price index for the year 1958 was 414. If the index of wholesale prices in 1952-53 is taken as 100, the index of price level rose to 112.1 in 1958-59 and by the end of 1959-60 it stood as 118.6. A stabilisation at about 120 index of price level may be aimed at.

Can this be done? The explanation of the recent increase in the price level lies, said the J. N. Das Committee (2nd Pay Commission) Report 1957-59, "In the continuing gap between investments and genuine savings and in the fact that production, particularly of food-grains and other consumer goods, has been lagging behind the increase in demand. In a sense, rise in prices performs a necessary economic function of bringing about a balance between the current output of consumer goods and the claims made on it, by reducing the 'real' size of these monetary claims; and unless the gap between investment and genuine savings is reduced by a reduction in investment or through an increase in productivity and savings we feel that the tendency will be for the price level to rise, the extent of rise depending

upon the magnitude of the gap in resources."

Reduction in investments is not possible as that would slow down the economic growth. The challenge of our democratic Welfare State would not permit this. If anything, the technique would be to even step up investment in the Third and subsequent Plans so that the economy quickly reaches the stage of self-generating economic development. The strategy of our investments, therefore, is of crucial importance now. The criterion of a good strategy would be productivity. We must need now to think in terms of more productive rather than less productive investments, the perspective of input of investment and the output of returns has, therefore, to be clearly and constantly kept before our eyes. In fact, it would only be in a limited sphere that a conflict between the productivity aspect and the employment aspect would be involved. These spheres of conflict have to be clearly demarcated and the decision taken consciously. Employment is an important aspect of the plan. But if we are preparing the economy of the country for the 'self-generating' or 'take-off' stage, productivity has to be given first priority and it is expected that the benefit of increased employment would subsequently flow from increased per capita national income. The time-lag between increased productivity and increased employment has to be suitably covered and that is the challenge for which a democratic society has to prepare itself and its citizens. This is a hard task, but has to be performed.

#### **Investment Policy Commission**

Before the new Governments are formed after the next elections, the country must have before it a review of the lines of investments made in the two Five-Year Plans, the principles that should guide investments in the Third Five-Year Plan and an assessment of the manner in which Public Expenditure has been incurred during the Plans. This work should be entrusted to a Commission composed of

experts and public men whose recommendations would guide the new Governments and whose authoritative opinions would create a proper atmosphere of opinion about the correct rationale of investments. A constant eye has to be kept on 'Waste' which means either disregard of the minimum amounts of expenditure which make particular objects of expenditure effective, so that the range is too wide, or that the returns on effective expenditure are not equivalent at the margins of outlay. The bedrock of the problem in these days is that it is the policy of the Governments upon which the expenditure has to be founded. But another bedrock on which policy may get foundered is finance or available resources for carrying out that policy. Mr. C. Northcote Parkinson caught our imagination when he gave his first Parkinson's Law, "Administrators multiply". He has now given his second Parkinson's Law which says: "Expenditure rises to meet income". When funds are limitless or supposed to be limitless, the only economy made is in thinking, and tax money can be wasted in good causes as well as bad ones and few people have either the time or the courage to protest against wasteful expenditures, believing perhaps, that the tiny voice would be drowned in the noisy atmosphere of spree created by expanding expenditure. Mr. Parkinson's suggestion deserve a consideration. He says: "We need to reverse the whole process of Government finance. Ministers should not begin by ascertaining what the departments need. They should begin by asking what the country can afford to spend. . . ."

#### **The Real Problem**

In the First Five-Year Plan Report it has been stated that a doubling of per capita incomes within a generation or so required, in most of these countries, a rate of net investment of the order of 12 to 13 per cent of the national income. More rapid rates of development have required; still higher rates of investment in the U.S.S.R. In under-developed countries with low standards of living and rapidly increasing

population, rate of growth commensurate with needs cannot be achieved until rate of capital formation comes up to around 20 per cent of the national income. The question we have, therefore, to answer is not whether a high rate of investment can be aimed at but under what conditions and in what stages it could be attained. The primary condition for attaining high rate of investment obviously is to save more and more for investment out of more and more of production. The other conditions to help the creation of the primary condition are ancillary.

### **Reversing The Bias For Spending**

Japan was able to show a high rate of investment out of its own savings for purposes of development. The psychology of the people towards saving and the institutional factors are important in the matter of saving. It has been observed that "the Japanese capitalists spend very little on personal consumption, that the rural population and urban working population are exceptionally thrifty and, indeed, the wage-earners themselves save a substantial proportion of incomes". Rising prices tended to enforce rates of savings which would otherwise not be possible.

India has a tradition of simple living, but in recent years, the desire of far better living has swept the country. Emphasis on rising standard of living, and on a minimum standard of living as a citizen's right has changed the attitude of the people towards spending. Ways of public spending based on borrowing and created money seem to be copied in private spending also. This new bias for spending has to be restrained. Our Prime Minister has raised a new slogan "Work to-day, Profit tomorrow". If the workers or producers are assured that "tomorrow" when they can enjoy profits is a "definite date" and not tomorrow which is always receding, the slogan should work. Public expenditure has to show the trail in the matter of economical expenditure. Conspicuous consumption, that is expenditure which costs more to serve the purpose of demonstration and gives less in the form

of utility, has to be avoided in public expenditure and by persons occupying public offices. A probe into the distribution of national income by the proposed expert commission would give an indication for casting the net for floating loans and the imposition of taxes for collecting revenue and restricting consumption.

### **The Objectives and Instruments**

The objectives of our policy of holding the price line may now be indicated. These should be, firstly, to prevent a further rise in the present price level; secondly, to maintain the parities between sectional prices, such as those of food grains, raw materials and manufactured articles; thirdly, to provide the right measure of incentive for producers on these lines. Price variation of the temporal (over-time), regional (over-space) and sectoral (of groups of commodities) have to be kept under control.

The instruments required for holding the price line may now be studied. The phenomenon of price variation is connected with the quantity of money and credit in circulation, the magnitudes of deficit financing and development expenditure. Dear money policy needs to be supplemented by selective credit control for preventing abnormal fluctuations in prices of particular essential commodities like foodgrains. Export and Import quotas and duties can be manipulated with a view to regulating the price of important commodities having a bearing on food prices which are exported or imported on a considerable scale. Other fixed instruments that can influence consumption and production patterns of commodities in desired direction are excise duties and subsidies. A disinflationary fiscal policy has been adopted in the Third Five-Year Plan. Taxation is expected to yield Rs. 1,650 crores in the Third Five-Year Plan as against Rs. 1,000 crores in the Second Plan, balance of revenues are estimated at Rs. 350 crores in the Third Five-Year Plan as against Rs. 100 crores in the Second Plan; loans from public are estimated at Rs. 850

crores in the Third Plan as against Rs. 800 crores in the Second Plan; small saving is expected to give Rs. 550 crores in the Third Plan as against 380 crores in the Second Plan and provident fund, betterment levies, etc., are estimated to yield Rs. 510 crores in the Third Plan as against Rs. 213 crores in the Second Plan.

Any attempt at holding the price line must first take care of the price of food articles and of cloth. The solution of the food problem according to the last Food Grains Enquiry Committee lies between complete free trade and full control. Rapid changes in the behaviour of the farmers in the form of holding more stocks, either for consumption or for deferred sales, has made the food distribution problem also of some significance in addition to its being a problem of increased production.

The main characteristic of a rational system of price stabilisation is to avoid both complete *laissez faire* and rigid control by allowing trade to function on a competitive basis within certain broad limits on the one hand and on the other to regulate it by suitable countervailing action, over-all as well as selective by public authority.

The country has to aim at self-sufficiency in food and cloth by increasing its output through longer hours of work, utilisation of excess capacity in plants and projects and greater technical efficiency. Excess capacity, for instance is estimated at 35 per cent in the major and minor irrigation works, of a lesser order in the power

projects and at an average of 40 to 50 per cent in some forty industries.

The importance of Price Stabilisation is so great that it cannot be left to chance. Price Stabilisation is going to be a regular problem, under our plan. Hence a "Price Stabilisation Board" as recommended by the Food Grains Enquiry Committee is called for. This Board should be composed of representatives of the Ministries of Food and Agriculture, Finance, Commerce and Industry and Railways, Planning Commission and the Reserve Bank of India. It is only a high level authority as proposed above that will be able to deal effectively with the problem of price stabilisation. The Price Stabilisation Board must have relevant statistics and also relative intelligence for which an organisation like the Prices Intelligence Division may be built up.

The necessity of exercising selective controls on credit, on investment, on expenditure, on consumption, is felt in the context of price stabilisation. But when a nation has girdled its loins to achieve its targets of the Plans, all these controls would work well only if there is fullest co-operation of the public in this task based on self control in the matter of consumption and purchases. Produce more or get frustrated and perish is now the challenge before the country and holding the price line would be concerned with looking after the floor, the ceiling, I should say gradually moving ceiling and avoiding epicentric fluctuations in prices.



## STRIKE IN PUBLIC SERVICE

By T. K. JAYARAMAN

\*Should the strikes in public service be banned? Before answering this question one should clearly understand the nature, causes and consequences of strikes both in public employment and private employment. In the case of private employment, history and experience show the right to strike as a cherished one—as an instrument of social emancipation of labour and political consciousness. It is because of the relationship between the employer and employees in private employment where profit maximisation is the only motivating factor. The public service, as could be seen, is totally different from private employment because of the absence of profit motive. As regards the causes of strikes, the discontent would originate from almost the same sort of situations : the disparity between a stationary wage level and the rising cost of living index, the working conditions with reference to hours of labour, etc. But the essential difference lies in the character of the consequences of the strikes.

Having distinguished public service from private employment, the graver consequences of strikes in public employment may be studied in detail. Today with a view to fulfilling the welfare ideals, the State has stepped into various fields apart from general administration, e.g., industry, trade and commerce and public utilities. Secondly, the Indian economy, which is today in a developing stage with the operation of the Five-Year Plans, is of a complex nature. Therefore, any serious interference with normal work in the governmental field, which is ever increasing, will have far-reaching effects. Moreover, serious interruption of government's administrative functions will jeopardise public confidence in a democratic structure. The opinion that strike is inconsistent with public employment can be seen in a letter written by President Roosevelt of the U.S.A. to the Chairman of the National Federation of Federal Employees in that country :

"Since their own services have to do with the functioning of Government, a strike of public employees manifests nothing less than

an intent on them to prevent or obstruct the operation of Government until their demands are satisfied. Such action looking forward toward the paralysis of Government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable".

The Second Pay Commission in this country viewed the problem in the same way with added stress on the prevailing conditions of unrest in other sectors of the society :

"We are definitely of the view that it is wrong that public servants should resort to strike or threaten to do so; and that persons entrusted with the responsibility for operating services essential to the life of the community should seek to disorganise and interrupt these services in order to promote their own interests. Apart from these moral aspects, there is little doubt that in Indian conditions in which there is often a possibility of eruption of indiscipline in an ugly form in one section of a community or another, a strike or even demonstration by Government servants cannot but be a factor making for indiscipline generally".<sup>1</sup>

By entering public service, the public servants have to sacrifice a part of the rights ordinarily enjoyed by a citizen, to protect the liberties of the larger public. However the degree of abridgment depends on the quality of the service each renders to the community.

If freedom of action of public employees is to be restricted, the State should also accept restrictions on itself as employer. This has been widely recognised in all modern democratic States, in Governments being willing to accept employee organisation and representation. Moreover, there has always been a firm realisation on the part of every public employees' union, especi-

1. *Second Pay Commission's Report*, 1959, chapter on "Rights of Association".

ally in the western countries, that strike is incompatible with public service. It is because ties of setting up a machinery like National Whitley Council with its regional and departmental branches can be looked into. Such a programme involves the organisation of workers and their representation by persons of their own choice. Only the establishment of such machinery with the willingness on the part of government to listen to and negotiate with the employees, would pave the way to a positive understanding and better relations between Government and employees. Then and then only prohibition of strikes by legislation will have any justification. This point is stressed by an eminent authority in the following lines : (The first quotation is addressed to the employees.)

No doubt the administrative bans have been effective checks on the employees. However, this alone does not explain the absence of prohibitive legislative measure banning strikes. Such a legislative measure will be thought unnecessary so long as there is an understanding between employees and government, as the following extract from the Report of Special Committee on Government: employer and employee relationships in the U.S.A. would show :

"It is the duty of the State to avoid unfavourable conditions of public employment and provide adequate machinery for the prevention and removal of employment problems at the source. But when the state fails in that duty, it still remains the obligation of public employees to limit the prevention of their case to peaceable methods . . . . only with the continued understanding and acceptance of such obligations by public employees and officials will it remain unnecessary for the state to outlaw or prohibit employee action interfering with public services".

The above extract also draws attention to the need for adequate machinery, for resolving disputes regarding the condition of work, etc., by

2. *Representative Bureaucracy*, by Donald Kingsley, Ohio, 1944.

"If the demands of civil servants are given ample constitutional channels in which to find their vent and satisfaction when found to be Just, the strike must be relinquished as a means of forcing the State to surrender". (Herman Finev)<sup>3</sup>

Having underlined the necessity of abandonment of strike by public servants once the constitutional means are provided, Dr. Finev now addresses the Government :

"The strikes of public employees should be prohibited provided explicit methods of negotiating settlements of their disputes are established".<sup>4</sup>

However, it must be understood that the foundation of the argument in favour of anti-strike laws is not merely the sovereign character of Government but it is the urgency and the necessity of administrative operations in all fields and by all kinds of public servants, industrial and non-industrial. This point is succinctly expressed by late Prof. Leonard D. White :

"Whether by persons employed by Government, by a government corporation, by a public trustee, by a mixed enterprise,

3. Herman Finev, *British Civil Service*, p. 211.

4. Herman Finev, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, p. 1422.

by a private corporation affected with a public interest . . . A strike that would bring direct, immediate, certain and serious danger to a primary interest of the community should be prohibited by law, with adequate sanctions, but also with adequate means to secure public consideration and solution of the issues involved. The criterion of distinction is, therefore, the consequence of a strike upon the public interest, not the status of the employer".<sup>5</sup>

Prof. White pleads for a constructive public policy to prevent strikes by eliminating their causes. The principal elements of such a policy, apart from the provision of adequate machinery, as mentioned above, in which both employees and the management have confidence to deal with employees' grievances, would include the following :

- (1) Maintenance of equitable conditions of employment comparable to those prevailing in progressive private industry.
- (2) Full disclosure by management of the terms and conditions, and obligations, of employment in the public service.
- (3) Recognition of the right of employees to organise and to meet with appropriate public authorities for collective representation and negotiation on conditions of employment.

Proper recognition of the above will require a positive leadership on the part of chief per-

5. White, "Strikes in Public Service", *Public Personnel Review*, January, 1919, p. 6.

sonnel agency to guide the application of personnel policy. In fact as an author pointed out "the threat of a strike is a symptom of a seriously defective personnel system".<sup>6</sup>

The recent strike by government employees in this country has necessitated some serious thinking on the subject. The Government is contemplating to set up a machinery on the lines of Whitley Council in U.K. and also to declare strikes in essential services illegal. One of the main influencing forces is the law in the U.S.A. which provides "that no person shall hold office or accept employment in the Government of U.S. or any agency thereof, including wholly owned Government Corporations, who participates in any strike or asserts the right to strike against Government of U.S. or such agency or is a member of any organisation of Government employees that asserts the right to such strike". All said and done, the government has a responsibility towards its employees, for as Fredrich and Cole said :

"We feel that any Government that would allow conditions in Government employ to reach such a pitch as to become intolerable to the worker involved would deserve to have a strike on hands and no law prohibiting strikes would prevent one under such circumstances in the same sense as prohibition of liquor did not prohibit".<sup>7</sup>

6. *A Study of the System of Personnel Administration of U.S. Government*, by Lewis Mayers, New York, 1922.

7. *Responsible Bureaucracy : A Study of Swiss Civil Service*, by Fredrich and Cole, Cambridge, 1932.



## CHRISTIANITY THE RELIGION OF THE INCARNATION

By The Rev. CANON E. SAMBAYYA,  
*Principal, Bishop's College, Calcutta*

THE Christian religion is often called the religion of the Incarnation, suggesting that the Incarnation of the Son of God is central to it. The phrase in the Nicene Creed "and was incarnate" forms the cornerstone of the Church's faith. In India perhaps it would have been more attractive as well as acceptable if we were to say that Jesus Christ is an *Avatara* of God. The concept of *Avatara* is not applied for the coming of God to man in Jesus Christ because the ideas of *Avatara* and of the Incarnation differ in certain important aspects. There are three ideas in the *Dasa-Avataras* which do not square with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation: (1) In each of the *Avataras* it is said that only a fraction of the essence of Vishnu appears in the human guise. Thus Ramchandra is said to represent only half of the essence of Vishnu while Krishna is regarded as the plenary incarnation of the deity. (2) The *Avataras* assume human as well as sub-human forms such as *Parasuram, Narasimha, kurma and Matsya*. (3) After a certain task has been completed the Vishnu resumes his original form.

### *Incarnation Once and Once Only*

The coming of God to men in Jesus Christ is at variance with the idea of *Avatara* in three important respects. The Christian faith does not pose repeated or plurality of *Avataras*. God became man once and once for all when he was born of Mary on the first Christmas Day. This event is of such importance for mankind that in the New Testament it is very elaborately and precisely authenticated. This took place when Caesar Augustus was the Roman Emperor, and Quirinius was the Governor of Syria. The birth of Jesus Christ was an event in history with such consequences that it became the turning point of history. At a particular time in history which the Apostle Paul would call "the fullness of time", God sent His Eternal Son to take to Himself our human nature in the Virgin Mary. Jesus Christ the Incarnate Son of God lived a truly human

life with all its limitations for some thirty or thirty-three years, and died a human death in the cause of love. Death could not hold down such a life. God raised Him from the tomb on Easter Day; and He returned to the presence of God with His sacred humanity, now glorified. There is no discontinuing of the Incarnation after He has broken the power of sin. Jesus now reigns with God with His glorified Manhood. There is no putting on and putting off, as it were, of human nature by the Son of God. God's Son becoming Man is an eternal fact with eternal consequences.

The life, death and exaltation of Christ (sometimes called "the Christ event") is best interpreted as God's self-communication. There is an inexhaustible longing in the heart of God to impart Himself to man who is made after His own image. All the time God is manifesting Himself to His children in diverse ways. But His fullest disclosure is through the category of personality. Nothing less would satisfy man. Men understand ideas and ideals best only when they are translated into human actions and attitudes. God chose to impart His love to men by pouring Himself into a human personality. God might have come to us in the form of an angel, but He chose human personality as the medium of revelation. In doing so He has shown once for all what man is always intended to be.

In coming to the rescue of man as man God did not leave a part of Himself in heaven and allow only a fraction of His self to assume human nature. The entire person of God is involved in the Incarnation. In Christian thought God is called the eternal Father and the archetype of all fatherhood. He is so called because by a timeless process (*i.e.*, eternally) God imparts Himself to His Son and is eternally in the Son. Hence it is possible for us to say that Christ, the Son is a part of the consciousness of God. The Son is called "the Only-begotten" Son since He possesses the whole life of the Father. As the Son possesses the whole life of the Father the life of God can be manifested only in the Son. The Son of God is also called "the Word of God", *i.e.*, the

whole of God expressed. When the Son of God assumed human nature and lived a human life, it is understood that the entire being of God became involved in the Incarnation. The Son of God is not a being in any way separable from the eternal Father, though He is distinct from Him. This is perhaps the humblest way of expressing what God has been pleased to reveal of Himself in Jesus Christ.

### *The Why of the Incarnation*

Why was the Son of God born as Man? The Creed says, "For us men and for our salvation (He) came down from heaven and was incarnate of the Virgin Mary . . . ." God became Man so that man might become partaker of the life of God. Our understanding of the purpose of the Incarnation is closely linked up with sin. Sin which is the corruption of the soul alienates us from God and destroys in us the capacity for loving God. The wages of sin is death. God, who is ever longing for the return of man to communion with Him does not desire the death of a sinner, rather He wishes that he should repent and live. Jesus Christ, through His life and more particularly through His sacrificial and atoning death on the Cross redressed the wrong in which man had become implicated and made it possible for him to get back his sonship. The Son of God came down from the bosom of the Eternal God, and, having become Man, showed us how man is meant to live, and at the same time, through His death, re-established our fellowship with God.

The why of the Incarnation is succinctly expressed in an ancient prayer: "O God, who hast given Thine only Son to be unto us *both a sacrifice for sin and also an example of godly life . . .*" That sin is expiated by sacrifice is a belief which is as old as man and is witnessed by the sacrificial system in every religion. The world's sin (against God) is expiated by the voluntary offering of Jesus Christ on the Cross as a representative of mankind. In the simple language of a well-known Christian hymn: "He died to make us good."

Jesus Christ the Incarnate Son of God is not only a sacrifice for sin, but also an example of godly life. His holy manhood is for us the pattern to live by. The two things that particularly strike anyone reading the Gospels are: (1) The Sonship of Jesus Christ and (2) His

trust in God as Heavenly Father. Jesus often referred to Himself as the Son and his sonship was evident in the complete dedication of His will to God. For Him loving God meant obeying His will in all things, even if that obedience meant drinking to the dregs the cup of suffering. Not even once did He set His will against the will of the Father. The other notable feature of His life was His Childlike trust in God manifested in His utter dependence on Him in all crises of His life. In all the temptations with which He was assailed there was not noticeable even a shade of distrust in God. In trusting God He was never saved from trials and sufferings. Out of the depths of the agony on the Cross He uttered the words of perfect trust "Father, into Thy hands I commit my spirit". His was truly an example of a godly life.

### *The Incarnation and Ourselves*

The Incarnation of the Son of God is an event of history. Though in a sense it is a past event, its significance embraces the present as well as the future. It is a historical event of eternal importance. God becoming man during the reign of Caesar Augustus concerns every man in every situation. Today we are seeing the tumult of nations. Like a giant stirring itself out of sleep, masses of men are waking from a deep slumber of dread. There are around us vast mass-movements with a quest for life—a higher standard of life and liberty. We see this all around us, in Africa and in the far eastern regions of Asia. Who dares give to these men a sense of direction?

This requires us to pay heed to two basic questions. What do men live by? And what do men live for?

The Incarnation has the answer. It is the still, small voice speaking into our situation: "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him alone shalt thou serve". Man's natural propensity for worship ought to be directed to a worthy end. The holy and loving God should be constantly brought before man, so that by offering Him homage and adoration, he may find rest in his soul.

The Incarnate Life is a dependable source of the knowledge of God as the loving Father. We may not know God as He is in Himself, but

We do know Him as He is revealed in the life and teaching of Jesus. It is the worship of such a God that saves us from vexation and failure.

The Incarnation furnishes the answer for the other basic question. "What do men live by?" Here again we recall the words of Jesus: "Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God". Bread is indeed necessary, but bread alone cannot take us very far. We do not serve men best if we provide them with bread without any reference to God, from whom the gift of bread comes. To teach man to live by bread alone is to instill superstition in him. The quest of

the nations who are on the march today, is at the bottom a search for, not a sort of biological existence, but for a wholeness of living. Life which is sound and satisfying is from God alone, and He imparts it to men not by measure.

To lead men to the spring of such eternal life constitutes the real uplift of the masses. But who can undertake such a task? The answer is with every man. Eternal Life is offered in a humble and unassuming way through an infant, born to a village maiden in an obscure corner of Bethlehem. As many as received Him, to them he gave the power to become the sons of God. The Incarnation of the Son of God concerns you and me. What thinkest thou of Christ?

:O:-

## DEVELOPING INDUSTRIES IN INDIA

By G. N. MISRA, M.A.

The most striking feature of our economic life since we attained freedom, is our planned effort to harness natural resources in order to increase production and attain higher levels of living. The First Five-Year Plan aimed at "strengthening the economy at base, first by repairing the damage caused by war and the partition; secondly, by providing certain essential social and economic overheads which would make rapid development possible," whereas the Second Plan aimed at a "larger increase in production, in investment and in employment." The object of the present article is to assess the progress recorded by Industrial Production during the first two plans.

### Iron and Steel

It is generally agreed that steel is the basis of large-scale industrialisation and an increase in steel production is a prerequisite of industrial advancement. An attempt was made to formulate a long-term policy for steel even before the First Plan was launched. During 1945, Iron and Steel (Major) Panel was constituted by Planning and Development Department. The Panel recommended a target of 2.5 million tons to be achieved by 1955. The current requirement was estimated at 2

million tons. The Panel's recommendation was not acceptable to the Advisory Planning Board, the supreme planning body, because, in its opinion, the immediate requirement was only 1.5 million tons.

Another survey of steel demand was conducted by Government of India in 1954. The survey revealed that the country would require 6 million tons by 1960-61.

The First Five-Year Plan aimed at (i) expanding and modernising the TISCO for raising the production capacity to 9,31,000 tons of saleable steel (ii) expanding IISCO for raising the production of saleable steel and pig iron to 700,000 tons and 400,000 tons respectively.

The production of Mysore Iron and Steel Works was proposed to be stepped up to 100,000 tons of finished steel to be achieved before 1956.

The total production of steel ingots and metals for casting increased from 1437.6 thousand tons in 1950 to 1737.6 thousand tons in 1956. In the corresponding period, the production of finished steel rose from 1004.4 thousand tons to 1338.0 thousand tons. During the First Plan period the production of pig iron increased from 1708.8 thousand tons in 1951 to 1807.2 thousand tons in 1956.

During Second Five-Year Plan, special

emphasis was placed on the development producing ammonium sulphate in the of such industries as would make the following quantities: economy self-sustaining, namely, steel and machine-building and the manufacture of producer goods. Among these, the expansion programme of iron and steel constituted the largest single item. The Second Five-Year Plan envisaged the construction of three steel plants of one million tons ingot capacity each in the public sector. The annual output of finished steel was proposed to be stepped up from 1.3 million tons to 4.6 million tons—2.3 million tons from the three steel works in the public sector and remaining 2.3 million tons from steel works in the private sector. As estimated in the Draft Third Five-Year Plan, the steel output likely to be achieved in 1960-1961, is 2.6 million tons. It is clear that the steel target fixed in the Second Five-Year Plan could not be achieved, due to (i) industrial unrest at Jamshedpur in 1958, which resulted in a time-loss of 3,19,033 man-days and production loss of about 19,000 tons of steel, (ii) lack of trained technical personnel, and (iii) lack of adequate raw materials.

	Annual capacity (tons)
1. Sindri Fertilisers & Chemicals, Ltd. (Bihar)	350,000
2. Fertilisers and Chemicals (Travancore), Ltd. (Kerala)	44,550
3. Mysore Chemicals & Fertilisers, Ltd. (Mysore)	6,600
4. Tata Iron & Steel Co., Ltd. (Bihar)	16,500
5. Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Burnpur (West Bengal)	10,230
6. Indian Iron & Steel Co., Ltd., Kulti, (West Bengal)	1,650
7. Burakur Coal Co., Ltd. (Bihar)	1,320
8. Bararee Coke Co., Ltd. (Bihar)	1,155
Total	<hr/> 432,005

### Chemical Industry

#### Fertilisers

With low per capita cultivated land and very small size of holdings, India requires intensive cultivation in order to obtain higher yield per acre. In this context, the increased use of fertilisers has gained added importance. Before 1951, there were only two factories in India producing nitrogenous fertiliser, one in Alwaye (Kerala) and the other in Belagula (Mysore). The first fertiliser factory in the public sector was set up in 1951 at Sindri. The total production of nitrogenous sulphur increased from 9,000 tons (nitrogen) in 1950-1951 to 79,000 tons (nitrogen) in 1955-56. In the corresponding period, the production of phosphatic sulphur rose from 9,000 tons ( $P_2Q_5$ ) to 12,000 tons ( $P_2Q_5$ ). For the Second Five-Year Plan, the target was fixed at 370,000 tons of nitrogen a year. Towards the end of 1958 there were eight concerns

(Source : Capital, 23rd June, 1960)

The output of ammonium sulphate has increased from 319,620 tons in 1953 to 432,005 tons in 1956.

The schemes for new capacities of nitrogenous fertilisers were implemented in the following factories in 1958 :

Name of the Factory	Capacity in tons of Nitrogen a year
(1)	(2)
1. Sindri Fertilisers and Chemicals, Ltd.	47,000
2. Fertilisers and Chemicals (Travancore), Ltd.	10,000
3. Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd.	6,000
4. Nangal Fertilisers	80,000
5. Rourkela Fertilisers	120,000
6. Neyveli Fertilisers Project	75,000
7. Sahu Chemicals, Varanasi	10,000

(Source : Capital, 23rd June, 1960.)

The production of super-phosphates decreased from 1,05,056 tons in 1954 to 74,160 tons in 1955 due to fall in agricultural prices, thereafter it rose to 1,41,678 tons in 1957.

### Sulphuric Acid

The trend of production of sulphuric acid during the First Five-Year Plan period was as follows :

Year	Production (in tons)	Year	Production (in tons)
1951	1,06,932	1954	1,50,876
1952	96,084	1955	1,56,000
1953	1,09,091		

(Source : Times of India Directory, 1958-59.)

The production of sulphuric acid increased from 1,56,000 tons in 1955 to 1,96,062 tons in 1957. The total production was estimated at 2,27,000 tons in 1958.

Sulphuric acid occupies an important place in our economy because of the fact that it is consumed by iron and steel and fertiliser factories.

### Caustic Soda

The industry has made rapid strides since 1951. In 1951, there were 9 factories with an installed capacity of 27,552 tons. By 1955, the number of factories increased to 12 with a capacity of 44,300 tons.

During the Second Five-Year Plan, the target was fixed at 1,50,000 tons. The total installed capacity of caustic soda increased from 45,350 tons in 1957 to 68,965 tons in 1958.

As estimated in Draft Third Five-Year Plan, the total production of caustic soda likely to be achieved in 1960-61, is 125,000 tons.

### Cotton Textile Industry

The First Five-Year Plan aimed at increasing the production of cotton cloth from 4,076 million yards in 1951 to 4,700 million yards in 1955-56. It provided for increasing the output of yarn from 1,304 million lbs. in 1951 to 1,640 million lbs. in 1955-56. The Plan visualised per capita increase of consumption of cloth to 15

yards. The year 1955-56 witnessed the productive capacity as well as the actual output of the cotton mills exceeding the plan targets.

The Second Five-Year Plan provided for an increase in total production of cloth (mill-made, handloom and powerloom) from 6,850 million yards in 1955-56 to 8,500 million yards in 1960-61. In corresponding period the total production of yarn was proposed to be increased from 1,630 million lbs. to 1,950 million lbs. This would increase per capita consumption of cloth by 18 yards.

### Cement Industry

The development scheme envisaged under the First Five-Year Plan was to augment the rated capacity of cement industry from 32.80 lakh tons in 1950-51 to 53.06 lakh tons by 1955-56. Accordingly, the total production to be achieved by the end of First Plan period was estimated at about 48 lakh tons by the Planning Commission. During 1955-56, the production rose to 44 lakh tons. Thus, the production of cement increased enormously during the First Plan period.

Considering the growing needs of the country for cement during Second Plan period, the Government approved new schemes for expansion, increasing the installed capacity from 6.6 million tons to 15.3 million tons. The industry was expected to treble its capacity, within the period of five years. During 1957, the industry's rate of growth was lower than expected in the Second Five-Year Plan. This was due to unbalance between production capacity and demand. The production of cement likely to be achieved in 1960-61 is 8.8 million tons.

### Sugar Industry

The First Five-Year Plan aimed at increasing sugar production from 11.01 lakh tons, in 1950-51 to 15 lakh tons in 1955-56. But the sugar production in 1954-55 amounted to 16 lakh tons, i.e., the production exceeded the Plan target. This was an encouraging trend and the target of the First Five-Year Plan was revised to 18 lakh tons. In order to achieve the revised

target the Government gave licences for 37 new factories and for the expansion of 40 existing units. As a result of the above measures, the actual production was expected to increase by 3½ lakh tons.

The Second Five-Year Plan provided for an increase in total production of sugar from 17 lakh tons in 1955-56 to 22½ lakh tons in 1960-61. The output of sugar during 1958-59 has been estimated at 19.2 lakh tons. As estimated in Draft Third Five-Year Plan, the total production of sugar likely to be achieved in 1960-61 is 22½ lakh tons—exactly the target of output fixed for the Second Five-Year Plan.

### Machine Tool Industry

Before 1951, simple machines, such as lathes, scrapers and hacksaws, were produced on small scale and the products were of inferior quality. The demand for superior quality machine tools has considerably increased owing to the rapid pace of industrialisation. In the changed circumstances, the Government set up the Hindustan Machine Tools Factory in 1949 for producing the precision lathes, milling machines, radial drills, grinding machines, non-precision turret lathes, etc. The Hindustan Machine Tools Factory has made satisfactory progress since then. The factory is now responsible for 60 per cent production of the total output of the country.

Of 23 organised machine tools factories 6 are principal manufacturers. Of the six principal factories—three fall in the Public

Sector and three in the Private Sector. These six factories produce nearly 80 per cent (in terms of value) of the total production of India's organised machine tool industry. The value of the total output of machine tool industry increased from 0.29 crores in 1950-51 to Rs. 0.72 crores in 1955-56. The value of output of the machine tool industry is likely to rise to Rs. 5.5 crores by 1960-61. The further growth of the machine tool industry has been hampered by the shortage of quality pig iron and coke for foundries producing machine tool castings, dearth of skilled and experienced designers, lack of foundry capacity and the shortage of skilled workers.

### Conclusion

The pace of industrial development during the First Plan period was slow due to more concentration on agricultural growth. The Second Plan aimed at rapid industrialisation of the country with particular emphasis on basic industries. A remarkable increase in national income as well as reasonable improvement in standard of living, cannot be imagined without sufficient increase in the production of the country. Our planners have laid emphasis on the development of basic industries with a view to quickening the pace of development. Thus the rapid industrialisation forms the core of the country's economic development plans.

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## "THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION"

By Prof. D. N. BANERJEE

Sirdar Sen has written a useful and readable book\* on the Constitution of India. He has followed in it the method of analysis and comparison. There is certainly evidence in the book of a wide acquaintance of the author with the literature of the constitutional law of different countries. It

would, however, have been much better if he had omitted the scrappy historical portion, largely based on second-hand sources, from the book. It has added to the bulk of the book, but not much to its value. The get-up of the book is excellent.

There are statements in the book which are either misleading or contradictory or erroneous. We may cite one or two instances here. On page 14 the author observes that "all publicists distinguish between written and unwritten constitu-

\* A Comparative Study of the Indian Constitution, Volume One: By Sirdar D. K. Sen, Orient Longmans. Pp. xxviii & 382. Price not stated.

tions, although the distinction is somewhat superficial." Curiously enough, he also states (pp. 14-15) that "almost all modern States have written constitutions, the only exception being the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland where the fundamental political principles and institutions are not to be found in any formally accepted document or documents", and that Great Britain is "the only country which has an unwritten constitution". Does the author mean to say that, for example, the Act of Settlement, 1701, the Act of Union with Scotland, 1707, the Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949, the Representation of the People Acts, 1832, 1867, 1884, 1918, and 1928, the Ballot Act, 1872, the Judicature Acts, 1873, 1875 and 1925, and His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act, 1936, do not form important elements of the Constitution of Great Britain? As Dr. Strong has rightly said (*Modern Political Constitutions*, 1949, p. 64), division of constitutions into unwritten and written "is really a false distinction, because there is no constitution which is entirely unwritten and no constitution entirely written."

Secondly, he makes an erroneous statement when he says (p. 43), in connection with Dyarchy under the Government of India Act, that "as regards transferred subjects, elected members of the Legislative Council were appointed members of the Governor's Executive Council and were placed in charge of these subjects", etc. He obviously means here Ministers appointed to administer the transferred subjects. These Ministers, however, were not members of the Governor's Executive Council, although they formed a part of the Executive Government in a Governor's Province under the said Act. Under Section 47 of the Act the members of the Governor's Executive Council were appointed by the Crown of England; whereas the Ministers in a Governor's Province were appointed by the Governor under Section 52 of the said Act.

Further, provincial subjects, other than the transferred subjects, were referred to by the Government of India Act "as reserved subjects", and not as "reserve subjects", as the author says more than once on page 43.

Thirdly, it appears from what the author has said on page 46 and elsewhere

in the book that he does not know the difference between the Government of India Act, 1919, and the Government of India Act (without any year suffixed to it). The basis of the Constitution of what was formally known as British India before the Government of India Act, 1935, came into operation had been the Government of India Act (without any year suffixed to it) and the Rules made thereunder, and not the Government of India Act, 1919, which was only an amending Act. This amending Act consisted of only 47 Sections and three Schedules, whereas the Government of India Act consisted of as many as one hundred and thirty-five Sections and five Schedules. Reference may be made in this connexion to Sections 1(1), 45 and 47 of the Government of India Act, 1919.

Fourthly, it is difficult to agree with what the author has said on page 55 and elsewhere in the book in regard to the Indian Presidency. He has said (p. 46), for instance, that "it would.....appear that, according to the text of the Constitution, the President of India has the authority of a resurrected Viceroy." This view is too technical and legalistic and, therefore, as it often happens in constitutional matters, untrue to fact. The Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone. What Maitland has called "rules of constitutional morality or the customs or the conventions" of a Constitution make up a substantial part of it. Briefly speaking, the system of government at the Centre under the present Constitution of India—we are, as we should, using the term "Constitution" here to mean both its "written" and "unwritten" elements—is, so far as the question of the relation of the Executive to the Legislature is concerned, definitely what is characterized in Political Science as the Cabinet, or the Parliamentary, system of government. It has been modelled upon the system of government obtaining in England to-day. The position of the Indian President is, and was really intended by the authors of our Constitution to be, analogous to that of the Crown in the English Constitution. That is to say, like the English Monarch the Indian President is the constitutional head of the governmental system of India—its titular Chief Executive and its "dignified" part; whereas the Council of Ministers at the

Centre in India with the Prime Minister at its head constitutes, like the Cabinet Council, or simply the Cabinet, under the "Presidency of a Prime Minister" in England, is the real central executive. This is the essence of the system of government now at the Indian Centre whatever may be the letter of the law about it. This view is also in consonance with the implications of the Preamble to our Constitution, according to which India is to be a Democratic Republic. It may be noted here to the satisfaction of the legal conscience of the author that our view has also been judicially recognised by our Supreme Court in its unanimous judgment in **Rai Sahib Ram Jawaya Kapur and Others v. The State of Punjab, 1955.**

Fifthly, Lord Curzon died in 1925. But the author has kept him alive in 1932 (pp. 13-14).

Sixthly, in regard to the nature of the Indian Polity the author seems to have taken a contradictory position. On page 161 he says that "it is a noteworthy feature of the Indian Republic that it is not only a Federation but also a decentralized unitary State". On page 127, however, he says that "there is no basis for contending that a federation is a decentralized unitary State". Certainly a polity cannot be at the same time both federal and unitary. Federalism and unitarianism cannot go together. The Constitution of India is neither truly federal nor truly unitary. It is **quasi-federal** in character. That is to say, it is federal in form, with a pronounced unitary bias in certain circumstances. In normal times it is federal in form and character, but in times of emergency it has been so designed as to make it work as though it was a unitary system. This certainly means a considerable erosion of Provincial or "State" autonomy. But we have got to put up with it in view of the past history of our country and the danger of centrifugal forces still operating in it in the shape of regionalism and linguism.

Seventhly, the author has tried to maintain in his book (e.g., page 128) the exploded doctrine of divided sovereignty in a Federal Union. The correct view, as held by John Austin, is that sovereignty in a Federal Union belongs neither to the Federal Government nor to the governments of the constituent units of the union, but to the union as a whole. That is to say, the whole union is a sovereign State and the sovereignty of the State manifests itself partly through the Federal Government and partly through the governments of the constituent units. This view is equally applicable to the case of the Indian Union. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, juristically speaking, the so-called constituent States of the Indian Union were not States just before the 26th of January, 1950. Nor are they States even now in the true sense of the term. They exercise only derived powers—that is to say, the powers derived from the Constitution of India. Their powers, therefore, are neither original nor inherent.

Finally, the author has inserted a list of errata in his book. We find, however, several other misprints in the book. For instance, Mr. Montagu (once Secretary of State for India) has been wrongly spelt as Montague (pp. 13,14 and 44). Story, J. of the American Supreme Court has been wrongly spelt as Storey, J. (p. 81). The date of the commencement of our present Constitution is 26th January, 1950, and not 25th January, 1950 (p. 93). The name of the author of the book entitled **A Treatise on the Constitutional Limitations**, 1903, is Cooley, and not Coolidge (p. 373). The title of Willoughby's book referred to on page 376 is **The Constitutional Law of the United States**, and not **Constitution of the United States**.

It is hoped that these and other defects in the book will disappear from its next edition.





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But Reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*

## ENGLISH

THE MAHABHARATA—Drona Parvan:  
By Dr. S. K. De. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona (1960).

Dr. Sushil Kumar De, M.A., D.Litt. (London), has been working for decades, in the field of Sanskrit literature. So he has fully justified the confidence placed on him by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. In 1938, Prof. De completed the collection and edition of the rather complicated Drona Parvan in two fascicles (29 A and B) which we find highly satisfactory. The Santiniketan Library MSS is dated 1760 or 200 years old. It is an all-out Battle-book giving war pictures unrelieved by human legends and episodes, didactic or otherwise composed. Editor De concludes that so far as Drona Parvan is concerned the Bengali version of the North-eastern group, is not distinguishable from the Northern and the Southern recensions, as it was suggested (by Dr. De) for the Sabha-parvan. Dr. De completed the Udyoga-parvan in 1940 during the crisis of the World War and now he finishes the Drona-parvan on the collapse of the Summit Conference.

A fortnight's battle of Kurukshetra assumed more symbolical than real significance, as we found in the interposition of the Gita just before the Drona-parvan.

When the whole text of the Mahabharata is presented to the public with all variants in text, then the psychological lessons inculcated by the Sage Vyasa and his disciples will be made clearer to the devoted readers, patiently waiting for over a quarter of a century of textual research by expert editors like Dr. De.

We congratulate him and his learned

colleagues of the Poona Oriental Institute which has earned the gratitude of all readers and scholars of India and abroad.

Kalidas Nag

BRAHMA SUTRA SANKARA BHASYA:  
Translated into English by Sri V. M. Apte, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Dhulia, West Khandesh. Published by Popular Book Dept. Lamington Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 45.

Samkara's *Brahma-sutra Bhasya* is by far the most important work of the Vedanta Philosophy of India; and whatever be our leanings and personal likings, it is, indeed, an indisputable fact that Samkara's *Advaitavada*, by far and large, has no comparison at all amongst all the systems of Vedanta Philosophy. Not only that, it may also be asserted without any fear of contradictions that Samkara's Vedanta system far outshines any other system of Indian Philosophy in depth of thought, breadth of vision, simplicity of expression and sweetness of language. Seldom it is, if at all, that such an entirely logical and scientific treatise of a very profound philosophical nature is written at the same time in such a sweet and simple language, in such a charming and pleasant manner.

Hence it is but natural that an English translation of Samkara's works should be regarded as so very difficult by scholars all over the world. For, although, the main aim of the translation of philosophical works is to put all the facts together, yet it would indeed be an injustice to the authors of the original works if there be no reflection at all of their own expressions in those of the translators. The present work attempts to give a literal, yet simple, translation of Samkara's *Brahma sutra Bhasya*. In both these respects, the author has succeeded well, and the result is that we have

got a work of great philosophical value which at the same time makes a pleasant reading.

The preface has added much to the value of the work.

Roma Chaudhuri

**THE GLOVES ARE OFF:** By Godfrey Evans. Hodder and Stoughton, London, £60. Pp. 253. Price 15s. net.

"What's the good of playing cricket? You will never make a living playing cricket." This is how school teacher Mr. Turner admonished little Godfrey for being late because of cricket. But little could Mr. Turner conceive what potentiality was stored inside that kid—that he would one day become an idol behind the stumps with 'the gloves' on and so powerful with bat in hand,—what to speak of a decent living.

This is the story of his whole career—how he came to love cricket, what led him to take it up as a profession, and then his checkered cricket life ending with his retirement—a life crowded with some memorable episodes.

It is a delightful narration of how Godfrey Evans gradually got on top of the game and reached the pinnacle of fame along with which he records some incidents on which cricket history was made officially (and unofficially)—to which he himself had contributed generously. A maker of many records, Godfrey has something to say, worth listening to, about a lot of cricket stars. It is all the more valuable, because surely have they been described from the angle of a wicket keeper. Having played in 91 Test Matches, (a world record) Evans had the most coveted opportunity of coming into contact with and watching in action and playing for and against most of the leading English and overseas players. Here in this book he grabs his chance to express his opinion about their art of playing. But very cleverly he refrains from any kind of harsh criticism, which might give rise to another "Over to me" sort of controversy. Instead of criticising the players, he has given a visual representation of their way of playing, side by side sometimes, (as if in comparison, as in the case of Denis Compton and Len Hutton) so as to suggest—"Well, there they are, you draw your own conclusion." This is Art indeed.

The five techniques, he has prescribed for wicket-keeping, are trite but worth remembering.

Though he could not, obviously, bring himself to talk as colourfully about overseas players as he has done rather exuberantly about their English counterparts the book is a really pleasurable reading. It will, without question, adorn the shelf of any reader of taste—a cricket lover or not.

Pranab Basu

**THE WAY OF GANDHI AND NEHRU:** B.-S. Abid Husain. Published (1959), by Asia Publishing House, Bombay. Pp. 184. Demy 8vo Price Rs. 12.00.

The book under review is a comparative study of two outstanding personalities, one a great man and the other a big man. The big cannot be equated with the great. The great lives for ages gathering lustre as years roll by. Time swallows up the big. So the author set himself to a self-defeating task. Had the author written separate treatises on these two personalities he then might do justice to Gandhi, justice to Nehru, and justice to himself. Were it so, the author would have been spared the pain of deducing the unwarranted conclusion that "the way of Gandhi and Nehru is, and will remain for a long time to come, one and the same." Yet the book is remarkably readable and Sayid Zakir Husain says aptly in his foreword, "This book signifies the beginning of the discussion of significant and vital problems of India's future growth. It is, indeed, a very good beginning and we should heartily welcome it."

Birendranath Guha

**WARNINGS OF HISTORY :** Pages 44. Price 50 nP.

**AFFINITY OF INDIAN LANGUAGES :** Pages 35. Price 40 nP.

Both Published by the Director, Publications Division, Delhi-8.

The first booklet brings together the six talks broadcast by All India Radio; the talks were delivered by Shri K. M. Munshi (tainted springs), Prof. M. Mujub (How Tyrants Arise), Prof. Sathianathaier (Guardians and Servants), Dr. Tara Chand (Centrifugal Forces), Dr. Motichand (House Divided) and Sardar K. M. Panikkar (Palaces and Hovels) in National Programme. Each talk is interesting and full of import to the students of history.

The second booklet contains five essays from the pen of five distinguished scholars, viz., M. Satyanarayana (Factors of Integration), Dr. S. M. Katre (Vocabulary and Syntax), Dr. Bishwanath Prasad (Speech-Sounds and their use), Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee (Common Foreign

Borrowings) and Kaka Saheb Kalekar (The link of Sanskrit)—each showing the unity of Indian languages in spite of differences. Readers interested in linguistic and cultural integration and unity will find these writings informative.

**AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY:** By Darius Srivaksha Jhabvala—Worker's Publication House Private Ltd., 20, Netaji Subhas Road, Calcutta-1. Pages 72. Price 50 nP.

In this brochure the author has placed many facts and figures to show that in the name of Afro-Asian solidarity the Communist countries—Russia and China—are proceeding fast to dominate the countries which were only recently under the domination of imperialist and capitalistic nations and attained independence after World War II. Conferences at Bandung (1955) or at Cairo (1957) helped propagation of Communism in a new way. Communists with high sounding international names are running world organizations to delude the masses of newly liberated countries into their fold. Their information services and statistics are full of propaganda far from actual facts. The author's study is somewhat onesided but cannot be dismissed altogether when the deliberate pulverization of facts and realities into a whirl of propaganda make it difficult to carry on any meaningful dialogue with the Communists.

This ably written and documented essay deserves wide circulation.

**A MONTH IN POLAND:** By J. Vijayasingha. Published by The Madras Premier Co., 38, Broadway, Madras-1. Pages 82. Price Rs. 1.50.

The author of this book was in Poland from 9th Oct. to 7th Nov. 1956 and during this short period he had seen many people at their homes and came into contact with many persons and visited many places which touched his heart as both Poland and India suffered immensely through centuries of struggle. The writer was specially interested in their arts—music, literature, painting and sculpture and there are ample evidences in these lines to show the keen interest he has taken to study these subjects first hand. Poland passed through most terrible times during 1939-45—the country and the people were overrun by the warring hordes, first by Nazis and then by Russians and the glory of the nation laid into dust. Warsaw, Cracow, Nowa-Huta, Katowice and Oswiecim he has portrayed vividly as a visitor, but 'Oswiecim' touches every heart as her "on the lowest

computation twelve million men, women and children were done to death. Not in battle, not in passion, but in the cold, calculated, deliberate attempt to destroy nations and races, to disintegrate the traditions, the institutions and the very existence of free and ancient states. Twelve million murders ! Murder conducted like some mass production industry" such was Nazi barbarism—Genocide of the Jews. The author has himself seen some of the survivors and heard from them what actually they experienced.

This book nicely written should be regarded as a gesture of admiration and friendship and as such deserves circulation among the interested public.

A. B. Dutta

#### SANSKRIT-HINDI

**BRIHAD BIMANASHASTRA:** Edited and translated into Hindi by Swami Brahmanani Paribrak of Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar. Published by Sarvadeshik Aryya Pratinidhi Sabha, Dayanand Bhavan, New Delhi-1. 1959. Rs. 13/-.

The editor is a scholar of experience and he has edited a book which shows Hindu achievement in another exact science. The Pushpaka Biman which flew with Sita and Ram from Lanka to Ayodhya was not a mere figment of the poet's imagination but must have carried a positive real concept to the readers of *Raghuvamsam*. References to Biman have been quoted from the *Ramayana*, *Samarangana-sutradhar*, and *Yukti kalpataru*, and the editor would trace the Yantra-sarvasva treatise (of which the present book is part) and its originator the sage Bharadwaj to the *Vedic* inspiration, the *Vedas* being the source of all knowledge. It all points to old treatises, 97 being referred to by name in course of the present book, 29 of them being of known authorship. There are five hundred sutras under a hundred sections grouped under eight chapters.

Let us see how it begins. The first thing we are told is that the name Biman is given on account of the similarity to birds in speed. Then we come to the question: who is competent to fly or handle a Bimana? The answer is rather cryptic, he who knows the secret. The secret is manifold—thirtytwo have been definitely named. He is also competent who knows 'the five'—the different turns and tracks, and the 'waves'. There are thirtyone parts of a Bimana which have to be distinguished, and then we have finished six sutras, half of the first chapter. Evidently this is only a highly compressed code where we have facts culled by observation

through a long period for the purpose of practical guidance, as in the other positive sciences of the "Hindus" handed down to us.

This will serve as a sample of the contents of the book. What clothes should the pilot wear and what should be his diet are meticulously put in. The glasses—darpana—are distinguished. But before we are involved in greater technicalities we must stop in wonder at such a production, giving credit to the scholarly editor who has brought out this book and has also supplied us with a Hindi translation for more publicity not only for the Sanskrit text but also for the Sanskrit *vritti* in verse form composed by Yati Bodhananda. A monument of industry devoted to a glorious chapter of Hindu civilisation.

P. R. Sen

### HINDI

**ASHAKA EK-MATRA MARGÀ** : By Richard Gregg. Translated by Ramanarayana Chaudhury. 1960. Pp. 222. Price Rs. 2.

**GANDHIJI KA VINODE** : Edited by Lallabhai Makanji. Translated by Someshwar Purohit. 1960. Pp. 60. Price 60 nP.

**SAMRAKHSHITA KA SIDDHANTA** :  
*Gandhiji* : Compiled by Ravindra Kalkar. 1960. Pp. 44. 30 nP.

All the books under review are published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad-14 (Gujarat).

Richard Gregg, who is well-known for his scientific-cum-spiritual approach to problems of humanity, wrote some years back a book entitled "*The Only Hope*". It testifies to his deep study on Capitalism, Socialism, Communism and Gandhism. He comes to the conclusion that in Gandhism lies the only hope for the salvage of our present-day chaotic world. *Asha-ka Ek-matra Marga* is a competent Hindi rendering of the book.

*Gandhiji Ka Vinode* is a delightful collection (translated from the original Gujarati) of eighty short anecdotes, which reveal Gandhiji's humour.

Gandhiji's views on the hoarding of possessions and property are brought together within the compass of the pamphlet, *Samrakhshita Ka Siddhanta*. It is a kind of valuable commentary on his theory of Trusteeship.

G. M.

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# Indian Periodicals

## Israel and Its Achievements

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., who recently visited Israel and gained personal experience about its achievements has contributed a thought-provoking article to *Vigil*, Nov. 12, 1960. He writes :—

I slept in a village only 300 yards from the Syrian border. It was a Kibbutz, one of the 224 socialist settlements in Israel where everyone lives in absolute equality, all doing service—teaching the children, farming, building, industrial work, preparing and serving the meals—and where every need is provided freely.

No wage is paid for work, no money is paid for rent or food or clothing. The surplus from the sale of the produce of the settlement enables a fund to be divided equally among the members for supplementary purchases outside the Kibbutz; but within the community money is never seen or used.

Similar experiments have been tried elsewhere, but they have often failed. They were successful among the anarcho-Communists in Spain before the civil war, but Franco swept them away. The Doukhobors have somewhat similar communities in Canada based on religion, but they tend to be withdrawn from the society around them.

The distinctive feature of the Kibbutzim in Israel is that their members are vigorously active in the social and political life of the country. They are socialist communities, contributing party workers, Members of Parliament, and civil servants constructively engaged.

And they are firmly established. I went to the first Kibbutz started fifty years ago on the shores of the Sea of Galilee by six young Russian workers. Now there are 90,000 members of the Kibbutzim.

I did not intend to write about the social significance of the Kibbutzim. My enthusiasm for them has speeded my pen. Perhaps what I have written will be of value, however, to other developing nations. Communities like the Kibbutzim could find specially fertile conditions in Africa and in territories advancing from colonialism. They reflect equality, liberty and fraternity to a greater degree than any social organisation I

know and they can be dynamic centres for nation-building.

My original intention in referring to the Kibbutz at Lehavot Habasham on the Syrian border was quite different. It is on the edge of the Hulah valley, which in four years has been transformed from a malarial swamp into rich land. Above the Kibbutz rise the Syrian Mountains.

Like other Kibbutzim which I have seen, Lehavot Habasham is a beautiful garden village, the little houses hidden among trees and flowering bushes. But in one terribly significant thing it is distinct from the Kibbutzim away from the Arab frontiers. The garden is criss-crossed by military trenches, the beds of flowers are broken by entrances to underground shelters, walls and windows have been broken by shell-fire. Guards are on duty every night. The Kibbutz is building its new club centre underground.

This does not mean that the Kibbutz is under frequent attack. The last shelling took place on December 3rd, 1958. But Syria (the northern region of the United Arab Republic) is at war with Israel. Border incidents may occur any night. There is always the danger that the quiescent war may erupt into fighting.

I believe peace between Arabs and Jews is needed for both peoples. I don't propose to discuss the rights and wrongs of the conflict. The initial responsibility lay with the British Government during the First World War who promised Palestine to both Arabs and Jews. Since then the antagonism has been intensified by the problems of the Palestine refugees, the treatment of Arabs within Israel, and the Sinai war, on one side; and by the closing of the Suez Canal to Israeli ships, the boycott of Israel, the refusal to recognise the Israeli State, and the belligerent threats of President Nasser, on the other. One deplores; but one's concern now must be to find the path to peace.

A new realisation has come to me during this journey to Israel. It began to dawn on me whilst I was in Cyprus on the way here.

Archbishop Makarios is anxious that the Republic, only sixty miles from the coast of the Middle East, shall be neutral and shall contribute to peace. When he proposed to accept the Israeli Embassy in Nicosia, President Nassar

protested. And the Archbishop was in this difficulty : the Arab countries, and President Nasser particularly, had given full support to the Cypriots in their struggle for self-determination. Israel had given no support; because of its association with the Western Colonial Powers, it had abstained at the United Nations. I am confident that, despite this difficulty, Cyprus will recognise Israel; but the dilemma is real.

On the issue of the French bomb test in the Sahara and of Algeria, the official Israeli attitude has been worse. It has sided with France because it receives French help with arms. These actions inevitably estrange Africa from Israel.

But, on the other hand, Israel has given great aid to African nations. Ghana, Guinea, the new independent countries of the French community, the Congo have all received valuable technical help. I have been repeatedly impressed by the tributes paid to Israel's examples in agricultural and social organisation by African leaders. Many of them have been to Israel and returned enthusiastic. There is a deep fund of goodwill in Africa for Israel.

When I went to the Workers' College of Jharkhand I found its classrooms occupied by Africans. An extensive Afro-Asian wing is being built for students from the two continents.

But it is necessary to give the warning that Africa will decide its attitude towards Israel not by material and technical aid, but by Israel's policy towards Africa. Israel must face this challenge. It must decide between the Colonial Powers and Africa. The new African nations and movements will no longer be content with compromise.

Israel's future will depend upon its decision. Neither Moscow nor Washington, neither Paris nor London will influence President Nasser and the Arab Governments so much as the Asian and African nations.

Egypt lies at the corner of Asia and Africa. President Nasser has a great ambition to contribute to the leadership of the African Revolution. He is influenced by India and other Asian nations. Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Libya, etc. are closely linked with the African struggle in every part of the Continent and share the anti-colonial sentiments of Asia. The Arab countries of the Middle East have the same feeling towards Asia and Africa.

Africa and Asia are therefore in a position to exert a decisive influence towards peace in the Arab countries and Israel. I have asked that they would do if Israel came out

openly and unmistakably on the side of national freedoms against the colonial Powers. Algeria will be the immediate test at the United Nations. An Israeli vote for independence would affect deeply Arab opinion, as well as, Asian and African opinion.

The basis of peace should be the establishment of a Federation in the Middle East of which Israel should be a part. Those trenches and shelters at the Kibbutz at Lehavot Habashan may still be regarded as necessary for many months (though I pray they may never have to be used); but the hope of peace must be kept bright,—and Africans can contribute more than any part of the earth to its realisation.

### Illiteracy—An Acute Problem for India

It must be admitted that India has, during the last few years, made rapid and remarkable progress in the field of education. But what amount of success we have attained in eradicating mass illiteracy from our country is a question of vital importance. Shri B. B. Mohanty, in an article under the above caption in *The Indian Review*, Nov. 1960, has dwelt on the subject elaborately. A large portion of this article is quoted here. Regarding the percentage of literacy based on the census of India he says :

According to the 1951 Census there were 5,92,51,000 literate persons including 1,36,49,817 females and the percentage of literacy was 16.51. On further analysis it is found that the percentages of literacy in India for males and females were 20.87 and 7.17 respectively. According to a ten per cent sample tabulation of the Census returns the percentage of literacy among the population fifteen years old and over was 19.3. The figure for the percentage of literacy as computed from the 1941 Census is 14.6%—22.2% among men and 6 per cent among women. The magnitude of the problem is evident from the above and it imposes severe and serious restrictions in the process of India becoming a Welfare State. The problem of illiteracy does not refer to India alone but to the world at large. In a recent study undertaken by the UNESCO 'the number of adult illiterates (people over 15 years of age who cannot both read and write in any language) in the world around 1950 has been estimated at about 700 million—slightly over two-fifths of the world's population at that age level'. From the above study it is also found that 88 per cent and two per cent of the world's illiterates are concentrated

in 43 and 54 small countries, respectively having medium to high rates of illiteracy, which are situated in Asia, Africa, Central and South America and some territories of the Oceania. Another 9 per cent of the world's illiterate population are found in 20 countries with low to medium rates of illiteracy including, for example Japan, France and the U.S.A. and the rest 1 per cent of illiterate mass numbering about 8 to 9 million are widely scattered in 81 countries each having low to medium rates of illiteracy.

It is a common feature to find high illiteracy rates among the rural population as compared with the urban population of a country. Further the male population has generally a higher percentage of literacy than the female population. This has a particular reference to those countries having medium to high rates of illiteracy. These countries include Malaya, Thailand, Ceylon, Egypt, India, Greece, Yugoslavia and Turkey. The percentages of literacy are strikingly different for different regions, different age groups and different ethnic groups within the same country. It is quite common to find high rates of illiteracy in the older age groups of the population than the younger groups, particularly in those countries where the schemes of universal, free and compulsory primary education have recently been introduced. It is possible to deduce a direct relationship between the growth of primary education and reduction in the number of adult illiterates in a given period of time. If all the children of the school-going age of a country attend the schools for a sufficient length of time, there would be a considerable reduction in the number of adult illiterates and in course of time the number is likely to be reduced to nil.

After making a comparison between some of the Western Countries and India so far as compulsory free primary education is concerned Shri Mohanty observes on the basis of statistical account of literacy percentage in India :

In 1950-51 only 32 per cent of the children belonging to 6-14 age group were in the elementary schools. The other 61 per cent of the children were added to the illiterate population. In 1955-56 the situation was slightly improved and in 1960-61 it is expected that only 49 per cent of our children will be in the schools. The data clearly indicates the condition of girls' education in the country as it is seen that only 28 per cent of our girls belonging to the age group of 6-14 will be in the schools, and the rest 72 per cent will re-

main in the illiterate mass. So India has to adopt both emergency and long term measures to fight with illiteracy. The opening of the Adult Literacy Centres, Community Centres, Libraries and Reading Rooms are quite effective as emergency measures, provided the different activities are properly organised, but to eradicate illiteracy from India within the next few decades the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for all the children below the group of 14 appears to be the solution.

In a recent UNESCO Study entitled 'Public Expenditure on Education' it is seen that in about 1950 the total expenditure on education varied from less than 1 per cent to more than 5 per cent of the national income of the country. On further examination it is seen that there is a distinct correlation between the literacy rates and the percentage of total national income spent on education. Countries having low rates of literacy seem to be spending a smaller proportion of their national income on Education. As far as India is concerned she spent 1.95 per cent of her national income on Education in 1955-56, 1.7 per cent in 1954, 1.4 per cent in 1953-54, 1.4 per cent in 1952 and 1.24 per cent in 1951-52.

Dr. David McClelland of the Harvard University is of opinion that the all round success of the Community Development programme in a country depends to a large extent on the education of her children. Besides being properly educated, he says, they must be made to grow as active citizens with a higher achievement motivation, so that in future they will be useful, and educated citizens of a country. The non-achievement motivation, according to him, has very little or no correlation with I. Q. or Intelligence Quotient of a child, but

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Should Married Women Work?

Whether married women should work earning their livelihood is a stupendous problem to-day not only in the West but in India. Some years ago with the exception of a very few almost all the married women in our country had to depend wholly upon their husbands for maintenance. But things have changed and the number of married women employed in Government offices and private enterprises are on the increase. This change of situation has created many problems which need immediate solution. Ethel S. Beer, the author of book *Working Mothers and the Day Nursery* has contributed a lengthy article in the September-October number of *Unity*, published from Chicago. Some portions of the article quoted here will prove that the problems connected with married women's work in our country do not differ much from those of America:

The increase of married women employment shows up plainly in the statistics. Between 1940 and 1944 the figure rose from 5 million to 8.4 million. Since these were war years, this spurt was understandable. With every hand needed, all women were encouraged to work as a patriotic duty. The surprise came later. Contrary to expectation the expansion did not cease, and in 1955 the figure 11.8 million was reached, which is over half of the total woman labor force. In 1940 it was below one-third. To be sure, the proportion in the population of single women working is higher than of married, although less so than formerly. A significant fact is that over a quarter of the wives in this country were employed in 1955. For the whites alone it was only 2½% in 1890. Generally about 20% today have part-time jobs in nonagricultural industries. In 1955 the estimate was 5% higher. In the agricultural field it was approximately one-half.

Quite evidently wives are in the labor

market to stay. In April, 1953 around 40% of those wed within the previous fifteen months were included. During the first ten years of marriage a drop occurs, although the older a woman is at that time the less likely she is to quit work or to break off temporarily. Doubtless there is a definite correlation between the presence of small children in the household and wives staying at home. In April, 1955 the rate for all employed married women without children was 35% as against 18.2% for those with children under six. When the husband was with his wife, the figures were slightly lower, being 33.4% and 16.2% respectively. In comparison, in April, 1948 they were 27.6% and 10.7%. At school-age the children deter their mothers less frequently. For a group between 25-34 years, living with their husbands in 1951, three-fifths without children worked, while 35% with children of school-age did and 15% with those below that level. For women who had been married over 12 years in April 1953, about a third were employed. Of course, the data does not tell whether mothers willingly give up their jobs or do so because of a lack of provision for the children. My feeling is that frequently it is the latter, which may mean a worried or frustrated mother, hardly beneficial to her children.

The reaction of single girls today is most illuminating. While not all really want to be bread-winners, few exclude the possibility.

Prejudice has practically disappeared now. Of course, women are better prepared, too. More go to college and specialize. Rightly or wrongly they are taught approximately the same as their brothers unless they choose otherwise. On the whole the emphasis is on earning a living rather than homemaking. Therefore it is not surprising that some women find greater satisfaction in their jobs than in house-keeping, including the care of children, for which they have not been trained.

In a word, the ground is laid for wives working long before they reach that status.

To be sure, personal factors also count. Financial need is very real. A wife may have a sick husband to support or she may be a mother alone with her children. Even though assistance may be available from private philanthropy or the government, she may prefer to manage by herself, especially if she can earn more. Also, the husband's salary may not cover the running expenses of the home, particularly if the various gadgets on the market are desired. Neither is keeping up with the Joneses, the only motive behind the television set in very modest dwellings.

Some wives have dependents of their own, who cannot be callously discarded. A daughter may be the only support of her aging parents. Yet her husband may not be able to take them on. In days gone by, this problem might have been an obstacle to their wedding. Now the couple generally goes ahead. Conventions have given way to a more realistic and less sentimental approach to marriage, which probably is healthier for all concerned.

The need for sociability may drive some married women from their homes especially if they are gregarious. Even the children do not always prevent lonesomeness for company of adults. Not all neighborhoods are friendly, which adds to the predicament.

"The whole day may go by without me speaking to a grownup," two young wives told me, slightly regretfully.

Yet both enjoyed caring for their homes and children. How much worse for those who really dislike domestic duties, probably because they are amateurs at it. With two salaries, help can be afforded more frequently. Or the couple may do the chores together in the evening, which is less boring.

The feeling of independence that her pay check brings is important, too. Somehow it is different from an allowance or a handout, no matter how generous. Often it brings freedom to buy the extras, such as travel or privileges for the children.

Helping her husband in a small business, such as a stationery store, probably used to go on for ages as an economy measure. The wife saves hiring somebody else.



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emphasis is evident today, as it with Sally. Having brought up their she wanted to share as much of Dan's is possible. The two were a devoted le. Only there was no place for Sally large city firm, where, Dan was a he consequence was that he sold started much more modestly town. Now both are contented and their places in this new so, they have prospered thinking of retiring.

follow a profession exists as men. Nor does marriage always quench this drive. After years of preparation?

is crying for such services, and status. The reason especially when children others do not, is hard to flexibility of time is a actor. With the straight teacher or nurse, it may be harder of the family than for a doctor, an irregular schedule, even though around the clock.

Certainly Dr. Lydia Green—a busy ate practitioner—managed well. Despite duties to her patients she never neglects her husband and children. By dint of phoning home every so often during her ends she kept in touch with the doings of y member. Apparently her eldest ghter intends to follow in her mother's tsteps and fill a double role. For today also is a doctor and recently was wed.

Of course, the spirit of dedication is involved in such callings. In some women it s stronger than in others. A teacher, who has a yen to benefit humanity—rather than supplement the income—may find her personal relations too narrow in scope. Nor es this apply only to a maladjusted wife d mother.

Behind the creative arts is a somewhat similar desire. Only it applies to the expression of a talent in one of the various medioms, such as writing, painting, music, acting, and so forth. Naturally such a gift does not disappear with marriage or even otherhood, although it may be stifled by throes of domesticity. Neither does the emulus for a wife differ from that of a nster or a man, for that matter. Quite dently the answer to why married women k involves more than financial gain.

Although wives are accepted reasonably freely in the labor market, the subject has not been entirely settled in our society. Rather the question is posed as to when they should be employed and when they should not. Because each must be judged on an individual basis, no arbitrary rules can be drawn. Generally speaking, a childless couple has only each other to consider. Therefore the reason—whatever it is—must seem sufficient to both of them. Not every man can accept his spouse in this capacity, especially if she earns more than he does. Then she may have to ask herself:

"Which is more important to me, my marriage or my job?"

To be sure, if economic problems exist, the matter will take on a different color. Piling up debts is neither fair to the creditors nor good principles for the pair themselves. Either they must retrench or the wife probably will have to continue working. If they cannot reach a solution, most likely the marriage has a weak foundation anyhow.

That children make for complications goes without saying. Because they must be looked after during the mother's absence, her working hinges on the provision available for them. Occasionally the parents can stagger their hours, which probably is the best arrangement.

Admittedly there is some risk in leaving the children with others, even relatives and friends. Nevertheless, it may be the only alternative with the facilities so meagre today. On the whole the Day Nursery—also called Day Care or Child Care Center—caters mostly to preschoolers, starting at three years, which is by no means enough. As for the foster-day-care—that is, using a private home under casework supervision for babies and other children, who supposedly do not adjust in groups—another woman is set up as a rival to the real mother. Then as with a nurse in the household, the child can become confused. Far better to extend the Day Nursery at either end, as it used to be in the past. It was not detrimental, judging from my follow-up over forty years of such boys and girls. Moreover, even now infants thrive in Day Nurseries in Europe. As it is, mothers often are forced to stay at home. Granted that they belong there; surely they are not good for their children if they balk or are anxious about making both ends meet.

The accusation that working separation and divorce doubtless is true. But that is only part of the picture. Mis-mating is nothing new. The difference is that an independent woman does not have to put up with the misery of an unhappy marriage. The man has an advantage, too, since he is spared alimony. Naturally if there are children they suffer. A home with a husband and wife at loggerheads with each other is not a wholesome environment for their sons and daughters.

The role of the two sexes is not as clear-cut as it used to be. The old-fashioned marriage has given place to a different kind of companionship, which can be just as strong a partnership. This relationship does not always stop after the arrival of the children, whether the mother keeps on working or not. Fathers do much more for their youngsters now than formerly and occasionally take practically complete charge.

Looking at the picture as a whole, the increased employment of married women does not seem to be a menace to our culture. While it may cause some suffering, there are also benefits. So long as all wives are not pressurized to work, as are their husbands, the choice is theirs under ordinary circumstances. This situation is definitely desirable because many women probably will always prefer to be house-keepers and mothers. The only criterion for each wife to follow is whether her working brings greater or less happiness into the home. More is at stake than her personal satisfaction. The unity of a family demands that the welfare of each member be considered. As in all domestic problems the values must be weighed. Progress lies in facing such issues honestly, which is more likely to be done today than formerly. The family is in transition. One sign is that the marriage setup has greater flexibility. Another is that the relationship between parents and children is easier. Nevertheless, a wife, whether she works or not, is the pivot around which the rest of the group revolves, especially when she is also a mother. Most women recognize this role and fulfil it to the best of their ability. Therefore, in spite of the rough spots, the future of the family in this world looks hopeful.

:O:

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